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ORIGINAL PAPERS;
CONTAINING THE
SECRET HISTORY of GREAT BRITAIN,
FROM THE
RESTORATION,
TO THE ACCESSION OF THE
HOUSE OF HANNOVER.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED
EXTRACTS from the LIFE of JAMES II.
AS WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

THE WHOLE ARRANGED AND PUBLISHED
By JAMES MACPHERSON, Esq;
IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PERICULOSÆ PLENUM OPUS ALEÆ. HOR.

THE SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for W. STRAHAN; and T. CADELL, in the Strand.

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BY A. C. H. R. S. O. M. B.



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VOL. I.

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. STURGEON, 15, N. B. ST. MARK'S PLACE, 1825.

THE SECOND EDITION

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THOUGH the sources, from which the following Papers have been drawn, are explained in the Introduction, it may not be improper to premise some facts for the reader's more immediate information. These volumes contain the papers of the family of Stuart and those of the house of Brunfwick Lunenburgh. The first consist of the collection of Mr. Nairne, who was under-secretary, from the Revolution to the end of the year 1713, to the ministers of King James the Second, and to those of his son. The latter comprehend the material part of the correspondence and secret negotiations of the house of Hannover, their agents and their friends in Britain, throughout the reign of Queen Anne. The extracts from the life of King James the Second, consisting of more than thirty sheets of print, were partly taken by the late Mr. Thomas Carte, and partly by the Editor, in a journey he made for that purpose to France. Mr. Nairne's papers came into the possession of Mr. Carte, some time before his death. To these, the Editor, who had free access to such manuscripts as lie open in the Scotch College at Paris, hath added many valuable acquisitions of his own. The ORIGINALS are now in the hands of the bookseller.

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ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS

Vol. I. B

INTRODUCTION.

THE greatest part of mankind form their political opinions on the usages of past times. With an excusable reverence for their ancestors, they suffer rights derived from Nature to be decided by precedent; and among many nations in Europe, the habit of submission to arbitrary power is a sufficient argument for slavery. In this country the supporters of the freedom of the people, and those who favour the high prerogatives of the crown, make equally their appeal to antiquity, and, with a kind of mutual consent, rest the justice of their respective claims on the authority of former ages. Nothing, however, is more ridiculous, than to suppose that freedom can be received as a legacy; or that abject progenitors have any right to entail slavery on their posterity.

This maxim, however, has seldom any weight with the great body of a nation. The truth is, men are more safe in resting their claims on precedents, than in recurring perpetually to first principles. The authority of facts is obvious, and understood by all. But few are capable of comprehending that manly philosophy, which deems every government unjust that is not free. To ascertain, therefore, the genuine circumstances of former transactions; to redeem history from the misrepresentations of the designing, the errors of the ignorant, and the weakness of the prejudiced; to give to characters their genuine colour; to shew mankind, without either fear or favour, as they were, is certainly deserving well of a people who measure their public happiness and their political misery by the standard of other times.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

The most free nations have oftener derived their liberty from accident, than from a sense of the justice, which mankind owe to themselves. The people of England, in particular, were least successful, when they made their greatest efforts to be free. In their zeal to circumscribe the power of the prince, they fell themselves into a state of humiliating slavery. Men of more ability than principle sprung, as is usual, from anarchy and civil discord. The first cause of contest was either forgot or neglected. Demagogues, as might have been expected, started up into tyrants. The nation lost its balance, in exerting its force against the crown; and designing men had an interest in preventing the unwieldy body from recovering from its fall.

This new species of tyranny was not, however, destined to last long. A despotism imposed, by either terror or force, required a continuance of the same abilities by which it had been established. The engine which Cromwell himself could scarce wield with ease, fell to pieces in the feeble hands of his son. Anarchy succeeded, and threatened consequences of the worst kind. In the midst of the cabals and factions of their leaders, the people remained in a melancholy suspense. They remembered past miseries, they felt the present, they were anxious for the future. A majority had been bent, by force, from their principles. Some, disappointed in their hopes of freedom, others, in their schemes of power became passive, concerning their political fate; and, by a train of circumstances which human prudence could not have foreseen, the nation reared, in a few months, the fabrick of government, which had taken them so many years to destroy.

In the violence of the national joy, upon the restoration of monarchy, men neglected to make such stipulations as might prevent future disputes with the crown. This complaisant negligence became afterwards dangerous to the people, and it ruined the family of the prince. Things being again set afloat, the storm arose. The memory of past miseries prevented not future contests. A King without principle, and a faction without patriotism, armed themselves against each other, with the prejudices of the different parties, which still divided the nation. A victory,
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on either side, must have ruined the balance of the constitution. No intermediate choice seemed to have been left, between monarchical despotism and popular anarchy and confusion.

In this period of violence, of faction, and of intrigue, the Editor of these volumes has chosen to begin his account of the affairs of Great Britain. The papers contained in the following collection will, he is persuaded, convince the public, that he has very much to say, that is both striking and new. To throw some light on the work, he will here premise a few things which require to be known. The particular explanation of the different papers, the illustration of the facts which they contain, the various characters of the principal persons who are actors in this comprehensive political scene, are set forth as the circumstances arise.

The late Mr. Thomas Carte, who gave to the public a history of England to the end of the year 1654, had been extremely industrious in collecting materials for bringing down his work to a much later period. Having obtained an order from Rome for inspecting such papers, belonging to the family of Stuart, as LAY OPEN in the Scotch college at Paris, he spent several months in that place, making extracts and collecting notes. In particular, he made very large and accurate extracts from the Life of James the Second, written in that prince's own hand. But his most valuable acquisition was the papers of Mr. Nairne, who had served as under-secretary to three successive ministers of King James, during his exile in France, from the Revolution to the year 1701. Upon the death of that prince, Nairne continued in the service of his son; and his collection contains an almost uninterrupted series of the correspondences and secret negotiations of the family of Stuart, down to the year 1719.

It is needless to explain minutely, why papers of such value lay so long neglected and almost unknown. They are jumbled together in such a mass of confusion, that a great deal of time and industry, and, it may even be said, a very considerable knowledge of the period to which

which they relate, were absolutely necessary, to give them the importance they deserve. They were placed in the Editor's hands, as materials for a history of this country, from the Revolution till the complete settlement of the family of Hannover on the throne. But when he examined them with precision, he found that the extracts from the Life of James the Second threw a new and striking light, on almost all the transactions of his brother's reign. This circumstance induced him to begin his history with the restoration of monarchy; and to satisfy himself, as well as to authenticate his materials to the public, he went to Paris to make still further discoveries, and, in particular, to make fresh extracts from King James's Memoirs.

During his stay in France, he not only had an opportunity to be satisfied, concerning the faithfulness of Carte's extracts, but even to make many valuable additions of his own. The Memoirs left by King James, in his own hand, consist rather of memorandums made for his own use, when the transactions happened, than a regular narration of events. He frequently lays down, with precision, the reasons which weighed with himself, in directing his conduct; and, upon the whole, his papers form very important materials for the history of Britain, during his own times. In Carte's extracts, as well as in those of the Editor, the language of King James is, in a great measure, preserved. That prince was not an elegant writer; and an abridgment must, in its nature, be still more stiff and dry than an original. Instead, therefore, of expecting entertaining reflections, and a well-connected detail of transactions, the reader must content himself with an unadorned narrative of such facts as were the secret, and hitherto unknown, springs of the great events of the times.

But if the Memoirs of King James cannot raise their author to the rank of a fine writer, they certainly do him credit as a man. There is an air of veracity in all the accounts given by that prince, that is much more valuable to an intelligent reader, than the choicest flowers of rhetoric and best turned periods. Indeed, the manner in which the papers, called his Memoirs, were written, precludes every suspicion of unfaithfulness

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fulness on his side. His notes were generally made upon the spot; and always before there was any necessity to palliate the circumstances of the transactions related. Besides, he was not of a complexion to misrepresent. He affected to guide himself by principle in all his actions; and to deem the slightest deviation from truth a crime. In his opinions he is frequently wrong, but very seldom in any fact that fell within his own immediate knowledge.

How Nairne's collection came into the possession of Carte is as unimportant in itself, as it is imperfectly known. Several papers, particularly the letters of lord Caryll, which compleat the chain of the secret correspondence with Britain, are in the Scotch college, and have passed through the Editor's hands. These, together with others which he received through various channels, shall be pointed out, as they occur, in the following volumes.

Though the correspondences of the house of STUART are highly important, the Editor is very far from deriving his whole information from that side. He has received original papers from several persons abroad. At home he owes obligations of the same kind to a few. Though Mr. ASTLE, in his PUBLIC capacity, adhered rigidly to the orders of his office; as a private gentleman, he exhibited all the liberality of the man of letters. He laid open to the Editor his very valuable collection of original papers, and submitted to his perusal many scarce tracts and printed works, concerning the history of this kingdom, from the Revolution to the death of Queen Anne.

But it is to Mr. DUANE, the Editor owes the greatest and most essential obligations. That gentleman, in his literary researches, had the good fortune to discover, by accident, and to purchase the papers of the house of Brunswick Lunenburgh, containing their whole correspondence with Great Britain, from the passing of the act of settlement till George I. was firmly established on the throne. This very valuable collection, consisting of ten large volumes, in quarto, the proprietor, with peculiar condescension and liberality, placed in the hands of the Editor. To Mr. DUANE, therefore, the public are indebted, for the new, interesting,

INTRODUCTION.

resting, and even complete light, which these papers throw on the whole reign of Queen Anne; especially on the four last years of that princess, a period hitherto very imperfectly known.

The valuable part of the correspondence of such persons as have made any figure in this kingdom, must have fallen into the papers of the two families, who were rivals for the succession to the crown. The Editor became therefore, in some measure, indifferent about being admitted to the inspection of private collections. He made few applications of that kind; and in no one of these, he had the good fortune to succeed. Men having become distrustful of the principles of their ancestors, are, from selfish views, interested in their reputation. With a preposterous shew of attachment to their progenitors, they seem to think, that to conceal their actions is the only way to preserve their fame. The precaution, in the present case, was, however, superfluous. The Editor has been enabled to give to the public, in this collection, as many particulars, concerning men in office, as the public would wish to know. Anecdotes of a private nature may be left, without any regret, in the possession of their posterity, to whom alone they can be of any importance.

The Editor must freely acknowledge, that in applying for access to some PUBLIC collections of papers, he was as unsuccessful as in his private applications. He may, however, without vanity affirm, that he was little disappointed by this refusal. The great line of business, the official dispatches of secretaries, the negotiations of plenipotentiaries, and the instructions to ministers abroad, having, for the most part, fallen under the examination of the two houses of parliament, are, either upon record in their journals, or published by their order. Where these publications are defective, every necessary information is supplied, by the numerous and authentic memoirs, that have been printed, from time to time, in France. Besides, the liberality of the French nation, with regard to the free access to their state-papers, a favour seldom if ever refused to men of letters, makes ample amends for the more uncommunicative disposition prevailing in this kingdom.

This seeming censure, however, must, in justice, be confined in its object. The Editor, expecting little that was new, especially to HIM,

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on the period he has chosen, made few applications to the keepers of public libraries. In the university of Oxford, he found some papers which he has printed in this collection. He was assisted in his researches by the reverend Mr. Price, keeper of the Bodleian library, in a manner, that demand his warmest acknowledgments. He owes favours of the same kind, to other gentlemen, in other places. He also received papers, from persons, whose names he is not permitted to mention to the public. He has, upon the whole, been enabled to fill up, with interesting letters and memorials, such chasms in the correspondences of the houses of Stuart and Brunswick, as interrupted the regular series of their respective intrigues and secret negotiations in Britain.

To render still more complete his materials, the Editor, when in France, applied for access to the valuable collection of papers, kept at Versailles, in the office of the minister for foreign affairs. The duke d'Aiguillon, who then presided in that department, granted his request with peculiar politeness. But, before he could make any use of this indulgence, the death of the King suspended the business of the public offices; and he was obliged to return to Britain before the new arrangements were made. Though the duke resigned his office, the orders he had given were not recalled by his successors. Several clerks, in the department for foreign affairs, were employed, for a considerable time, in searching for papers and in answering such queries as the Editor thought proper to suggest, for the further illustration of the events comprehended within his period.

Having given this short account of the sources from which he has derived his information, the Editor thinks it necessary to say something concerning the arrangement of his materials. The order of time has been throughout followed with exactness. The papers themselves have been illustrated by historical connexions, accounts of their various authors, and uninterrupted allusions to the leading facts to which they relate. The extracts from the Memoirs of King James the Second are given, in one continued series, to the end of the year 1698. The original papers, arranged with the utmost attention

INTRODUCTION.

under the heads of their respective years, begin in the memorable 1688. At the beginning of every year, especially in the reign of Queen Anne, an explanatory introduction is placed; and the events to which the papers refer are briefly stated. Nothing, upon the whole, has been omitted, that might contribute to make the collection answerable to its title; as it actually comprehends, in the literal sense of the words, the secret history of Great Britain, during the period to which it relates.

The Editor has paid throughout, the utmost attention to the satisfaction and convenience of the public. Nothing is printed, except for mere illustration, that ever passed before through the press; at least consistent with the Editor's knowledge; and his reading, on the period of his history, has been pretty extensive. Long memorials are abridged. Where letters are tedious, extracts are only given. But nothing is omitted that could be thought to contribute to throw any new light, either on the events of history, or on the characters of men. To lessen the expence to purchasers, the work is not swelled with originals in languages not generally known. Three-fourths of the papers themselves are in French, Italian, and High Dutch. These were translated, under the eye of the Editor, with the utmost care and fidelity. As the diction of the writers themselves is seldom elegant, more care has been taken to preserve the sense, than to embellish the sentiment. The object of such publications as the present, is more to inform than to amuse the reader; yet the Editor has been at some pains to render it agreeable as well as instructive.

In the course of the following papers, place has been given to some anecdotes and traditions preserved by the industrious Mr. Thomas Carte. Where they are corroborated with collateral proofs, some use has been made of them in the History. Where they stand unsupported by other evidence, they are left to that degree of credit, which the reader may choose to bestow. Such accounts, in their nature uncertain and liable to deception, lose their whole force, when opposed by the written testimony of those whom they concern. But when they fall, with ease and fitness, into the line of established facts, they

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they deserve some portion of historical faith. The uniform fairness, with which Carte has made his extracts from written monuments, is the best proof of his veracity in his traditionary anecdotes. Besides, he had frequent opportunities of being well informed. His avowed attachment to the excluded family, introduced him to the intimacy and friendship of several persons of rank, who entertained similar principles; and had been partly in the secret of affairs, during the four last years of Queen Anne.

The anecdotes preserved by Carte, in some instances, contradict facts thoroughly established by Nairne's papers. This circumstance furnishes an argument, that Carte was not apprized of the treasure which had fallen into his hands. The labour necessary in arranging such confused materials, without which they could not be sufficiently known, he postponed, till he should come down to the period to which they relate. The deficiency of information in the anecdotes, may also be accounted for on other grounds. Those who live, in any period of time, as their knowledge is necessarily confined to one line of men, have but a very imperfect idea of the whole system of national affairs and the intrigues and secrets of factions. A writer must stand, as it were, in the very point, where informations from all parties unite and concentrate, to judge of transactions and of men with precision. He must follow no evidence implicitly, but decide on the general result of the whole proof. This idea of his judicial capacity has a favourable effect on a historian of any ability. Parties having, in a manner, submitted their differences to his decision, his pride prevents him from being swayed by their prejudices.

In a period replete with important events, and subject to revolution and change, the Editor labouring, as it were, under the weight of facts and materials, may have committed some mistakes, that may require the reader's indulgence. He believes, however, that these are not, in themselves, material; as he flatters himself, that he moved, through his subject, with a degree of light sufficient to preclude all glaring errors. In the translation of many papers, in making extracts from such as were either too unimportant or tedious to be given complete, he

INTRODUCTION.

has frequently availed himself of the assistance of a friend. But as the Editor himself has travelled, with attention, over the same ground, he is, as he ought to be, accountable for the defects of the whole.

Such as it is, the Editor delivers the work, with little anxiety, to the public. The novelty of the facts, the uninterrupted stream of fresh light, if the expression may be used, which they throw on the history of this country, during the period through which they extend, will, he is convinced, recommend the publication to the world. The new turn given to many important events, and the change made in various great characters, will, perhaps, offend such as are bigots, with regard to the supposed political opinions and views of their forefathers. To these the Editor has only to say, that he has religiously adhered, throughout, to TRUTH; and that it could not be expected he should risk his own reputation, by concealing any facts that came to his knowledge, though they might tend to sully the fame of THEIR ancestors.

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1660.

THE government of Oliver Cromwell, notwithstanding the vigour of his councils, being unsupported by the opinions of the people, promised neither stability nor permanency. The fabric raised, by his address and abilities, was destined to fall with his own life; and the seeds of anarchy and confusion, which his authority had checked in their growth rather than removed, began to spring forth from the passions of leaders and the prejudices of parties. Sects, who had carried their enthusiasm in matters of religion, into their opinions of government, had remained in that unwilling obedience, which force extorts from fear. The death of Cromwell, removing the fears of all, gave room to their respective hopes. The adherents of the doctrines of the church of England looked forward to the restoration of monarchy. The Presbyterians, oppressed, for several years, by the Independents, were ready to grasp at any change that might put a period to the power of their enemies. The Republicans themselves preferred the return of the kingly authority to the continuance of a tyranny, that, under the name of freedom, had subjected the nation to a military government. The measures of all the three were calculated to promote the same object, though their immediate views were as different as their principles and inclinations.

Such was the undetermined state of parties, in England, in the end of the year 1659. General Monk entered that kingdom, with an army, on the first of January 1660. He found the nation prepared for any change that might deliver them from the present anarchy. In their fears from the consequences of the contests between the remains of a parliament

they hated and an army they had reason to fear, very little pressure was necessary to turn the current in favour of monarchy. It is, therefore, doubtful, whether Monk permitted himself to be carried down the stream, or directed its force to favour his own views. His prudence, or perhaps his timidity, was well suited to the peculiar state of the times. When he sat, involved in his natural reserve, at the helm, he suffered the people, in appearance, to steer their own course to what they deemed a permanent settlement of their distracted affairs.

A few leading facts may be necessary to introduce the reader to the following extracts. On Friday, the sixteenth of March, the long parliament was dissolved, by their own act, after having continued, through various interruptions, for near twenty years. On the twenty-fifth of April, the new parliament assembled at Westminster. On the first of May, Annesly, president of the council of state, presented, unopened, a letter from King Charles the Second to general Monk, to be by him communicated to the council of state and officers of the army. The letter was read, with the utmost avidity, amidst the repeated shouts of the members. The turbulent joy of parliament was soon communicated to the people. The King was proclaimed on the eighth of May; and before the end of the month he arrived in London.

In this period, begin the extracts from the life of King James the Second, then duke of York. They contain the whole of the secret history of his brother's reign, some very important facts concerning his own, and many secret negotiations during the first nine years of King William. The Editor has reduced the whole, for the convenience of the reader, into the order of time. King James, as the subject suggested itself to his mind, made notes of the transactions in which he was most concerned, at different periods. He sometimes kept regular journals of the facts, as they arose. His precision, with regard to place and time, cannot be sufficiently commended. In reviewing the facts which he had set down in his journal, he frequently added circumstances which he had forgot to record before; and to this must be ascribed some repetitions that occur in the following extracts.

Some notes concerning the life of James, extracted from his memoirs, are thrown into the appendix to the second volume of original papers,

pers, as they concern a period, prior to his brother's restoration to the throne. The substance of what he wrote from the year 1652 to 1658, was given by himself to the cardinal de Bouillon, in the year 1695; and they are annexed to the memoirs of the viscount de Turenne. No part of King James's memoirs, after the Restoration, was ever in the hands of any writer; therefore the extracts, and most of the facts they contain, are new to the world.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

EXTRACT I.

THE nation was overjoyed at the restoration. Governed by an army, officer of the narrow sort of men, brewers, collars, etc. Charles, Oliver Cromwell was more arbitrary than any King. The duke of Gloucester died in September, and the prince of Orange at Christmas, both of the small pox. The duke had all the natural qualities to make a great prince, which made the loss be more severely felt by the royal family. The King, at first, refused the duke of York's marriage with Mrs. Hyde. Many of the duke's friends and servants opposed it. The King, at last, consented, and then the duke of York privately married her, and soon after, owned the marriage. Her want of birth was made up by endowments, and her carriage afterwards became her acquired dignity.

THE

George Digby, second earl of Bristol. He died March 20, 1656. He was a Roman Catholic, some months before the restoration; so not of the privy council; but he was trusted with all the secrets, as before. He did not continue long united with Clarendon and Ormonde; endeavouring to get more power, and

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

THE
LIFE of JAMES the SECOND,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

1660.

EXTRACT I.

Carte's
Extracts.
May.

THE nation was overjoyed at the restoration. Governed by an army; officers of the meanest sort of men, brewers, colliers, mechanics. Oliver Cromwell was more arbitrary than any King. The duke of Gloucester died in September, and the princess of Orange at Christmas, both of the small-pox. The duke had all the natural qualities to make a great prince, which made the loss be more severely felt by the royal family. The King, at first, refused the duke of York's marriage with Mrs. Hyde†. Many of the duke's friends and servants opposed it. The King, at last, consented, and then the duke of York privately married her, and soon after, owned the marriage. Her want of birth was made up by endowments; and her carriage, afterwards, became her acquired dignity.

EXTRACT II.

The earl of Bristol* had declared himself a Roman Catholic, some months before the restoration; so not of the privy council; but he was trusted with all the secrets, as before. He did not continue long united with Clarendon and Ormonde; endeavouring to get more power, and

† Burnet and all party-writers have misrepresented this fact.

* George Digby, second earl of Bristol. He died March 20, 1676.

engross

engross more into his hands, than the chancellor cared he should; and that by by-ways. Besides, the earl of Southampton struck up with the lord chancellor, who never had a good opinion of Bristol. The duke of York was ordered by the King to live well with his ministers.

1660.

When his sister, the princess royal *, came to Paris to see the Queen-mother, the duke of York fell in love with Mrs. Anne Hyde, one of her maids of honour. Besides her person, she had all the qualities proper to inflame a heart less apt to take fire than his; which she managed so well, as to bring his passion to such an height, as, between the time he first saw her and the winter before the King's restoration, he resolved to marry none but her; and promised her to do it: and though, at first, when the duke asked the King, his brother, for his leave, he refused, and dissuaded him from it; yet, at last, he opposed it no more; and the duke married her privately, owned it some time after †, and was ever after a true friend to the chancellor, for several years.

The chancellor was faulty, in not getting all the destructive laws, in the long rebel parliament of Charles I. repealed ‡; which, most were of opinion, might have been done, and such a revenue settled on the crown, as would have supported the monarchy, and not exposed it to the dangers it has since run. Whether out of oversight or fear the monarchy would not need a parliament, uncertain; or from fear of the King's bringing in the Roman Catholic religion. The duke apprehends the last. In all other things he supported the crown's authority to the height.

1661. E X T R A C T I.

Venner's insurrection. The King was at Portsmouth, to see the Queen-mother and the princess Henrietta embark for France. A party of twenty horse, under Corbet, came up with Venner in Wood-street; but could not break in on them, as the street was narrow. The train-bands came up. Only two men had joined them, when they were forced to get into a house to defend themselves. The duke of York and the ge-

1661.
Jan.

* The princess of Orange.

† Burnet misrepresents this fact, in every particular. He is followed, in some degree, by other writers.

‡ He means, in the next parliament, which met May 8, 1661.

1661. neral took horse, and, with twenty, no more being left on guard marched towards them: but the nobility joined them; so that, before they reached St. Paul's, they were 1500 horse. There they met Sir Richard Brown, lord mayor, who told them Venner and all his party were either killed or taken. That, Venner being retreated to an ale-house, they could not take it without firing, which they durst not; but one Lambert, a seaman, afterwards commander of the duke's yacht, and slain on board the Anne, a third rate, perswaded some to follow him, and get up to the top of the house, and force their entry that way. All Venner's men were killed or wounded, before they were taken; one only asked for quarter, at which a comrade, lying wounded in the room, endeavoured with his sword to kill him, reviling him for being so mean, as to ask quarter. Venner had nineteen wounds; and the surgeons had much ado to keep him alive, until he was condemned and hanged, as the rest were also, only two serving for witnesses.

This made Clarendon write to the King, to stop disbanding the general's troop of horse guards and regiment of foot, which were to be paid off that day; and to raise more men, for the security of the King's Person and government. A new regiment of guards, consisting of twelve companies, under colonel Ruffel; a regiment of horse of eight troops, under the earl of Oxford: and a troop of guards, under lord Gerard, were ordered to be raised. The duke of York's troop of guards, then at Dunkirk, was sent for. Commissions also for the earls of Cleveland, Northampton, and two other earls, for regiments of horse, and to name their own officers, who had commissions to enlist men in several companies, not to be in present pay, but ready in case of need.

The chancellor and Southampton were careless of the King's safety. Hawley was a wiser statesman. They and the bishops in the house of lords, were great opposers of the King's design, according to the promise at Breda, of a toleration of dissenters, so limited as not to disturb the peace of the realm. So the King's word was broke. The earl of Bristol, though no privy counsellor, was as much in the secret of affairs as formerly. Bristol was of a haughty temper, yet contributed to the chancellor's ruin. The chancellor was very loyal and true to the interest of the crown; but did not repeal acts of Charles I. detrimental to the crown and revenue.

EXTRACT

EXTRACT II.

The generality of the nation was pleased at the King's restoration, yet the restless republican spirit began to ferment. Venner, on Sunday, January 6th, after preaching to his congregation, and fasting all the day with them, being before provided with arms, marched out of the meeting-house, between eleven and twelve at night, with about thirty, crying, "Live king Jesus;" that all that were for him should join with them; and those who would not, might keep their houses. The constables and watch durst not venture to attack them. Venner, not being joined, went into the woods near Highgate. The King was then at Portsmouth, with the Queen-mother and the princess Henrietta, to see them embark for France. The duke of York, being indisposed, was at Whitehall with the dutchess, the marriage being owned before.

1661.
Jan.

General Monk, who lived at the Cockpit, being alarmed, came to give the duke of York an account. Some gentlemen-horse left unpaid off, that lord Gerard had lifted for horse guards, and the general's own troop, commanded by Sir Philip Howard, were sent after them; but Venner kept the woods two or three days, then came with twenty-nine men into London, through Aldgate, about seven in the morning, crying as before: so to Leadenhall, the Exchange, and Woodstreet; where twenty of Gerard's horse met them, and drove them into Woodstreet. There they made head, till the train-bands grew numerous, and the duke of York, with the general and twenty horse, and abundance of nobility and gentry, came to St. Paul's. The lord mayor, Sir Richard Brown, informed them, that they were all either killed or taken. Venner had nineteen wounds, yet he was kept alive till condemned and hanged. This prevented the general's troop of horse guards, and his regiment of foot, from being disbanded, which had been paid off that very day; and caused more men to be raised. Daniel O'Neil was sent with an account to the King, who immediately ordered a new regiment of guards, consisting of twelve companies, under colonel John Russel, brother to the earl of Bedford, and always loyal, to be raised; and a troop of horse guards, under lord Gerard, and a regiment of horse, of eight troops, under the earl of Oxford. The King sent for the duke of York's troop of guards from Dunkirk, and gave commissions to the earl of Cleve-

LIFE OF JAMES THE SECOND,

1661. land, Northampton, and two other earls, for regiments of horse, and to name their under officers, to levy men, not to be in present pay, but to be in readiness in case of need. Lord Hawley told the King, he now looked on him as one of the most considerable men in England, since he had raised these troops; as his enemies would fear him, and his friends love him the better. The nation saw the sectaries would not be quiet.

The duke of Gloucester died about the middle of September, in the preceding year; a prince of the greatest hopes, great courage, admirable parts and understanding. He had a particular gift of languages; master, besides the Latin, of French, Spanish, Italian, and Low Dutch; and but twenty years of age. The princess of Orange died also, on Christmas-eve, at the age of twenty-nine. The King's friends quarrelled. Bristol set up for himself, and made his court to the dutchess of Cleveland*, then angry with the chancellor's forbidding his wife to visit her. The King showed Bristol much countenance; and he got the regiment of horse for the earl of Oxford, then a pretender to his daughter; since married to the earl of Sunderland; and had he not drove on too fast, he might have got more; and might, by the help of his *she friend*, have ruined the chancellor, as he designed. But the King knew him too well, to put him at the head of his affairs. Being vexed, he accused the chancellor in the house of lords; and flew in the King's face, by making an indecent speech in the house; and then justified it to the King, in lord Aubigny's presence. He flew out into extravagant expressions, threatening his enemies, and the King should feel it. So that he should have been thrown out at the window, had not the King been too good. This, however, did his business with the King.

1662. E X T R A C T I.

1662.
May.

The Portugal match would have been advantageous to the crown, if Tangier could, as was then thought, be made a safe harbour for our ships, or had the Queen proved fruitful. The chancellor thus brought a Queen to England of his own chusing; yet this was the occasion of

* This was the famous Barbara Villiers. She was not created dutchess of Cleveland till the 3d of August, 1670. The passage seems to have been written after her creation.

his

his ruin. The Queen landed on the twentieth of May: and, after reposing a little time, she was married by lord Abigny, the Queen's almoner, privately. The outward ceremony was performed by Dr. Sheldon. The Portugese, more scrupulous than other nations, would not let her marry in Portugal by a protestant proxy. Many other propositions were made to the King. One of Mazarine's nieces, a little before the treaty of St. Jean de Luz, in the time of the great confusion in England, either abbè Montague or lord Abigny proposed the marriage to cardinal Mazarine, who believing Burdeaux's representations, rejected it; but after the restoration sought it, offering a vast sum of money; but he was put off with a compliment.

1662.

The republican party were working against government. They held private meetings, into which were admitted all sorts of dissenters, but quakers. The King, advertised of all by false brethren, secured Wildman and others, and kept them till 1667, when the chancellor was turned out.

EXTRACT II.

Abbot Montague or lord Jermyn had, a little before the restoration, proposed to cardinal Mazarine to marry his niece, Hortensia, the beautifullest young woman in the world, and since dutchess of Mazarine, to King Charles; but the cardinal would not hear of it, not thinking the King's affairs in a good condition; but would fain have brought it about after the restoration, offering a vast portion.

The infanta of Portugal landed in May at Portsmouth. The King went thither, and was married privately, by lord Abigny, a secular priest and almoner to the Queen, according to the rites of Rome, in the Queen's chamber; none present but the Portugese ambassadour, three more Portugese of quality, and two or three Portugese women. What made this necessary was, that the earl of Sandwich did not marry her by proxy, as usual, before she came away. How this happened the duke knows not†; nor did the chancellor know of this private mar-

† It happened from her own bigotry. She would not be married by a protestant proxy.

1662. riage. The Queen would not be bedded, till pronounced man and wife by Sheldon, bishop of London*.

In the beginning of 1662, Sandwich went out with a squadron to protect the English trade in the Mediterranean, against Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoly. He had twenty men of war with him; Sir John Lawson, vice admiral, and Sir Robert Stainer, rear admiral. He came back with Stainer, and left Lawson with twelve ships to prosecute the war, till others were sent from England; such as the Royal Charles, Henry, &c. He concluded the marriage with Portugal, and brought the infanta over: the first of her quality that ever stirred out of their own country without marriage by proxy.

The chancellor knew nothing of the duke of York's marrying his daughter; whom he had fallen in love with, in the year 1657, when the chancellor and he were on ill terms, and continued so till just before

* The following letter is more a matter of curiosity than information. It was sent by Charles II. to the earl of Clarendon, upon his marrying the Queen at Portsmouth.

The Original penes the late earl of Oxford.—Directed "for the chancellor," and indorsed, "the King."

Portsmouth, 21 May, 8 in the morning.

"I arrived here yesterday about two in the afternoon, and as soon as I had shifted myself, I went to my wife's chamber, who I found in bed, by reason of a little cough, and some inclination to a fever, which was caused, as *we physicians say*, by having certain things stopped at sea, which ought to have carried away those humours. But now all is in their due course, and I believe she will find herself very well this morning, as soon as she wakes.

"It was happy for the honour of the nation, that I was not put to the consummation of the marriage last night; for I was so sleepy, by having slept but two hours in my journey, as I was afraid that matters would have gone very sleepily. I can only now give you an account of what I have seen a-bed; which, in short, is, her face is not so exact as to be called a beauty, though her eyes are excellent good, and not any thing in her face, that in the least degree can shoue one. On the contrary, she has as much agreeableness in her looks altogether, as ever I saw; and if I have any skill in physiognomy, which I think I have, she must be as good a woman as ever was born. Her conversation, as much as I can perceive, is very good; for she has wit enough, and a most agreeable voice. You would much wonder to see how well we are acquainted already. In a word, I think myself very happy; but, I am confident, our two humours will agree very well together. I have not time to say any more. My lord lieutenant will give you an account of the rest."

Carte's
Papers,
vol. x.
Quarto,

the restoration. The duke of York, in the height of his passion, having promised to marry her, he kept his word. The King, before he came to England, had refused his consent and dissuaded him; which made him not own it for some months after the marriage*.

1662.

1663. E X T R A C T I.

Bradford's conspiracy.—The chancellor brought Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards earl of Arlington, into the King's favour, who, soon after, turned against him. He meant to oppose, by him, Falmouth. The chancellor grew jealous of Sir William Coventry, the duke's secretary, and a man of great abilities, though once his favourite. So Coventry helped on the chancellor's ruin. Buckingham joined him. The duke of York enquires into the condition of the fleet; which was in an ill state. Twelve hundred thousand pounds were granted, to be employed as the King saw fit; of which 800,000 l. was laid out in naval stores. The duke encourages trading companies. He set up the African for the Guinea trade. He got Sir Robert Ford and others to discover the Dutch secret of dying saps, of such a colour as the Blacks liked; and giving the smell, in packing them up, like that used at Leyden, which furnishes all the saps for Guinea.

1663.

Sir Robert Holmes was sent, with two of the King's ships and some of the company's, to support the trade against Dutch encroachments. He secured the fort of Cape de Verd and Cormantine castle. The duke of York borrowed two men of war of the King's fleet; and sent Sir Robert Nicholas to take possession of Long Island, afterwards New York.

E X T R A C T II.

The house of commons were ready to give the King any thing, till after the Dutch war. They would have settled a revenue; the want of which was the true cause of all after troubles. Factions at court increased. They were fomented by the republican party. Little œconomy in managing the revenue. The crown in debt. The 1200,000 l. granted for the Dutch war, was well laid out in naval stores. The re-

* All writers have misrepresented this fact.

1663. publicans were at work privately to raise insurrections; and in designing against the King's person and government. But they wanted money to provide arms and other necessaries, which the wealthy would not spare. They could not agree about what sort of government to declare for, in church and state; and they always broke up in a heat. As to the first, they could never agree and come to a conclusion; their council consisting of all sorts of dissenters, quakers, &c. Their number was, at length, reduced to six; yet they seldom met, without running into some inconvenience. The King was advertised of this, from time to time, by spies and false brethren; and he secured some old officers of the army, major Wildman and others. They were kept in prison till the year 1667, when chancellor Hyde was laid aside. Designs of an insurrection at London and in the north about York. In London, some of the trainbands were to shoot the King, when saluted at a review; and one Bradford, a serjeant of a militia regiment, at their consultations, said, if others should miss the King, he would dispatch him with his halbert; nor did he deny his words, when taken and brought in chains to the King. They were proved afterwards at his trial. One Ridge, a presbyterian preacher, denied all at first; but confessed afterwards, and served for a witness at the trials. The man became a true penitent, and was made mate or master at sea; and he was killed, in the year 1666, in the four days fight.

The following passages of this extract seem to have been written, by James, some time after the first Dutch war.

The conspiracy in Yorkshire was discovered also, by false brethren. No gentleman engaged in it, but Mr. Stockdale, and only for misprision. He served after in parliament. In the war, they kept intelligence with the Dutch; but the old general discovered all their designs, else they had risen when the plague was in London, and the King had left it. The arms they had provided were all lost in the fire of London, which they had been getting together for some years.

The chancellor continued chief minister; the earl of Falmouth* in the highest favour, minding his master's, not his own, concerns. He was killed at sea, and died not worth a farthing, though not expensive. He had served the old cavaliers. Arlington came back from Spain, and tried to get into favour, supported at first by the chancellor and Bristol,

* Formerly Sir Charles Berkley, the friend and companion of the duke of York, in all his campaigns.

against Falmouth; but, after Falmouth's death, the chancellor repented it. Sir William Coventry, the duke of York's secretary, and a very able man, was not well with the chancellor; and he helped the chancellor's fall. The duke of Buckingham was not of the King's privy council; but insinuated himself into his favour, by his agreeable converse. He was afterwards made privy-councillor and master of the horse*. By his raileries, he set the King against the chancellor. The patent for the Canary-company was recalled; though they obliged the Canarians to take great quantities of English manufactures, in part-payment for wines; and to take reasonable rates, who would take nothing but ready money, when the company broke and raised the price very much, to the damage of the nation. The declaration about kneeling at the communion was put in, on promise of the dissenters to conform. It was made to the chancellor and Gaudin, bishop of Exeter; but not one conformed.

1663.

1664. E X T R A C T I.

Complaints of the merchants.—Satisfaction demanded by the house of commons and the nation. Resolution of both houses for redress. The Dutch refuse all reasonable satisfaction. Van Gough perceived the King was not much inclined to a war, and the chancellor averse to it. He told the States it would be no war; when the duke of York told him seriously, in friendship, that, without satisfaction, it would certainly be; but he did not believe him, taking it for a design to terrify them. The King was necessitated, by the general outcry of the nation, to declare war in the beginning of February. This was occasioned chiefly by private orders sent to de Ruyter, then in the Streights with twelve men of war, to victual at Cadiz and sail to the coast of Africa; to take CORMANTINE castle, in time of peace, and all the English factories on that coast. Sir John Lawson, suspecting their design, gave notice of it to the duke of York, by letters. On further news of de Ruyter's sailing southward, and seizing Cape de Verd, prince Rupert was ordered, with twelve men of war and six company's ships of, at least, forty guns each; and the fleet sailed about the middle of October. But the Dutch having fitted a greater fleet, under Opdam, a stronger was resolved to

1664.

* He purchased that office, from the Duke of Albemarle.

1664. be fitted out, under the duke of York's command; who set out in November for Portsmouth, and joined prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich. Opdam durst not come out, and his ships were laid up. The duke then returned to Spithead and came to Whitehall, leaving the earl of Sandwich to command.

On the twenty-fourth of November, the parliament met, and gave two millions and a half for the Dutch war. War was declared on the fourth of March.

EXTRACT II.

The Dutch endeavoured to supplant the English trade every where. The lord-chancellor alone against the Dutch war. The duke of York got a patent, a joint-stock, and set up the African company, when near ruined. Sir Robert Holmes took some English forts on the Gambia, which had got into the Dutch hands, and settled the company's affairs. The Dutch sent a squadron against him, and fell on the English on the coast of Guinea. De Ruyter victualled at Cadiz for his expedition; when Sir John Lawson coming thither, with twelve men of war, also judged, by it, of his design; and would fain have fought him, but durst not without orders, so came for England. De Ruyter took twelve of the company's ships at anchor at Cape de Verd, with the fort. The frigate got away. He destroyed all the factories on the coast of Guinea. A squadron was ordered against de Ruyter of twelve ships, under prince Rupert, of third, fourth, and fifth rates, with six company's ships of forty guns each; but Opdam being to second de Ruyter, prince Rupert waited at Spithead till a further recruit. Some second, third, and fourth rates were ordered to join him in November.

The fleet had been much increased in the usurpation; yet, by changes and revolutions, after Oliver Cromwell's death, was but in an ill condition at the restoration. Naval stores were much exhausted; magazines entirely empty. The parliament gave 1200,000 *l*. The King, understanding the true interest of the nation, and having a particular inclination to maritime affairs, ordered 800,000 of it for the fleet. The most part was laid out in naval stores, and in filling the magazines, to be ready to fit out the fleet. He encouraged the East India, Turkey, Hamburgh, Canary, and other companies of trade. He set up one for Guinea, necessary for the support of the plantations, and for hindering

the Dutch from being absolute masters of the whole trade; and, by the industry of Sir Richard Ford and other merchants, got the secret from the Dutch of dying says of such a colour as the blacks liked, and giving them the same smell, in packing up, as the Dutch used to do at Leyden, from whence all the says sent to Guinea were brought before.

1664.

The Dutch, during the civil wars in England, had encroached every where on the English trade; and had dispossessed the English of Cormantine castle, on the gold coast. The duke of York, at the setting up of the African company, had borrowed two ships of the King, and sent them, under Sir Robert Holmes, with some of the company's ships and a few land men. They seized the fort at Cape de Verd, retook the castle of Cormantine, and left garrisons in both. They settled factories of the company's all along the coast. Some time after, the king gave to the duke a patent for Long Island, in the West Indies, and a tract of Land between New England and Maryland, which always belonged to the crown of England, since first discovered; and upon which the Dutch had encroached, during the rebellion, and built a town and some forts to secure the beaver trade to themselves. The duke of York, borrowing of the King two ships of war, sent Sir Richard Nicholas groom of the bed-chamber, and an old officer, with three hundred men, to take possession of the country; which the Dutch gave up, on composition, without being blockaded. Most of the Dutch inhabitants remained there. The rest were of Old England inhabitants, and some of other nations, who had planted there, at first, with the English. Colonel Nicholas remained there, in peaceable possession of the country; and then called it New York and the Fort of River Albany.

All this happened before the breaking out of the first Dutch war; and, as the duke of York did all on his side to advance trade, the parliament, pressed by the King, did all on theirs to make it flourish, by the Act of Navigation, &c. for encouraging trade and building ships. All the people's heads, hearts, and purses turned that way. They began, therefore, to enquire into the injuries and depredations of the Dutch, during the late civil wars, in all trading parts of the world; and, at last, the house of commons entered into it; and the nation in general concluded, that satisfaction should be had of the Dutch. But this was impracticable without a war. The Dutch would give no satis-

1664. faction or redress to the merchants, for the injuries done them; believing that the nation would not enter into the merchants quarrel, at the expence of a sea war; especially as the chancellor Hyde was averse to a war, and the King not inclined to it. But by the impetuosity of the members of the house of commons, as well as the traders and seamen, who used to get the better of the Dutch in Oliver Cromwell's time, the chancellor could not withstand the bent of the whole nation, which drew it on sooner than otherwise it would have been.

The duke of York told Van Gough, the Dutch ambassador, that it would be carried against the King and the chancellor's inclinations, unless satisfaction was given: but in vain. De Wit, having had a private power from the States, with the advice of three or four more of their body, to do what he judged best for the public good, on advice of what Sir Robert Holmes had done, sent private orders to de Ruyter, then in the Streights with twelve men of war, to take in a sufficient supply of victuals at Cadiz, and sail for Africa; to take the castle of Cormantine, and to ruin all the factories on the gold coast. Lawson found, by the fort of victuals, de Ruyter's design; but, in a council of war, it was resolved not to attack him without orders.

The duke of York, in November 1664, put to sea, with forty men of war, to stop Opdam between Portland and la Hogue. After four or five days, he returned to Portsmouth; Opdam having orders not to stir. A small squadron was left to cruize off the Isle of Wight.

1665. EXTRACT I.

1665.
March 15th.

One the fifteenth of March, the duke of York went to Gunfleet, the general rendezvous of the fleet, and hastened their equipment; yet was not ready in five weeks. He ordered all the flag-officers on board with him every morning, to agree on the order of battle and rank. In former battles no order was kept; and this, under the duke of York, was the first, in which fighting in a line and regular form of battle had been observed.

May.

In the beginning of May, the duke of York put to sea, with a fleet of ninety-eight men of war; the greatest England had ever seen. The duke himself in the Royal Charles. The Dutch not appearing, the duke

duke resolved to visit them on their own coast. He anchored near the mouth of the Texel, and viewed all their fleet in the harbour. They set up beacons, fearing a landing. The duke, after taking ten Dutch merchant-men, returned to Gunfleet, to repair and take in fresh water; and went out again, on the thirtieth of May, making all the use he could of the tide, because the east wind would bring the Dutch upon the English coast; and the duke could not, till June 1st, get to Southwold bay, where he anchored; and about one *p. m.* the Dutch fleet appeared to windward, consisting of an hundred and thirteen men of war, eleven fire ships, and seven yaughts, under Opdam. Some of the greatest of the English ships had gone, that morning, to make up their compliment, out of a great fleet of colliers passing by, and bound for London. The wind, which was still easterly, fell, towards evening, so low, that no great way could be made; yet both fleets endeavoured to get what wind there was.

1665.

On the second of June, the Dutch were not seen till ten in the morning. The Duke, with a fresh gale, stood towards them, with thirty of his best sailers, but thought fit to keep about two leagues distance, till all the fleet joined; then, in order, he advanced forwards; so that, before close of evening, both were within two leagues of one another. The duke was then about eight leagues east of Leostoff, and the weather calm all the night.

June.

About two next morning, the Dutch were discovered lighting their matches and preparing for fight. They observed the same order of battle as the English, all in a line. At day-break, a fresh gale arose at south-west; and the duke got the wind. The white squadron had the van, and Sir C. Myres, who fired the first shot, led it; whilst the Dutch were led on by three flag ships, Tromp, Courtenaer, and Stellingwers.

At three in the morning, the fight began †. When the Dutch van came up, the duke ordered the signal to be given for his whole fleet to tack; but the failor, who had got up the mast to give the signal, was so long about it, that before he could let the flag fly, Opdam had, with the van, bore up round, ship after ship, and brought his starboard tacks on board; which the enemy's van seeing, sprung their luff, hoping

† The two accounts that follow of this battle, are almost in every circumstance new to the world.

1665. to weather most of the white squadron. The duke observing this, stopped the intended signal, lest it might put the whole fleet in disorder; and, instead of bearing up round, as most of the white had done, he tacked only when it came to his turn. This little accident lost above six hours; and then the duke gave the signal; whereby the whole fleet tacked at once. Both fleets had now their starboard tacks on board, and lay as close hauled as they could. But the Dutch found great benefit by this accident: for had the signal been given as soon as it was intended, both the English and they would have had their larboard tacks on board, and would have stood towards the coast of England; so that, when the Dutch gave way, they would have been more exposed, by having a greater run to make toward their own coast.

In the two first passes, little damage was done. The Dutch only took the Charity, of fifty guns; a slow sailer, which had been taken from them in the first Dutch war. Both fleets endeavoured to get the wind. The Duke of York, in the Royal Charles, a very good sailer, got a-head of the earl of Sandwich, who was in the Prince, a heavy sailer, though the stoutest ship in the fleet. Had not the duke done so, the Dutch would have stretched out-a-head, and might have weathered him. The duke, with the red squadron, had now the van, the blue the battle, and the white the rear.

The heat of the engagement began at ten in the morning; a fresh gale at south-west, and not a cloud in the sky. The duke bore down on Opdam. About two *p. m.* the Dutch fire began to diminish. Opdam was blown up at the third shot of the duke's gunner. All the Dutch fleet ran, except the Orange, commanded by Sebastian Seaton, a Scot, who attempted to board the duke of York; but was hindered, by Sir Jeremy Smith, who by a broadside killed sixty of his men; and the Royal Catherine pouring in another, the Orange struck. The Marsoman of eighty guns and two other Dutch ships were burnt, by a fire ship, after they had struck. The duke ordered the captain of the fire-ship to be tried; but he fled before the time appointed for his trial. The Dutch were chased to the mouth of the Texel, but they got in, the English having no fire ship to fasten on them. The duke stood out to sea again; and returned to the buoy at the Nore. He sent scouts to watch the Dutch, who took two of their ships of forty guns. The command of the fleet, by the King's orders, was left to the earl of Sandwich;

wich; and the duke of York, with prince Rupert, went to court. The plague in London. The duke sent to York. The parliament at Oxford. They vote 120,000l. to the duke of York. 1665.

E X T R A C T II.

The duke of York went from London, on the twenty-third of March, to Gunfleet, the general rendezvous, to take the command of the fleet; but could not sail till the beginning of May. Yet he did not lose his time. He called the officers on board of him every morning, and settled the orders of battle and watch. For though they fought well in Oliver Cromwell's time, they observed not due order; and bravery alone carried it. The war, this year, was the first in which the fleet was drawn up in a line and in order. March.

The fleet consisted of ninety-eight ships of the line: three first rates, eleven second, fifteen third, thirty-two fourth, eleven fifth, and twenty-six merchant-ships, armed with forty or fifty guns; four fire-ships, three sixth rate frigates, and three yachts, besides ketches. The duke of York commanded the red, admiral Lawson vice admiral, and Sir William Berkeley rear admiral. Prince Rupert, vice admiral of the fleet, commanded the white squadron, Sir Christopher Mimmes and captain Sampson his vice and rear admirals. The earl of Sandwich, rear admiral of the fleet, commanded the blue, and Sir George Ayscue and captain Tiddeman his vice and rear admirals.

In May the duke sailed toward Holland, and then from Scheveling to the Texel, where he saw the Dutch fleet at anchor. He steered ten leagues off, to let the fleet come out. About nine in the morning, the fog clearing up, he saw ten Dutch merchant ships, escorted by two men of war; which last escaped, but the merchant ships, were all taken. A storm destroying the masts of some of the ships, he returned to Gunfleet to refit and take in water. May.

About the end of May he sailed again; and, expecting the Dutch fleet at sea, as it proved, got, on the first of June, with great difficulty, to Southwold bay. Two scout ships, which were sent towards Holland, under captain Golding of the Diamond, and captain Ayliffe of the Yarmouth, took two Zealand direction-ships. Five hundred coalliers passed

1665. passed by him without an escort; and, about an hour after, the Dutch fleet, one hundred and thirteen ships of the line, and thirteen fire-ships, appeared, under Opdam, a brave man, but no seaman. Tromp, under him, commanded the Amsterdam squadron. J. Evertson admiral of Zealand, and Stellingwers of Friezland.

June.

The next day, June the second, at day-break, the Dutch fleet were not seen; nor were they seen till ten. Two leagues off, some English ships were pressing sailors out of the coalliers, to make up their equipage. The duke of York sailed towards them; and, before night, eight leagues east of Leostoff, came within a small league of the Dutch.

The next day, June the third, the Dutch fleet were found in a line, like the English. A little wind, S. W. rose at day-break; the fight began at three; being the first day that could be found for an engagement. The sea was smooth, and not a cloud in the sky. Sir J. Lawson was wounded in the knee, by a great shot; his ship disabled, and forced to lay by to refit; and all his division, not yet well versed in fighting orders, did so to look after their flag. The duke of York, with only four or five ships a-head of him, bore the hottest of the fight. The earl of Falmouth, lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle were all slain with one shot, as they stood on the quarr-deck, by the duke of York. The earl of Marlborough and his nephew, the earl of Portland, were also slain. Muskerry was a gentleman of the bed-chamber to the duke of York, a brave man, and a good foot officer. Falmouth, a good horse officer, and captain of the duke of York's guards. Boyle, who had never been in any service before, was the earl of Burlington's son.

By the fire of the duke of York's lowest tier of guns, at the third shot, gun after gun, Opdam blew up, and the Dutch fleet all fled. About half an hour after two, four of their ships fell foul of one another, and, the duke ordering a fire-ship to clap them a board, they were all fired in a moment; and the men, jumping into the sea, were taken up. The fourth squadron of the Dutch appearing to westward, the duke of York lay by, whilst the body of the fleet followed the chase. The Duke of York getting again on head of the Dutch, three more of their ships fell foul of one another, about six p. m. and were burnt by a fire-ship. Very few were saved. The Dutch were pursued till night; and had it not

not been for an accident *, most of them would have been taken next morning before they got into the Texel. 1665.

When it began to grow dark, the duke ordered the Norwich, a fifth rate, captain Witwang, to keep just a-head of him all night, to carry lights out, and keep up close with the Dutch; that, if they should clear their course, to fire guns and make false fires, to put up more lights, and to steer the same course with them; so as not to lose them in the night, in order to engage them at day-break. After giving these orders, he staid on deck till quite dark; then went down to his cabin for a little rest. But before he laid down, he went again on the quarter-deck, to see how all went; and, going down about eleven, he repeated his orders, to be sure to keep close up with the Dutch, to fight them when the day broke. He had no sooner laid himself down on a quilt, with his cloaths on, than H. Brounker went up to the quarter-deck, and tried to persuade captain Cox, master of the Royal Charles, to shorten sail, not to expose the duke of York, by running amongst his enemies in the night; his ship being so good a failer, that not only he might find himself, at day-break, too far engaged among them, but be also exposed to have some of their fire-ships clapt on board him, and thwart his haufe, in the night: that he should take care of the duke's person, being heir to the crown. Cox answered, he was but master of the ship; that the duke of York had ordered to make what sail he could; and, without a command from him, or an order from some superior officer, he neither could nor would do it.

Brounker then addressed himself to captain Harman, first lieutenant, a brave and experienced commander, and a man of good sense, using the same and other arguments; but in vain, unless ordered by Sir W. Pen, the captain. Brounker went under deck, and coming up again, told Harman that the duke ordered him to shorten sail, though he never so much as went into the duke's cabin. Harman not thinking it possible for a gentleman to tell a lye, not only shortened sail, but, after some time, brought to; as was afterwards proved, on examination of the affair before the house of commons. But fearing it might produce some

* Burnet ascribes it preposterously to design. He has strangely misrepresented this fact; and indeed almost all the facts, concerning this unfortunate prince.

1665. disorder in the fleet, as it did, he put in a short time before the wind again, and settled his topsails a little; and just as day began to break, hoisted them a trip again, a moment before the duke, who knew nothing of what had passed, came on the quarter-deck.

Thus the Dutch got a good deal a-head of us; and when it grew light, the duke of York found himself half a league a-stern of the Dutch, and the like distance a-head of the body of his own fleet, with only the Centurion, a fourth rate, captain Moulton, and two of his yachts near him. He fancied his ship being a good sailer made him so far a-head of his own fleet; and that the Dutch had outailed him, by our going right before the wind, and their drawing less water than us. The Dutch kept all their sail to the Texel, followed by third and fourth rates, who took some. But the tyde not serving to enter the Texel, they came to an anchor so near the sands and in such shallow water, that we durst not venture near them with our great ships; and they were of too much force, and too numerous, for our small ones. Four or five fire-ships would have destroyed the most of them, before the tyde turned them in. But we had only four fire-ships when the fight began; three of which were spent, and one disabled. The third had been spent on the Helverton of sixty-six guns, which cleared itself of her, but was taken. The Dutch lost twenty or twenty-two men of war; all above forty guns but one. Eight only were burnt; and about eight thousand prisoners taken. Four admirals were slain, Opdam, Courtenaer, Stellingwerfs, and Seram; one vice admiral and one rear admiral. Ten thousand men were either slain, drowned, burnt, taken or wounded. Not above eight hundred English slain and wounded, besides what were lost in the Charity. Sir J. Lawson died of the wound in his knee. The duke of York returning to the Buoy at the Nore, the earl of Sandwich was left in the command of the fleet; and he went to intercept de Ruyter and the Dutch East India fleet and ships, coming round from the Streights, by the back of Ireland and Scotland. The duke would have gone to sea again, but the King would not permit him.

The plague broke out in London. The King went to Salisbury. He sent, at the same time, the duke of York to York, to take care of the northern counties; and left the duke of Albemarle and the earl of Craven, with half of the foot guards and a troop of horse, to take care of
of

of London, left the republicans and fanatics, encouraged by the Dutch, should rise. The duke of York knew nothing of Brounker's affair, till the parliament met at Oxford, in October; when he was very angry, that it had been concealed from him. The house of commons examining it, the duke was hindered from trying Brounker by a court martial. He withdrew into France; and the house of commons only expelled him.

1665.

The faction at court, against the chancellor, began to increase. The duchess of Cleveland, then promoting Buckingham and Arlington, railed against him. Sir William Coventry and all laboured to set the house of commons against the chancellor. They advised the King to break the Canary company, who took off every year two hundred thousand pounds of our woollen manufactures; and had the wines very cheap, being masters of the trade. When the company was broke, the Canarians made them pay twice as much for wines, and would take nothing but ready money. The reason was plain: the first ship which arrived there, not caring what she paid for loading, being sure of selling it as she pleased, at her return to England; the Canarians made the rest pay the same rate, which could not happen to a company. Bristol's attacks on the chancellor, in the house of Lords, miscarried. The King supporting the chancellor, Bristol harangued the commons, without leave from the lords.

1666. E X T R A C T I.

The French join the Dutch against the English. The English fleet is commanded by prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle. The four days fight.

1666.
May.

In the second engagement, the victory was entirely on the English side. One hundred and fifty Dutch were destroyed, with two men of war, by Sir R. Holmes, at Schevlin. The fire in London. Thirteen thousand houses and eighty-nine parish churches were burnt. The parliament met, in an ill-humour, and fell upon the Roman Catholics. They gave weak supplies. The chancellor, treasurer-Southampton, and others, persuade the King to save charges, by laying up first and second rates; and only sending out ships to intercept the Dutch trade,

July.

1666. and make a defensive war. The duke of York opposed it *; urging that our having no fleet at sea would revive the spirits of the Dutch, and give them time and courage to fit out a fleet again; that what was saved, in laying up great ships, would be spent on the militia; and honour would be lost, by letting the Dutch ride masters of the sea, under our noses.

E X T R A C T II.

The house of commons giving but little money, the treasurer-Southampton proposed carrying on the war another way; and the duke of Albemarle gave into the project of laying up first and second rates, to make a defensive war, and to incommode the Dutch in trading, and weary them out of patience.

E X T R A C T III.

Sept.

The fire in London began in the night, between Saturday and Sunday, September the second, O. S. in a baker's house in Thames-street. The lord mayor declined soldiers, and scrupled blowing up houses. The fire spread; and, about noon, he sent for the troops. The earl of Craven sent lord Duras, with what he desired. The duke of York went in the evening. A strong north-east wind hindered them from approaching to the fire, by the tourbillons of smoke and flames. The houses of wood fired at a distance, so that the troops and labourers could scarce retire. An old woman proposed blowing up houses by powder.

 1667. E X T R A C T I.

1667.
June.

The Dutch burnt the ships at Chatham, in June, and carried away the Charles, a first rate. A treaty of peace was concluded on the ninth of July, and proclaimed on the twenty-fourth of August. The disaffected party, now encouraged, grew more turbulent. The earl of Northumberland's factious discourse to the duke. The King consents to the chancellor's removal. The earl of Bristol's insolent discourse to the King, in 1664, about Clarendon. He was inexcusable for opposing the King's declaration, for liberty of conscience, in 1664, which had been

* Yet he has been always blamed, for advising this measure.

solicited by Roberts, Ashley, and others in parliament, to declare as at Breda; and it had been resolved in the chancellor's own lodgings. The duchess of Cleveland was against the chancellor; and the Canary company broke merely out of spite to him.

1667.

The King, at length, ordered the duke of York to acquaint the chancellor, that he was obliged, for the good of his affairs, to lay him aside. The earl immediately sent him the seals. The parliament thanked the King for it, and for turning all Roman Catholics out of his service. Clarendon impeached*. Sir William Coventry was active in it. His prudence and honesty, in rejecting a proposal made by the presbyterian party; who designed, thereby, a division between the King and the duke of York. He retires to France.

August.

EXTRACT II.

The house of commons were weary of the war, which they had forced the King into. The ministers desired peace, the parliament not supplying the King to carry on the war with vigour. This caused the difference; since the money would not suffice to fit out the whole fleet. The duke of York opposed this scheme, thinking it would have a contrary effect: for though the last year's success was not great, we losing ten, and the Dutch but four, men of war; yet the Dutch seamen were so discouraged, by the valour of the English, when overpowered and unable to resist them, on equal numbers, that it would be very hard for them to man their fleet; and then they would be forced to take the same resolution proposed by the lords, and might probably propose a peace. But if our great ships were laid up, their fleet would not want men; and though the money was short, yet, with good husbandry and other means, the whole fleet might be fitted out: though the project might save the King money, yet it would be burdensome to the nation; for the Dutch being masters at sea, all the militia upon the coast must necessarily be raised and kept in arms during the Summer. He urged also, the danger the great ships would run at Chatham. He, however, did not prevail; the Chancellor joining with the others against it.

* The motion was made, in the house of commons, by the duke of Albemarle's son, a youth of fifteen years of age. This was an artifice of the party, to engage the duke thoroughly on their side.

1667. This so encouraged the Dutch seamen, that their fleet was soon and fully manned. They came up to the Buoy at the Nore. They destroyed seven ships at Chatham, and carried away the Charles, a first rate; and, had they pressed vigorously on, they might have done more mischief. Had the directions given by the duke of York, for securing the ships at Chatham, been executed, and the fire-ships and boats used, as projected, the Dutch had not found so easy a work as they did. The disaffected, in parliament, made use of this disaster. Private meetings of the great ones were held, with the presbyterians, who were ever ready to disturb monarchy.

The earl of Northumberland and Leicester, lord Hollis, and another, met at Guilford. They made it no secret. Northumberland, at St. James's, talked freely to the duke of York, against the chancellor, who was hated, and of the resolution to impeach him; but said, that was not all, the nation would not be satisfied, unless the guards were disbanded, and other grievances redressed. He talked very seditiously, though the duke checked him. The earl told him, that he had said nothing, but what he would repeat to the King the next day; as he did, with insolence enough. The duke urged, in vain, the necessity of the guards, for the King's safety, and national quiet; that the want of them had been fatal to the late King and his government. The seditious stuck to their point, and joined with the chancellor's enemies; hoping that his impeachment would breed a quarrel, between the King and the duke of York.

The King took the seals from the chancellor. He told the duke of York of the resolution; that it was not out of any dissatisfaction with the chancellor, but the necessity of his affairs; and that it was better to do it of himself than let it be torn from him by the parliament. He ordered the duke to tell him, that he must send the seals; and, to shew his regard for him, he would confirm the little private pension he usually received. The chancellor sent the seals; and told the duke of York, that his enemies would not stop there, but proceed to the last degree to expose the King and crown, to accomplish his ruin. So it proved.

The parliament met, on the tenth of October. Sir T. Littleton moved thanks to the King, for his speech and for taking the great seal from

from Clarendon; and to consider the heads of the King's and the lord keeper's speeches. The clause about Clarendon would hardly have passed, had not the King ordered his servants to let it be known he desired it; and Clarendon charged his friends not to oppose it, being resolved to let none of his private concerns disturb the King's affairs. The same means were used, in the house of lords, when they were moved to join in the address, else it had not passed there. When it came to a vote, the duke of York and several others withdrew, not to oppose the King, as they looked on it, as an ill precedent for the crown.

1667.

On the twenty-sixth of October, the chancellor was accused, on public fame; and a committee was appointed to consider of proceedings and precedents. That very day, the duke of York, in discourse with the King, about the talk of Clarendon's advising him to govern by an army and lay aside parliaments; the King assured him, that he had never given him such advice. His enemies considered not public good, but private malice; and, getting to the head of affairs, give the King and crown a fatal blow. The King soon found the effects. The duke of York was seized with the small-pox, in the beginning of November; and before his recovery the heat of the prosecution was over, else he would have been charged, with influencing the lords not to imprison Clarendon. Buckingham and lord Berkeley were so malicious, as in their common discourse, to insinuate, that the King was in danger, by letting his brother have his own guards to wait on himself at Whitehall; none knowing what the duke might be prevailed on to do, by the chancellor and his duchess. Some presbyterians sent to Clarendon, offering to stand by him, if he would stand by himself. He saw their malice; and the King, apprehending heats in the house of commons, sent to him to withdraw out of the realm privately. Clarendon, as the duke was recovering, sent him word of the message and his resolution to obey it. The presbyterians were very angry, at his disappointing them.

November.

Thus fell the earl of Clarendon; from whose fall one may date the beginning of all the misfortunes, which happened since, and the decay of the authority of the crown; he generally supporting that prerogative, which his successors never minded. He was a private gentleman of a good family, bred in the law, had good sense, and very eloquent; al-

ways

1667. ways esteemed for his good parts. He was chosen by the late King a private manager for him in the house of commons, which he performed, with great dexterity and fidelity. He was intrusted, at court, with the most secret affairs; for his services, made chancellor of the Exchequer; one of the council to the prince of Wales; relied on and went with him to France. He was sent ambassador, with Cottington, then lord treasurer, to Spain. He returned to the King, at Paris; and was made his first minister. He had the management of the restoration, with Monk and Sandwich. At the restoration, he was in such favour with the King, that no body durst oppose him. He carried all before him. He made his friend, Southampton, treasurer; and, by the aid of the duke of Ormonde and the bishops, was caressed by most. As to the crown, he let the court of Wards and Purveyance be parted with. But he did not get a good substantial revenue settled on the crown, though it might have been easily done, in the first parliament, which the King called. This was out of fear, that the crown should grow too great and the Roman Catholic religion be brought in, if the King was at his ease; the duke of Ormonde and Daniel O'Neile having, in the King's journey to Spain, observed him inclined to it.

The new ministry, to gain popularity, at the expence of the crown, released several dangerous men; all avowed republicans and old officers of Cromwel's army. Of these was major Wildman, who had opposed all the several governments, colonel Salmon, Mr. Creed, Mr. Bremen and others; men of good sense, who had great credit with the common men and disbanded officers of the rebel army; and whose confinement the duke of Albemarle advised, as absolutely necessary for the safety of the government, they only wanting an opportunity to overturn it. They had still plots on foot, though discovered by the duke of Albemarle, and some executed for designed risings, as Rymer, Tong, and others, in the North; others for murdering the King, as one Bradford or Bradley and others, in Tothilfields, at the review of a militia regiment.

Clarendon being removed, his enemies divided; each pretending to succeed, in the ministry. Sir William Coventry, without whose help Buckingham and Arlington could not have carried on the plot, expected it, and was the only man fit for it. But the other two joining against him, though

though of the best capacity of any in the kingdom, got him out of all his employments; and then strove who should have most credit with the King, whose affairs suffered by their disagreement and insufficiency.

1667.

1668. EXTRACT I.

After the chancellor's removal, the ministers disagreed among themselves. Sir William Coventry was turned out of all his employments, by Bucks and lord Arlington. They all joined to lessen the duke of York's interest with the King, lest he should get Clarendon recalled. When the duke recovered of the small-pox, he gave, in the house of lords, his reasons, for voting against Clarendon's impeachment; because no proof was made of any of the crimes laid to his charge. The King was, on this account, colder to the duke. The malicious insinuations of his enemies were fruitless. The chancellor's friends were removed. Wildman and others were released. The duke of Ormonde was removed. Bucks and Arlington labour to supplant one another. The duke of York's enemies, Bucks and Bristol, would divorce the King from the Queen, also the republican party. Bristol goes *incog.* to Parma to find out a new wife for the King, among the duke of Parma's daughters. The duke of York cautioned the King against it. Lord Roos's divorce was carried on in parliament, for a precedent.

1668.

EXTRACT II.

They fell on several of the chancellor's relations and friends. They got some removed, and others suspended, from waiting. They brought in their own creatures, many of them not fit for their employments. The duke of Buckingham got leave to buy the duke of Albemarle's post of master of the horse; which before, when any had a mind to treat for it, was refused, on pretence, that it was not proper for the old general to quit it. Secretary Morris, not being a man for their turn, Buckingham and Arlington joined to bring in Trevor, a creature of theirs, though not proper for such a place of trust; having only been acquainted with matters of state under Oliver Cromwell, with whom he had been very great. This scandalized loyal men very much. But the two new ministers minded not much what was said of them; and

1668. they got the King to pay for the change, though money was hard enough to be got. This being done, they began to think of removing Ormonde from the lord lieutenancy of Ireland. 'Twas the earl of Orery who first put Buckingham on it; which earl was famous for changing parties so often, and for making a speech to Cromwell, to take the title of King. His tongue was well hung. He had some good parts; and he was reckoned so cunning a man, that nobody would trust him or believe what he said.

ARLINGTON, at first, would not join with them, against his friend, the duke of Ormonde; but, at last, they threatened him into it. The earl of Anglesey, who then was, or lately had been, vice-treasurer of Ireland, and who had no great kindness for Ormonde, hoping, by that means, to frighten him to join with them in it, to save himself, which he did. Though he had been an old rebel, he was very instrumental in the restoration; and was, therefore, made an earl. There might be some reason for their accusation of mismanagement of the revenue, by not paying the troops and the civil lists so regularly as they ought, and not minding the government duly; yet the method of proceeding against him was very irregular and scandalous; especially to see one, who had always been so loyal, though he might, otherwise, have faults, arraigned and prosecuted, by men, who had been most of them downright rebels or worse, as Buckingham*. The duke of York took his part; looking

* Though the following letters contain no material information, they may serve as a specimen of the respect, which his royal highness always entertained for the duke of Ormonde. They were extracted, by the editor, from the Ormonde collection of papers, deposited in the Bodleian library, at Oxford. They are all in the duke of York's own hand.

D. of York to the D. of Ormonde.

Hampton Court, Aug. 18th, 1662.

Ormonde
Papers, B. 30.
Bodleian li-
brary, Oxon.

I would not let this bearer, my lord Berkeley, go without writing to you by him to commend him to your care now that he is going to you. I do not think it very necessary to say much to you upon this subject since you know him, and the good services he has done the King my father, as well as I do, only this I shall say, that all the kindness you shall show him I shall take it as done to me, and I hope that after he shall have been some tyme in that kingdom with you, that you will let him make a step back hither againe, when he shall desire it; having sayd this there remains nothing els for me to say
at

ing on all that was laid to his charge, as false and malicious, and knowing the malice of his accusers and their designs of getting all loyal men laid aside; and putting in those, who had been otherwise or could be absolutely depended upon. They, at last gained their point, with regard to the duke of Ormonde; and lord Roberts, who had been an old rebel, was sent in his room.

1668.

This

at present, but to assure you that you shall find nobody more truly your friend than myself.

I had almost forgot to desire you that when you write to me you will do it without ceremony as this is.

The same to the same.

St. James's, Sept. 14.

Though it is some tyme since I received yours by Sir W. Penn, yett I have not had occasion to speake with him upon what you wrote to me but shall not faile to do it, and you may be sure that both in that and all things els I shall be very ready to further any thing proposed by you. I am glad to hear you are a modelling the army to your minde, for when you have once compassed that, we shall find the good of it here, as well as you there; for the newse of this place you will have it from others so that I shall not write any to you, nor say any more only to assure you that there is nobody on whose friendship you may more rely on them than myne.

Ormonde Papers, B. 30.
Bod. Library,
Oxon.

The same to the same.

St. James's, Sept. 28th, 1662.

I could not refus this bearer Cap. Neale to write to you in his favor, which I now do, recommending him to your favor in the pretentions he has where you are, if they be reasonable, he being one that served me faithfully for these ten years as Cap. in my regiment. I shall ad no more since he is not unknown to you. This letter is likely to be somewhat long on the way, so that I shall say no more at present.

Ormonde Papers, D.
quarto. Bod.
Library,
Oxon.

The same to the same.

My Lord of Ormonde,

Whitehall, March 18, 1663.

Though I have always had reason to be confident of your care in any thing, which might concern me, and therefore cannot doubt your assistance to render his Majestie's letter of 25th February, concerning my reprizals, effectual; yet I would not omitte the desiring your particular care therein; not only for the advantage it will produce to me, but allso for the satisfaction, which I receive from any marks of your kindness to

Ormonde Papers, C.
quarto. Bod.
Library,
Oxon.

Your most affectionat friend,

G 2

JAMES.

The

1668.

This so encouraged them, that they believed they should carry all before them; and jealous, that the duke of York might cross their designs sooner or later, and that he would not forgive them what they had done to chancellor Hyde, did all they could to misrepresent him to the King, and to make the King jealous of him; and not prevailing with the King, who knew his brother too well, they did all they could to provoke the duke to do some warm thing even to them, that they might have a subject to complain of him. They endeavoured to mortify him several ways. Some of their friends talked of taking the Admiralty from him, his troop of horse guards and regiment of foot; and, by underhand means, endeavoured to persuade the King to be divorced from the Queen as barren, and get another wife. They discoursed with lawyers about it, and got divines to write about its lawfulness; in which concurred the earl of Bristol, another enemy of the duke's on Clarendon's account, who was so zealous in it, that he went privately into Italy, to see if there were any princesses there fit to be proposed to the King. Others were, even then, for proposing to the King to own the duke of Monmouth.

The earls of Carlisle and Shaftesbury were the persons who gave this advice. But the duke of York knew not, that it was these two earls that proposed it to the King, till the King told it to him, about the time of the Rye-house conspiracy. The duke, advertised of the designs of his enemies, and finding that he had not credit enough with the King

The same to the same.

My Lord of Ormonde,

Whitehall, March 26th, 1663.

Ormonde Papers, C.
quarto. Bod.
Library,
Oxon.

I understand both from my L^d Fitzharding, and by letters out of Ireland, that the letter which his Majesty was lately pleased to write to you concerning the assigning to me some lands in *Custodiam* in order to my reprizals, is like to become an obstacle to the grant which the King hath made to my L^d Fitzharding, which I have reason to believe was not the King's intention in writing, nor, I am sure, was not mine in obtaining that letter; and therefore if you have not already freed his grant from that obstruction, I desire you to do it, assuring you that I would very unwillingly receive an advantage of that nature to the prejudice of a person for whom his Majesty as well as myself hath so great a kindness. I have nothing more to ad at present but the assuring you of my being

Your most affectionate friend,

JAMES.

to

1668.

to take public notice of it, or to have such ill men continued no longer in his confidence, hoped, by patience, to weather the storm, and give his enemies no advantage. They, seeing it, took all advantages of mortifying him, almost in every thing; but especially in what concerned the admiralty. They hoped to weary him out of it, by obstructing whatever he proposed, though ever so fit or reasonable; and getting some of their own creatures into employment there, whether the duke would or no. They got Sir T. Osborne * and Sir T. Littleton made treasurers of the navy; the first was Buckingham's friend, and the last Arlington's; without so much as speaking, or making the least application to the duke. Though the place and all patent offices are not in the admiral's gift, yet, by him they are recommended, and he gives his warrant to the attorney-general, to prepare the bill for the King's signing. The King ordered the duke to sign it for them, without their or their friends making the least application to him. This obstructed Sir Jeremy Smith from being made a commissioner of the navy for some time, though an old sea-commander, and absolutely the fittest man in England for it.

Though these ministers joined in mortifying the duke of York, they did not agree well together, each pretending to have the greatest interest with the King; and they took all means to ruin one another. To this end, Bucks sent a message to the duke, by the earl of Berks, one of his great confidants, to offer his service to him, in the beginning of December; and made great protestations of what he would do for him. The duke answered, that Buckingham had several times made professions, but never had performed or kept his word; so that he could not trust him. Besides, it would do Buckingham no good, and himself harm; by affording Arlington an opportunity to represent to the King, that, as soon as the duke saw the King withdraw his favour from any of the ministers, he joined with them. He looked on it too as below him, to join or meddle with any of their cabals; his business being to serve the King in

* Well known, under the successive titles of the lord Latimer, earl of Danby, marquis of Caermarthen, and duke of Leeds. The duke afterwards recommended this Osborne, whom he blames, to be lord-treasurer, upon the resignation of Clifford. It ought to be observed, that all these secret intrigues, mentioned by the duke, have been hitherto utterly unknown to the public. They throw light on a period little understood.

his

1668. his own way. Lest Buckingham should make any story or misrepresentation of this, the duke gave the King an account of what had passed; but did not name the messenger.

Buckingham and lord Francis Villiers were bred up, with the King and the duke of York, at Richmond. They were both handsome, proper men; but unlike to one another, both in face and temper. When the rebellion broke out, they were sent to travel; and, as I remember, returned not back to England till the King was made a prisoner. Their first appearance in action was with the earl of Holland, in a rising for the King, in 1648, near Kingston on the Thames; where they were routed by Sir Miles Livesey, L. Francis slain, Holland taken, and the whole party dispersed. Buckingham escaped beyond sea and joined the prince; who, being bred up together, had almost a natural inclination for him. When he came to the crown, he gave him the garter, made him gentleman of the bedchamber, and was glad of any occasion to shew him kindness. He took him with him, in all his journeys, from Holland to France; from Jersey back, through France, to Holland and Scotland. Here he first began to shew his true temper. For, notwithstanding the King's extraordinary kindness to him, he sided with the marquis of Argyle; who, at the King's first arrival, had all the power in his hands, against the loyal party; and when the King had made an agreement, with his old friends, to escape from Argyle and head them, Buckingham refused to follow him. The King intrusted him with some papers, which he could not carry with him, and sealed them up; charging him not to open them. But Buckingham, without any regard to the King's orders, opened them. All which the King passed over and took him along with him to Worcester, from whence he escaped, as well as the King, to France, where the King continued as kind to him as ever.

He staid some years in France; and finding friends among the government of England, to go over thither, the King consented. But he had no sooner arrived, than he made his court to Oliver Cromwell, by proposing to marry one of his daughters. He railed and talked slightly, of the King; and professed, that he desired nothing more, than to venture his life against Charles Stuart, as he then called him. This was to ingratiate himself with Oliver Cromwell, though it had the contrary effect. When a friend of Buckingham's said this to Cromwell, he replied,

1668.

plied, that he would never give his daughter to one, who could be so ungrateful to the King; (Oliver Cromwell always calling the King so whenever he named him) he owing all he had to the family. Having failed there, he, with much ado, got lord Fairfax's daughter. These actions were enough to give the King an ill opinion of him, which he shewed at his first coming into England, after the restoration. When the King came to Canterbury, where he first formed his council, Buckingham was the only man, of those who had the honour beyond sea, that was not called to it. But this mortification did not last long. He had so great an ascendant over the King, and being pleasant in his conversation, that he was brought into the privy council; and, by degrees, into the King's trust and confidence. But being of ill principles, he abused the King's goodness, and joined with factious people against the crown, on several occasions. He affected popularity, which he could not obtain, by his too airy wit and lewdness; and to be first minister, for which he wanted steadiness and application. The duke of York advised him not to aim at what he was neither fit for nor could obtain; and to be content with the King's favour*. But he would not follow it, nor that of his friends about his estate, 20,000 l. a-year, at the restoration, which he squandered; and, before he died, none would trust him or credit a word he said. King James, at his accession, was forced to give a 1000 l. a-year to his wife, for her subsistence.

It was lucky for the duke of York, that, at this time, Sir W. Armourer, a truly honest man, very stout, who had been esquire to Charles the First, and had served as an officer all the war, and followed the King in exile, came bluntly to him†, and, in the presence of three or four of his bedchamber, said he had heard strange news in the country, where it was warmly reported, that the King intended to disband his brother's troop of guards and regiment of foot. The reasons were, that he had so much disobliged the King already, that it was not safe to let the duke have such a body of men under his command; and he must secure himself from him, by putting it out of his power to revenge himself: That these and such damned discourses were all over the country. To which

* What follows, to the end of the paragraph, seems to have been written long after the rest.

† The King.

1668. the King replied, it was the greatest lye in the world; that it had never entered into his head; and, on the contrary, that he had all the kindness in the world for his brother; and were he master of more kingdoms than he had, he would trust them all in his hands, such was his confidence in him. Sir W. Armourer added, he heard it reported, that he designed to have the duke of Monmouth declared legitimate. A thought, he said, which never entered into his head; that he abhorred it, and would endeavour to find out the authors of so villainous a report, and have them punished. These discourses of the King, however, did not hinder the party to carry on their designs; and to insinuate these thoughts into Monmouth, who swallowed the poison very eagerly.

About this time, the duke of York discoursed with the King, if he continued in the same mind, as to his religion; who assured him he did, and desired nothing more than to be reconciled. About the end of December, he consulted lord Arundel of Wardour, lord Bellasis, Arlington, and Sir Thomas Clifford, about it, who met Jan. 25, 1669; yet Arlington and others opposed the duke of York, as to the navy.

Sir William Coventry gave up his place, under the duke of York, when he joined in impeaching Clarendon, with Sir Thomas Osborne, lieutenant-colonel Howard, Mr. Seymour, lord Vaughan, by Buckingham; Sir Thomas Littleton, Sir R. Temple, and Sir R. Car, by Arlington. Fearing the duke of York would get Clarendon recalled, the bill of banishment was brought in, by the King's leave. Shaftesbury made use of it, in Sir Thomas Bond's case. Buckingham, by his ill conduct, lost all credit with the King. Arlington was a weak man and, with his pride, very timorous; yet had cursed cunning. He was supported by Sir Thomas Clifford, a man of good sense, bold and generous, whom he had once obliged. He preserved himself some years; but was laid aside, by degrees. Sir Orlando Bridgman was an honest, but a weak man. To pave the way for the divorce, a bill was brought into the house, to give leave for lord Roos to marry; his wife being divorced for adultery. This was to serve as a precedent for the King. It was much pushed by the party; and, with much ado, passed. The King promoted it. But it was the absent proxies, and not the present lords, who carried it. The first were forty-one, against thirty-nine; but it was carried by the proxies. Of eighteen bishops, only two voted for it:

it. One of those was governed by his counsel, Sir Gilbert Gerard; and the other was a deist. 1668.

Buckingham and Bristol were great promoters of the divorce. They said, if the duke of York could be persuaded to it, he would be laughed at and despised by all the world; if he opposed it, they hoped it would ruin him with the King. Doctor Burnet, a busy, intriguing man, was one of the divines who wrote for it; and Sir Orlando Bridgman was consulted about it. The King said that, if his conscience would allow him to divorce the Queen, it would suffer him to dispatch her out of the world. Northumberland, Leicester, Hollis, Pierpoint, Onslow, and others met at Guilford about it. Trevanion proposed disbanding an hundred of the three troops of horse guards, and twenty of each company of foot. But the duke of York and Albemarle prevented it. They endeavoured to get an address, to put the duke out of the admiralty, and put in others more acceptable to them; but it was dropt. Sir R. Temple brought in a bill for a triennial parliament. Lady Hervey, daughter of lord Montague, a very witty and intriguing wench, got well with Buckingham and Arlington; and brought lord Trevor to be secretary.

EXTRACT III.

In May, Buckingham bought the place of master of the horse; giving the general a thousand pounds a year, land inheritance, for it. It was almost concluded, before any body heard of it, to the wonder of all. Prince Rupert had a mind to it, some years before, and they had almost agreed. But the King refused his consent, because the general's quitting it would be prejudicial to his affairs.

May.

In July, Buckingham's designs against the duke of Ormonde appeared. He, with some others, was appointed to inquire into the affairs of Ireland; and he held frequent meetings with the earl of Orrery. The army was some months in arrear. There were two hundred thousand pounds of debt. The duke of York spoke to the King for Ormonde.

July.

Secretary Morris was struck at in September. He was succeeded by Sir John Trevor.

Sept.

1668. The report of the Irish committee of council, at lord Orrery's house.— The earl of Anglesey was charged, in it, with near two hundred thousand pounds of debt. He desired a copy of the report, and time to answer, which were promised; but, on sending for the copy, it was refused. On complaining of it, the King told him he should have it. The committee hindered it; their report not being so perfect, as to be fit to be offered to the King, in council, till which it was not fit to give a copy to any.

Nov. The design of taking the admiralty from the duke of York, or to mortify him in it; and to disband his troop of guards and regiment of foot.

Dec. On the first of December, Sir William Armourer told the King of the reports, as above.

1669. E X T R A C T I.

1669.
Macpherson's
Extracts.

The duke speaks of religion to the King, and finds him resolved to be a Catholic. The King appoints a private meeting with lord Arundel, lord Arlington, and Sir Thomas Clifford, at the duke's closet, to advise on the methods to advance the Cath. religion, in his kingdoms. They met, on 25 of January. The King declared his mind, in matters of religion, with great zeal to the duke and other three persons, at this private meeting. The result of the consultation was, that the work should be done in conjunction with France. The lord Arundel was accordingly sent to treat with the French King; and the treaty was concluded the beginning of the year 1670. The French King was to give 200,000 *l.* a year. Plymouth, Hull, Portsmouth, placed in faithful hands. The troops were well affected. The D. of Buckingham seeks to support himself, by favour of madame, with whom he manages a treaty with France. He sent over Sir Ellis Leighton to treat with her. Neither the duke nor Arlington knew any thing of this treaty. The duke, after Leighton's return, had an account of it from himself. Nor were the generality of the church of England men, at that time, averse to the R. C. religion.

In the mean time, the King kept the secret of his agreement with France, and suffered a mock-treaty to go on, that he might the better cover the real one; of which neither madame nor the duke of Buckingham had the least knowledge. Buckingham's chief drift was to keep himself

himself at the head of the ministry. This management of the mock-treaty was kept a secret to the D. of York and Arlington.

1669.

In the beginning of Sept. 1669, the King and duke being hunting in the New Forest in Hampshire, received news of the Q. mother's death, who died at Colombé near Paris. She was born on the 26th Nov. 1609; and married King Charles I. in 1625. After her great and many sufferings, she was comforted with the sight of her son's restoration to his father's crown. She excelled in all the good qualities of a good wife, a good mother, and a good Christian.

EXTRACT II.

A day or two before the King declared his resolution, at the lord keeper's, of dismissing Ormonde from the government of Ireland; Buckingham pressed him, by his friend, to make good his promises to them. He sent Ralph Montague to Arlington, to let him know he would have nothing to do with him, unless that affair was done in a day or two. Arlington went immediately to the King; and it was declared the next day, February the fourteenth.

Carte's
Extracts.

Feb.

On the third of March, Sir William Coventry, for challenging Buckingham, was turned out of all his employments.

March.

About this time, Buckingham went to Newhall, to persuade the general to the breaking of parliament; and to resign his post and accept that of the admiralty. But Albemarle refused to consent to either. The duchess of Buckingham and lady Hervey met, at the same time, to advise the duchess of Albemarle to promote their views.

April 16.

A report about an alliance with France.

May.

In the beginning of June, the Queen miscarried. Doctor Cox and doctor Williams were present. Buckingham instructed them to deny it; and to spread a report, that it was impossible for the Queen to have children.

June.

The duke of York, at Tunbridge, assured Dr. Owen, that he had no bitterness against the non-conformists. He was against all persecution, merely for conscience sake; looking on it, as an unchristian thing, and absolutely against his conscience.

July.

1669.
August. In August, the Queen-mother died. She was born on the twenty-sixth of November, 1609. Salutes, at sea, in the Mediterranean, regulated with Mr. Colbert.
- Sept. The jealousy, between Buckingham and Arlington, began now to be visible to all the world; and Orrery encouraged Buckingham to it.
- October. The duke of York moved the King, for somewhat out of the jointure of the Queen-mother, lately deceased.
- Nov. The lords were angry, that a bill, about original causes and their own judicature, should begin in the house of commons; and they resolved to prepare another bill for the same purpose. Buckingham moved a clause for the trial of peers by the whole house.

E X T R A C T II.

Buckingham's ridiculous fancies, as if the duke of York would have him murdered. The King laughed at it, and thought him unfit to be a minister. The duke conversed with father Symonds, a jesuit, about religion, who confirmed him in his disposition; and required him to quit the communion of the church of England. No dispensation could be granted for it; though he would be reconciled on any account. The duke spoke of the treaty with France; 200,000 *l.* a year, to be paid by quarterly payments. Colonel Fitzgerald was to have a new regiment, and be made governor of Yarmouth. Buckingham made a private treaty with madame, by means of Sir Ellis Leighton.

E X T R A C T III.

Father Symons, a jesuit, was discoursed with. Colbert, ambassador, and Sir Robert Beling draft articles with France. The treaty concluded and signed; 200,000 *l.* a year, by quarterly payments.

1670. E X T R A C T I.

1670.
Jan. On the third of January, the duke of Albemarle died. The duke of York, a little before, had advised the King not to make a general; it being too great a trust even for himself. The Coldstream regiment was given to the earl of Craven; and the general's troop of guards, called the Queen's,

E X T R A C T

1672.

EXTRACT II.

The duke of Albemarle died on the third of January. The duke of York advised the King to have no general in chief; he not desiring, for himself, so great a trust. It was too great for any; and there was no need of it in the time of peace. Albemarle's regiment of foot was given to the earl of Craven, and made II. regiment of guards. His troop of guards was called the Queen's, and made the second.

Jan.

In February, the parliament met. Treaty with France. Lord Widdrington made governor of Berwick, Bellasis of Hull, Bedford of Plymouth, the duke of York of Portsmouth, and Fitzgerald to be that of Yarmouth, with a regiment of foot. The bill to enable lord Roos to marry and declare his son a bastard was carried on, with great violence, by Buckingham and others, for a precedent against the duke of York and the Queen, who opposed it. The King's countenance made it pass. All the bishops, except Cosens of Durham, old and dotting, and Wilkins of Chester, a moral man, but no Christian, were against it; so were the Roman Catholics and church of England lords.

Feb.

EXTRACT III.

The King proposed, to the two houses, to raze out of their journals all that had passed about Skinner; as he had given orders to do, in the council-books and Exchequer. This expedient was proposed to the King, two days before, by lord Ashley, and agreed to.

Feb. 22d.

A debate, till nine at night, whether lord Roos's bill be read a second time. Forty-one consented, and forty-two refused; proxies for the first, sixteen; for the latter, six. All the bishops, except Durham and Chester, were against it. A protest by two archbishops, ten bishops, and all the Roman Catholic lords, but one.

March 17th.

The said bill passed the lords; forty-two against thirty-five. Of fourteen bishops present, all, but Chester, were against it.

28th.

EXTRACT IV.

About the beginning of May, in this year, madame, the K.'s only sister now living, came to Dover to meet her brother, which she long desired

Macpherson's
Extracts.

1670. desired to do; which was now made easy for her, by his Most Christian Majesty's coming to view his new conquests in Flanders. This journey proved unfortunate in many respects. The private treaty had been, as has been mentioned, already signed by both the Kings, and some of the money paid. The French King, being desirous to change the measures taken in the private treaty, sent her to persuade her brother to begin with the Dutch war. He was formerly averse to her journey; and Monsieur, for reasons of his own. She very willingly undertook this commission, hoping to ingratiate herself with that King, and to be more considered in France, by shewing the power she had with the King her brother. She had, indeed, a mind to stay in England, not only out of love to her brother, but she presumed upon his temper and the ascendancy she had over him; and believed, that if once she could compass her living with him, she might govern all things here. The duke foresaw the ill-consequences of her coming, and did not like it; and as dexterously as he could, without appearing downright against it, did almost hinder it. The duke being detained at London, madame, before his arrival at Dover, had already prevailed on the King to break through all the first measures, and to begin with the Dutch war. She had even gained Arlington and Clifford, and made them concur with her in the measure.

EXTRACT V.

May.
Carte's
Extracts.

In May, madame came to Dover and met the King. The duke of York was against her coming; and was not present, when she persuaded the King to a war with Holland. The King was to have fifty men of war, and France thirty. She got Buckingham restored to the King's favour, and made him and Arlington friends. She died on the twenty-first of June, suspected to be of poison. Buckingham was, soon after, sent to France.

EXTRACT VI.

Before the duke of York came to Dover, madame had prevailed with the King to begin with the Dutch war. Arlington and Clifford, gained by her, concurred in her measures. The duke said, it would unavoidably run the King in debt, and put him in the mercy of the parliament, which

which was not likely to be in a good humour; and that they would not give sufficient supplies for a war undertaken without their advice, and in conjunction with France. For these reasons, they would not approve of it; and it would give them a jealousy of the King's designs. His Majesty answered, that fifty of his own ships, and thirty from France, would serve for the war. So that there was no danger of running in debt. The charge might easily be supported by the customs, estimated at 600,000*l.* and, if the war succeeded, it was not much matter what people suspected. The duke said, though fifty ships might not cost above 600,000*l.* yet they could not look the Dutch in the face with eighty ships, such as proposed, and fireships proportionable; and keep convoys for trade and the preservation of plantations, under near as much more; not to reckon the land forces. Madame reconciled Bucks to the King and Arlington.

1670.

On the twenty-second of June, the news of the duchess of Orleans' death arrived. It was suspected that counter-poisons were given her. But when she was opened, in presence of the English ambassador, the earl of Ailesbury, an English physician and surgeon, there appeared no grounds of suspicion of any foul play. Yet Bucks talked openly, that she was poisoned; and was so violent, as to propose to foreign ministers to make war on France.

June.

Buckingham was sent to France, in return to the King of France's compliment by the marechal Bellefonds. The Dutch ambassador and others were alarmed at it; as it would break the triple alliance.

July.

E X T R A C T VII.

England and France join in war against Holland. France and prince of Orange, their parts. England shall have Cassant, Walcheron, and the ports as far as Maesland Sluys. Lord Arundel was sent over. Colonel Fitzgerald came from Tangier, and was made colonel of a regiment of foot. Liberty of conscience.

The ladies, Hervey and Trevor, bullied Arlington to give up the duke of Ormonde; and got Roberts made lord lieutenant. All was done as soon as it was possible to turn out the old cavaliers. Sir William Coventry was so provoked at Buckingham's railleries, as to send him

1670. him a challenge, and it turned out a privy council affair, and he was turned out. Buckingham and Arlington differed. They both courted the duke of York, who was content to live civilly with the ministers, and concur for the King's service. But he would not engage with any one; and, as Buckingham was not to be relied on, he would have nothing to do with him. Buckingham had sent his confident, Sir Ellis Leighton, to France privately, to madame, to propose a stricter alliance with France; and when it was known, he endeavoured to throw it on the duke of York and Arlington.

Osborne and Littleton endeavoured to get the commissioners of the navy, who had been put in by the duke of York, turned out. But, on examining complaints, they shewed their own malice, and ignorance of naval affairs; and so failed. They opposed Sir Thomas Allen's commanding eighteen ships against the Algerines; and were for Sir Robert Holmes, because he was ill with the duke of York, who wanted temper to command a squadron. They opposed Sir Jeremy Smith's being commissioner of the navy, though a fit person and an old commander. But the King understood sea affairs too well to comply.

Buckingham met with his creatures and confidents, the bishop of Chester, Sir Thomas Osborne, Sir Ellis Leighton, and others. The earl of Orery hoped to be made lord lieutenant of Ireland. Arlington trusted and consulted Sir Thomas Clifford, Sir Thomas Littleton, Sir Robert Car, and secretary Trevor. The lords wanted to supplant each other. The fanatics increased in number and strength.

Bucks, upon the occasion of the bill concerning original causes, moved for a clause, that no peer should be tried but by the whole house of lords; and had the confidence to say, that the King and the privy council approved of it. It would, in December, have gone very hard with the earl of Orery, in the house of commons, had not the King commanded the duke of York to get those he could influence to put it off; and it was carried but by two.

EXTRACT VIII.

In winter, the duchess of York was suspected of being a Roman Catholic. She always before received the sacrament once a month. But during the illness, in which she died, she had not prayers said to her.

The King took notice of it, in December, to the duke, who said she was resolved to be a Catholic, and to be reconciled. The King bade him keep it private; as it was from all but father Hunt, a Franciscan, lady Cranmer, woman of her bed-chamber, and Mr. Dupuy, the duke's servant. So it was not known till she died. The princess of Inspruck was proposed as a second wife for the duke, by Sir Bernard Gascoigne.

1670.

EXTRACT IX.

The suspicion of the duchess of York's being a Roman Catholic. Father Hunt, lady Cranmer, and Dupuy, a servant of the duke's, were only privy to her conversion. She died on the thirty-first of March, 1671.

EXTRACT X.

At a meeting at lord Arlington's, the accident which had happened to Sir J. Coventry was considered. Buckingham proposed to the King, to send for the commons to the house of lords, on Thursday morning, to speak about it; as being best to begin with them. The duke of York seconded him in it; and all present were of the same mind. The King ordered Buckingham and one or two more to prepare the heads of his speech, which were read and approved the next day: that he had heard of what had happened to Coventry, and the occasion of it: that he disapproved of what was done; and, at the same time, was troubled, that they had suffered such words to pass, without punishment: that he expected they would right him; and would ever be tender of letting them have full liberty of speech: that it concerned them and him, not to let his or their enemies take advantage to break the parliament; and concluded with a compliment.

Dec. 26th.

In another meeting, at Arlington's, this resolution was laid aside; and it was agreed, that the King should say nothing, next day, and not obstruct the law.

28th.

1671. EXTRACT I.

In the beginning of March, a design was carried on, by the bishops of Winton, Sarum, and Chester, to introduce comprehension under

1671.
March.

1671. another name and pretence; and with so much cunning and art, that it was like to pass the house of commons. Many were zealous for the church of England; being made to believe, that the archbishop of Canterbury and all the bishops were for it; though the archbishop had not been acquainted with it, till Mr. Cholmley asked him whether it was so or no. On which he disabused so many, that it was rejected, when proposed. The duke of York was against it.

April 19th. The house of commons resolving not to agree with the lords, in the bill about foreign duties, the parliament was prorogued to the twenty-second of April, Easter eve.

May. Buckingham endeavoured to set both houses by the ears. The report of his marriage, with the countess of Salop, by doctor Sprat, his chaplain. He owned it; and the true duchess was called, in raillery, the duchess dowager. He was, soon after, chosen chancellor of Cambridge; and, to the wonder of all, several bishops wrote letters of recommendation for him.

July. On a dispute between Osborne and Littleton, the treasurers of the navy, it was ordered in council, that no treasurer of the navy should, for the future, have any poundage, but a good salary; and that they should neither sign, vote, nor have any thing to do with making contracts; but might be present, when any thing was done.

Oct. Bucks was disappointed, by not having the command of the troops designed for France.

EXTRACT II.

The earl of Peterborough was sent, as proxy, to marry the princess of Inspruck; but he was stopt at Calais, by the news of the empress's death, and the emperor's resolution to marry that princess.

1672. EXTRACT I.

1672. On the thirteenth of March, Sir Robert Holmes engaged the Smyrna fleet, sixty merchant-ships and seven men of war, in the channel. The duke of York opposed, in council, the laying an embargo on ships; undertaking to man the fleet without it, if only the Newfoundland trade was

was forbid for that season. Convoys were provided by it too for the Mediterranean, which got us almost all the trade of the Streights from the Dutch, till the revolution *.

1672.

Sir Robert Holmes not apprizing Sir Edward Sprag, whom he did not care for, of his orders, he passed, within his sight, to the Downs, when he came out of Portsmouth to fight the Dutch; and he would not allow captain Legg to go to speak with his cousin, which allowed the Dutch to get off, with little loss. Sir Robert engaged with more courage, than conduct. The Dutch lost but four merchant-men; two only of value.

EXTRACT II.

Buckingham, Lauderdale, Arlington, Clifford, and Shaftesbury, of the cabinet council, called the cabal; none more zealous than the last, for the Dutch war. Declaration on the twenty-eighth of March. Money wanting; the Exchequer stopt; but interest of six per cent. for a year, allowed to persons unpaid. To keep union at home, declaration for liberty of conscience.

An embargo laid on all vessels outward bound, by which they proposed to man the fleet. The duke of York opposed it; as a stop to all trade, and damage to customs; and undertook to man the fleet without it, if the Newfoundland trade might be discontinued for that season. For the main fleet, under his command, he desired only sixty English ships of the line, with twenty frigates, and thirty French men of war. Thus, ships and men enough would be left for convoys; and the war create no interruption to trade. Sir Robert Holmes sent to intercept the Dutch Smyrna fleet.

De Ruyter, with seventy Dutch men of war, goes to sea, before the junction of the English and French fleets. The duke of York, on advice of the French sailing from Brest, and judging, by the winds, they must be in the channel, sailed for the Buoy at the Nore, with the ships that were ready, forty, and twelve fire-ships; and was carried, by a fresh gale at west, down the channel. He had, off Longsand-head, in

* This last sentence was added long after the former part of the paragraph was written.

1672. the evening a fight of the Dutch scouts. When he came to the head of the sands, he stood to the south; and, at the night-fall, the gale growing fresher, and bad weather likely, came to an anchor all night. The duke giving, at day-break, the signal for sailing, the wind from east, with a thick fog, he passed by de Ruyter, without seeing or being seen. The next morning he joined the French at St. Helen's, where he staid two days to adjust all things; and then sailed to look out for the Dutch fleet, and join the rest of his own.

The duke of York, in the Prince, of a hundred guns, commanded the red squadron; Sir Edward Sprag, in the London, of a hundred guns, was his vice admiral; Sir George Harman, in the Charles, his rear admiral. Comte d'Estrees, vice admiral of the French, in the St. Philip, between eighty and ninety guns, commanded the white; M. du Quatre his vice admiral, la Robinier his rear admiral. The earl of Sandwich, in the Royal James, a hundred guns, was admiral of the blue; Sir Joseph Jordan, in the Sovereign of a hundred guns, was his vice admiral; and Sir J. Kempshorn, in the St. Andrew of ninety odd guns, his rear admiral. The duke found, by several ships from the river, that the Dutch, whom he sought on their own coast, lay behind the Rumble Sand, in order to draw the English on it. But captain R. Haddock prevented it. Captain Cook confirmed the intelligence; and the scouts that were sent experienced it. The duke then stood in, towards the banks of Flanders. De Ruyter, the best sea commander of his time, stood in to the banks. He was bred under old Van Tromp. His good sense was only equalled by his courage. He managed his fleet so, that the duke could not engage, for a long time, without disadvantage. His ships drew less water. The weather being very bad, the duke went to Southwold bay; and the ships that wanted water and provisions anchored near the shore; as the fire-ships did to take in fresh ballast. The duke declared, when the wind turned to the east, that he would get out to sea; ordering that no coalier or trading ship should be permitted to go round; lest falling into the hands of the enemy's privateers, they might be advertised how his fleet lay. Yet a light coalier slipped by, in the night, and was taken by a privateer and carried to de Ruyter; who, on the wind's turning east, ordered his fleet to sail at sun-set, in order to attack the English, at day-break, before they were in order.

So

1672..

So soon as the duke found the wind easterly, he was for standing out *, to be in a posture to receive the Dutch; and ordered Sir J. Cox, his captain, to give the signal for the fleet to do so, and to be in the order of battle. Cox urged, that there was no danger of the enemy's coming on so soon; their fleet being in the same condition with ours, taking in stores and provisions: that captain Finch, one of our cruizers, come newly in from the coast of Holland, had brought no news of their motion. The master of the packet-boat, who was just come in, being brought to the duke, informed him, that he came, the evening before, through the Dutch fleet, lying at anchor off Goree; the most of them with their yards and topmasts down, taking in all sorts of provisions. So that it was not likely, that they could soon be in a sailing condition; and that the duke might lie twenty-four hours longer, for supplying his fleet with what they wanted, which could not be done in several days, if he stood out further from the shore. This was confirmed by the French major and captain Eliot, his assistant, who were appointed to take in water and other necessaries for the French squadron. Thus was the duke of York over-persuaded to tarry where he was; and Cox was so sure, that he brought his ship, the Prince, on the careen, to give her a pair of boot-hose-tops, to make her sail the better.

Thus, on the twenty-eighth of May, was the duke of York surprised, about two in the morning. The captain of a French fourth rate, who had been with captain Finch cruizing on the coast of Holland, brought him the first news of the Dutch approach. His ship, being a bad sailer, could not go in as Finch's did to the fleet, the evening before; and, that he might not be driven to the leeward of it, he was forced to come to an anchor, about a league to the eastward of the fleet; the wind being north-east, and a leeward tyde. This gave quicker knowledge of the enemy. For, as he was getting under sail to join the fleet, two Dutch scouts fell in with him, and, though of equal force, did not fire upon him, but brought to and stood from him; which made him judge their fleet was not far a stern of them. By way of signal to give notice of

* Party-writers have entirely misrepresented this fact. They ascribe the surprise to the duke's obstinacy; and mention an unauthorized fiction of his checking with rudeness the earl of Sandwich. The contrary appears to have been the truth.

1672. the enemy's approach, he fired all the way as he stood in to join the English fleet, which made it prepare to receive the Dutch. At day-break the Dutch fleet was seen to windward, bearing down on us. The ships of the line and fire-ships, which were nearer in with the shore than the flag-men, at the first alarm got under sail to place them in their stations, in the order of battle; but, by reason of the leeward tyde and east wind, few could get in, when the engagement began. Not above twenty of the red and blue bore the brunt of de Ruyter and Van Ghent's squadrons. The fight began about eight in the morning; the Dutch having the wind. The Prince was disabled. The duke of York went then on board the St. Michael, Sir Robert Holmes captain. The French squadron was scarce charged, by the Zealand squadron. The earl of Sandwich's ship, the Royal James, was burnt; but captain Haddock was saved. Two ships, which came to burn the Prince, were sunk. The duke, returning to refit, was followed by the Dutch, in bravado; but turning on them again, he pursued them to their own coasts, and left fifteen of their disabled ships in the rear, which nothing, but a sudden fog, could have saved from being taken. Foul weather hindered him, afterwards, from attacking them, till on their own coasts.

EXTRACT III.

Macpherson's
Extracts.

De Ruyter had a hard game to play. He was obliged to keep to sea, so to support the drooping spirits of his countrymen, and to hinder the deserting of his men, and their getting the same panic in the fleet, that prevailed ashore. Had he not been qualified, as he was, he could not so well have fenced against all his difficulties, as he did. He was, indeed, justly esteemed the greatest sea-commander of his time. He was bred up under old Van Tromp; and had been in all or most of the chief engagements of the two first Dutch wars. He had very good sense, equal to his courage, which appeared, upon this occasion, in so managing his fleet, that although they were so near one another, for so long a time, the duke could not come to an engagement, without great disadvantage and hazard to his own fleet. For he posted himself so advantageously for his own fleet, that drew less water than ours, near the coast of Flanders, and served himself so well of the weather, which was favourable to him, that the duke neither could attack him in the morning,
so

to to make a decisive battle of it, nor far enough off from the sands, 1672.
with which they were better acquainted than we were.

Before the battle, in Southwold bay, began, the duke gave orders, that no one should mention aloud the coming of a fire-ship, for fear of discomposing the seamen. De Ruyter, after having exchanged some broadsides with the duke, sent two fire-ships to clap him aboard. Sir Edward Scot, a land-officer, first discovered the fire-ships. He whispered it to Sir John Cox. But scarce had Sir John called an officer to give him orders thereupon, when a great shot struck him dead, and, at the same time, carried off the head of Mr. Bell, a volunteer. Sir Edward addressed himself to the duke, who forthwith gave such directions, as dispatched the first fire-ship and disabled the other. The duke with the few ships that were with him, were so plied by De Ruyter, that his own ship, the Prince, had, before eleven o'clock, her main top-mast shot by the board, her fore-top-sail, her starboard main-throwds, and all the rest of her rigging and fighting sails torn to pieces, and above 200 of the crew either killed or wounded. He went down, as between decks, to order something, he stepped into his boat, having previously given private orders to the captain to tow the Prince out of the line. The lord Duras, Mr. Henry Savil, Mr. Ashton, and his chief pilot, accompanied him. He went on board the St. Michael, a second rate, commanded by Sir Robert Holmes, that was a-head of him, somewhat to the leeward; and, for that reason, had not been much damaged. He put up instantly his flag. But there not being wind enough to spread it, he was fain to send his boat to give notice where he was. The French, as I have already said, stood away to the southward, as close haled as they could. But they were not pressed, as they might have been, by the Zealand squadron.

When the duke was on board the St. Michael, he was obliged to tack, on account of a sand athwart of Leostoff, and stood to the southward, as near as he could lie. He weathered, by that means, De Ruyter and most of his squadron. But had the Amsterdam squadron still to windward of him. That squadron had been obliged to tack, for the same reason. The duke was now between two lines of the Dutch; and forced to lead the ships of his division, that could get into his wake, and tack.

1672. tack after him ; which were not many. The rest tacked to the leeward of De Ruyter ; so that the enemy and we were much mingled together.

Soon after the duke had stood to the southward, a gentle gale sprung up at east ; and being got clear of the smoke, he would look a little about him. The first thing he saw was the E. of Sandwich's blue flag, some distance a-head of him, appearing above the smoke, which was so great about that place, that one could not see any hulls. Whilst the red squadron was engaged with De Ruyter and his squadron, the E. of Sandwich's division was no less hotly engaged with the squadron of Van Ghent, who with his ship brought to, on the broadside of the earl ; whilst, at the same time, captain Brakel, a bold, hot-headed Dutchman, in a ship of 70 guns, laid him on board, athwart the hause ; by which means, raking him fore and aft, they together destroyed him a world of men ; which obliged the earl, that he might get rid of so troublesome a neighbour, to order his men to enter Brakel's ship. This they did, with swords, half-pikes, and pistols ; and, after some resistance, they mastered her. Though this gave the earl some ease, Van Ghent and his seconds supplied his ship, the Royal James, and had slain and disabled so many of his men, that he was obliged to recal those who had mastered Brakel's ship.

He immediately sent to ask the advice of his captain, (captain Haddock) who having been wounded in the foot, was then dressing in the hold. By his advice he came to an anchor, by one fixed for such accidents out of the gun-room. This had the desired effect. But it proved, in part, the destruction of the Royal James. For besides that she was, at the very beginning of the engagement, somewhat to windward of her own division, so by coming then to anchor, they drove farther from her, and the enemy came nearer to her. At this instant Van Ghent was slain, by one of her shot. But that did not hinder the enemy from still pressing hard upon her. They sent a fire-ship upon her, which she sunk before she could reach her.

The earl was now no longer at an anchor. For soon after he was clear of Brakel's ship, he cut the cable that was out of his gun-room. After which, when he had almost got clear off from amongst the Dutch, another fire-ship came upon him. He endeavoured to bear up. But his

1672.

his ship was so much disabled, that he could not do it; and so the fire-ship laid her on board to windward, on her larboard side, and burnt her. This the duke beheld with sorrow. But he could not help being to the leeward of her, though he passed close by her, and saw the sea covered with her men; some sinking, some swimming, and others buoying themselves up, upon what they could next catch hold of. Hereupon he ordered the Dartmouth, which was just come up to him, to ly by, and save all she possibly could. She and some of the boats of the line which followed the duke, made a shift to pick up 2 or 300, of which number were captain Haddock, lieutenant Mayo, the master, and one Lowd, a servant of the E. of Sandwich, whom the King made a page of the bed-chamber, as soon as he came to London. The earl was not so fortunate; for he was drowned, and his body being afterwards found, was honourably buried in Henry the Seventh's chapel.

The duke's ship, the St. Michael, was so leaky, that she now had five feet of water in her hold. The Phoenix, the Resolution, and the Cambridge came up seasonably to his relief. Van Ghent's squadron bore down on the duke. They, however, brought to, and contented themselves to ply him very hard with their great guns. The reason was, that the captain who succeeded Van Ghent, was killed at first, and he who came next in command had not the resolution to follow his plan. Van Nefse, the elder, who carried a flag in the main-top, being to leeward of the duke, after he had tacked, and cut between De Ruyter and the Amsterdam squadron, stretched out a-head with some of De Ruyter's squadron; and tacked again and stood stern-lings with the duke; designing to weather him, and bring up some fire-ships he had with him. But when the Stavern, one of his seconds which led him, had got up with the broadside of the duke, Van Nefse's heart failed him; and instead of following the ship a-head of him, which was one of fifty odd guns, commanded by capt. Elzvir, he tacked and stood away, with his fire-ships. He left the Stavern behind him. She was disabled by the St. Michael. She at length yielded to the Greenwich, a fourth rate, captain Green commander.

By this time the St. Michael having so much water again in her hold, made leeward way; so that the Dutch being also to the leeward, she at

1672. last came within musket-shot of their squadron. As she passed by the Dutch vice admiral's second, the duke raked her fore and aft.

Sir Edward Spragg, with some of his division, was now got a-head of the duke. The *E. of Offory*, in the *Victory*, who had till now kept in his station, a-stern of the duke, was so disabled, that he was forced to bear away to refit. Capt. George Legg, in the *Fairfax*, a third rate, took his place. It was now five o'clock in the afternoon. Sir Robert Holmes informed the duke, that the *St. Michael* was so much disabled, that she could no longer continue in the line. She had lost a great many men. Her sails, masts, and rigging were in a shattered condition. She had such a quantity of water in her hold, that she must have sunk, if she did not lie by to stop her leaks. The duke resolved to go on board the *London*, Sir Edward Spragg's ship. He, at the same time, desired Holmes not to strike the standard, till he saw it flying a-board the *London*, lest the disappearing of it, for any time, might discourage his own fleet. This was found to be a necessary precaution: for, by the freshening of the gale, the *London* had got so far a-head, that it was three quarters of an hour before he got on board her.

When the duke came on board the *London*, he found her also much disabled, especially in her head-sails; having had to deal with Van Nesle the younger, a rear admiral, who was to windward of her. He swagged apace down upon her. But, at this time, being seven in the evening, De Ruyter made a signal to all his ships, that were to windward of him, to bear down to him. He himself bore away to join the Zealand squadron, who were still engaged with the French. He came down, on the *Rainbow*, an old second rate. Capt. Storer, her commander, obliged him to stand out a-head of him; De Ruyter not thinking it safe to lay him on board. This motion of the Dutch gave Sir John Jordan an opportunity to join the duke with 5 or 6 ships. The duke had now with him about 25 ships to windward of the Dutch. The rest having joined the French, were to leeward of the enemy. This was the position of the fleets at sun-set: and thus ended this memorable day, in which the Dutch, with all the advantage they could desire, of surprize and wind, and of number of ships that engaged, were far from victory over the English; as their being the first to leave the sea, and retiring into
their

their harbours, will hereafter make fully evident. The night was spent in refitting. The duke went again on board the Prince. In a council of the flag officers, it was resolved, that the fleet should return. The Dutch, out of bravado, following the English, the duke turned upon them, and pursued them to their own coast. The Dutch were saved by a fog.

1672.

EXTRACT IV.

The duke of York proposed sailing to Weelings to fight De Ruyter there. But Shaftesbury and others persuaded the King to send the fleet to intercept the Dutch East India fleet, then expected home by the north of Scotland, which might otherwise escape, whilst the duke looked after De Ruyter. The duke thought the best way was to drive De Ruyter into harbour; because, if he was at sea, it would be dangerous to spread our ships, in order to intercept the East India fleet, lest the enemy should come upon them on a sudden. For De Ruyter would easily know our stations. The duke cruized between the Vly and the Texel. He anchored there, for near a fortnight, in bad weather; and then cruized towards the Dogger-sands. The Cambridge, one of his cruizers, boarded an East Indiaman, but it blew so hard, that he could not master her; and the storm increasing, the whole fleet got by before the duke could be advertised.

Carte's
Extracts.

After the duke returned to court, Shaftesbury was made chancellor, and Clifford treasurer. Arlington was discontented, because he did not get the staff. But the King said, he had too much kindness for him to let him have it; for he was not fit for the office; and, if he gave it him, it would be his ruin, and expose him to the malice of his enemies.

EXTRACT V.

Buckingham proposed to the King, if he would break off the marriage with lord Harry * and Arlington's daughter, to get lady Piercy for lord Harry. The King answered, that it was too late, the other being concluded. Buckingham, at the same time, offered to the countess of Northumberland to get the King to consent, that he should command the duke of York to marry her.

July 13th.

In November, Shaftesbury was made chancellor, and Clifford treasurer; though Arlington opposed them.

Nov.

* Created duke of Grafton, Sept. 11, 1675.

1672.

E X T R A C T VI.

About Christmas, the King spoke with Clifford and Arundel, to persuade the duke of York to receive the sacrament with him; which the duke had forbore for some months before, though he continued to go to church with the King, lest he should be suspected as a Roman Catholic.

1673. E X T R A C T I.

1673.
March 20th.

The duke of York was told, that Mr. Vaughan was to move the house of Commons, for an address to the King to put away the Queen and to marry a protestant wife, and offer him 500,000 *l.* for her portion; and that it was promoted at Whitehall. Next day, he was told, that it was proposed to the King and absolutely rejected.

The chancellor endeavoured to get the treasurer to join with him, in breaking the alliance with France.

May.

The King was inclined to get the duke of York and the treasurer to conform. But they both resolved to quit their employments.

25th.

Project for making the duke of Monmouth regent of Scotland.

June.

On the fifteenth of June, the duke resigned all his commands; lord admiral, warden of the five ports, general of the army, and governor of Portsmouth. The King kept the five ports in his own hands. He put the admiralty in commission, and gave the government of Portsmouth to George Legg †.

July.

In July, the duke's marriage, with the youngest princess of Modena, was resolved on. Articles were proposed, for the King's marrying a protestant; and for legitimating the duke of Monmouth, to incapacitate any who were not of the church of England to inherit the crown. Some were for hindering the duke of York from marrying a Roman Catholic, if the parliament met before.

Oct. 17th.

The duke of York informed the King of the turbulent parties, who were designing to fall on Mr. Seymour, the speaker; and to oblige all peers to subscribe the late declaration, or else not to sit in the house of lords, nor come within twenty miles of court. This was levelled at the duke of York.

The

† Afterwards lord Dartmouth.

The great seal was given to Sir Heneage Finch. Shaftesbury's pardon passed the great seal. The Duke of York was advised, in vain, to withdraw from court.

1673.
Nov. 9th.

Lord M. advised the duke of York to stand for the crown of Poland, and to comply; but he refused them both. Lord Peterborough pressed the last.

Dec. 18th.

The earl B. informed the duke, that the lord mayor had been long pressed to call a common council, for a bill to mend and pave the streets. But when one was called, it was proposed, in the first place, to thank the King for what he had done about popery; secondly, to desire him to take off his protection from the bankers, that they might be prosecuted; thirdly, to thank him for the proclamation about the parliament, and recommend following its advice. The King said, that some had been with him to ask leave for such an address. But there was no more in it.

22d.

EXTRACT II.

The duke of York being suspected of changing his religion, the parliament passed an act for the test to put him out of all his commands; and to encourage the duke of Monmouth to pretend to be legitimate. Clifford resigned the treasury, and the earl of Danby was made lord-treasurer.

EXTRACT III.

The lord Clifford laid down his office of treasurer, upon account of the test. Sir Thomas Osborne was recommended by Clifford himself, as well as by the duke, to succeed him; having given proofs of his diligence and capacity, when he executed the office of treasurer of the navy. All the storms now raised, and which, afterwards, followed the duke in parliament, bear their date and origin, from the suspicion they had of his being converted to the Roman Catholic faith. Nor could his private enemies, till then, gain any advantage over him. Before that time, he was looked upon as the darling of the nation; for his having so freely and so often ventured his life for the honour and interest of his King and country, and for his having been always so active and industrious.

Macpherson's Extracts.

1673. trious in carrying on every thing, as to trade or as to navigation, that might tend to their advantage.

E X T R A C T IV.

Carte's
Extracts.
Sept.

Nov.

The earl of Peterborough was sent to Neubourg, and then to Modena for a wife to the duke of York. Peterborough married her, by proxy, on the thirtieth of September, N. S. The house of commons were alarmed at the match, and petitioned the King to break it. Arlington advised the King to stop the dutchess in France. She landed, at Dover, on the twenty-first of November. Dr. Crew married them; declaring that, by proxy, a lawful marriage. They arrived at Whitehall, on the twenty-sixth of the same month. The public chapel, stipulated by act of marriage, was not allowed her. Many of the duke's friends, among whom was the earl of Berks, a Roman Catholic, advised him to withdraw. He refused, unless the King commanded him. The great seal was taken from Shaftesbury, and given to Sir Heanage Finch.

Shaftesbury, in all the revolutions from 1641, was famous for turning from side to side; still foremost in the several turns of government, though ever so contrary to one another. When chancellor, he was a bold asserter of prerogative. He had the chief hand, in declaring for liberty of conscience. He promoted the second Dutch war. He advised shutting up the exchequer. He justified all proceedings to parliament. But when the declaration, for liberty of conscience, was recalled, seeing how the stream ran, he dexterously tacked about and closed in entirely with the republican party.

E X T R A C T V.

When the King told Shaftesbury and Carlisle, that Mrs. Barlow was not his wife, but his mistress, they answered, "let him but say it, they should find such as would swear it." The King now declared it publicly; though he was too fond of Monmouth, who was made general for life of all the forces in England, by patent. The duke of York opposed it; but all he could obtain was, that the word *natural* might be added to *son*, in the commission; the most of the orders and directions being for his son the duke of Monmouth, without *natural*. He had the like commission for Scotland, but Lauderdale hindered it for life. This was

was about the end of the Dutch war, in 1673, or the beginning of 1674, after the duke of York was obliged to resign.

1673:

The young princess of Modena, who left that place in the beginning of October, O. S. being first married by proxy, by the earl of Peterborough, landed at Dover on the twenty-first of November; having staid four weeks sick at Paris. She was not allowed a public chapel. The princess of Inspruck, on the Empress's death, was married to the Emperor.

1674. E X T R A C T I.

The duke of York, in the house of Lords, told them, that the reason he had not yet taken the oath of allegiance, was not for any scruple he had to take it; the meanest subject his Majesty had not being readier to testify his obedience to him than he was; but he doubted whether he was to take it, since it was plain that prince Henry had not done it; and that, by authentic records, other princes had been exempted from taking it. Being unwilling to do any thing, that might give reason to any who might come after him, and be in the same post, to complain, that he had lost them a privilege, which he might have retained if he pleased; he desired, for his own justification and satisfaction, their opinion and judgment in it. At first, it was proposed to refer it to a committee of the privy-council. But the duke seeing, by the debate, that many lords were of opinion he ought not to have the same privilege as the prince, desired them not to give themselves the trouble, that he acquiesced and would take it; having done his part, in making his claim; and would not stand upon it. He took it, as soon as the house adjourned.

1674:
Jan. 14th.

After the King's message, about the Dutch offers for peace, the earl of Salisbury moved for a bill, to breed the Duke of York's children in the religion of the church of England. The earl of Carlisle seconded this motion; and moved further for a bill, that the King, nor none of the royal blood to such a degree, might marry, without the consent of parliament. Halifax moved, the disarming all Roman Catholics and reputed ones; and lord Mordaunt, that all English priests might be removed from the Queen.

24th.

The

1674.
Feb. 9th.

The articles of peace with the Dutch were signed at London, on the ninth of February. It had been negotiated, concluded, and signed, by the marquis de Fresno, the Spanish ambassador, who had full powers from the Dutch, for that purpose. Next day, in the debate, in the house of Lords, about the clause proposed in a bill to hinder any of the blood from marrying a Roman Catholic, without the consent of parliament, Carlisle and Halifax proposed, that the penalty should be the declaring them incapable of succession; for which being reproved by lord Peterborough, who termed it "a horrid notion," he was answered by Shaftesbury, that it was not so horrid. He spoke for it, he said, not as a thing he desired should look backward, but forward; and for which there had been precedents. But his discourse and precedents were severely answered by the lord-keeper, who said it was stretching their liberty and freedom of speech to the utmost, to hold such discourse as they had held. He spoke very well and home to the whole matter, proving it against law; and he shewed the bad effects things of that nature had had in this nation. The bishop of Winton, and other bishops, spoke to shew how any thing of the nature was against the rules of Christianity in general, and especially against the doctrine of the church of England; and, at last, the proposition was laid aside, with scorn. The heads resolved on were, in general, that the King, nor none of the blood, within such a degree, should marry a papist, without the consent of parliament, and no penalty put upon it.

24th.

On the twenty-fourth of February, the parliament was prorogued, to the tenth of November. This resolution was carried so close, that none of the Commons believed it would be done, expecting only to be told of a recess, in eight or ten days; and they looked very discontented, when it was done. No bill of any kind had passed both houses; and but one private and two public ones were sent up from the house of commons. One of each kind only was sent from the lords. Shaftesbury and Carlisle were to propose to the house of lords the disbanding of the duke of York's regiment.

March.

Shaftesbury, pretending fear of having his throat cut by the Roman Catholics, lay one night at least, in the city, at the house of one Cook, a fanatic; and, both then and before, he did all he could to promote
petitioning

petitioning his Majesty to call a parliament, for the redress of grievances. He endeavoured to get the lord mayor to consent to the common council's meeting once a month; and had it even proposed, in a court of aldermen. But the lord mayor would not consent; and said, they should not use him as the King had been used. The King sent Sir Paul Neal to Shaftesbury, to let him know, that he heard he was about to take a house in the city, to live there. He forbade him, at his peril, looking on it as a design to do there as he had done in parliament; and that he would do well to go down to the country, as soon as the weather would permit. Shaftesbury answered, that he had no design.

1674.

The duke of York told Monmouth, who was with him in the evening, that he feared Arlington. Though he was about to quit the place of secretary of state, for the white staff, he would still have some part in affairs; and, by his fearful councils, ruin the King's affairs, as he had already done. He knew it was his design to ruin the good understanding between them. Monmouth answered, that he could not believe he had such evil intentions, else he would have nothing to do with him. The duke of York made him suitable returns and parted; conjuring him, at the same time, to have a care of Arlington's practices. The same night, after supper, Monmouth came to the duke, and desired him to move the King, for his having a commission as general, during pleasure only; and to lie by him, not to make use of at present, but in case of any disorder. This he desired, because he had been told by some officers, that, if any thing should happen, they could not obey him, nor fire on any, unless he had such authority to command. The duke answered, he did not see it was necessary for that reason only; since already, by his commission of captain of the King's troop of horse-guards, he was empowered to command all the troops now on foot, as eldest colonel. That he believed a commission of general could give him no more power. For the words of killing and slaying would not be in any new commission, more than in that he had already; they not having been used in the late general's commission. That it was a misinformation of those who persuaded him to desire it on that ground; and any such officer as had said this to him, or should make any such differences, did not deserve to be one, or to have a military employment, that could be so foolishly scrupulous. Neither lord Craven's regiment nor the

July 17th.

1674. queen's troop had any such differences, on the disorders of Whit-Tuesday; and on Monmouth's saying they had orders to do what they did, the duke put him in mind, that they could have none, being accidentally drawn up in Lincoln's Inn-Fields, when the disorders began; and they fell upon the rabble and dispersed that part of them, before orders could come. Monmouth insisting on it still, the duke of York told him plainly, that he would never speak to the King about it, nor consent there should be any general, as it was a post not fit for any body in the time of peace; and, on the duke of Albemarle's death, he had advised the King against it, when there was no thought of a duke of Monmouth.

Sept. 13th.

The King told the duke of York, he thought it would be necessary for his service to give the duke of Monmouth a commission for lieutenant-general, to capacitate him to command all the troops, else inconveniencies might happen, on some refusing to obey him, in case of a sudden rising. The duke said, he thought his Majesty had taken a resolution to the contrary, when the late general died; and, besides, there was no necessity for it, as Monmouth was already captain of the guards.

Oct. 20th.

Sir R. T. told the duke of York what he had heard from another hand: That, at a meeting at lord Mordant's, at Parson's green, it had been resolved, by that gang, to get such a vote against him, as that against Buckingham and Lauderdale, at the first meeting of parliament.

24th.

On the twenty-fourth of October, the King told the duke of York, in Lauderdale's presence, that he had just come from speaking with Howard, who had told him news out of Holland; and, among the rest, that the prince of Orange had said, he heard, Arlington designed to persuade the King to own the duke of Monmouth his legitimate son; on which, the King said to Howard, that it was true, one person, *Shaftesbury*, once had the impudence to come near proposing it to him; but he had answered it as became him. He told him, he could never be so base as to think of any such thing; and that he had rather see James, meaning Monmouth, hanged up at Tyburn, than have any such thoughts.

Application

Application of doctor Owen, Mr. Jekel, Mr. Gould, and others, to the duke of York, to get the King to stop the prosecution of conventicles.

1674.
November.

The King sent Arlington to the prince of Orange, to know his mind as to peace or war, that he might take measures accordingly. The duke of York opposed Arlington's going, as he was too much a friend to the prince, to make a faithful report; and, a day or two after, when the King told him, that lord Offory was to go and offer the princess Mary in marriage to the prince, he was against the commission; since the prince ought first to seek her. The King said, lord Offory was to say nothing of it, till the prince had done all he expected, and spoke first to him of it. The duke acquiesced, in his pleasure.

E X T R A C T II.

Peace with the Dutch was concluded, by the interposition of M. de Fresno, the Spanish ambassador, who had a plenipotentiary power from Holland. It was proclaimed in March.

The house of commons pressed the King to a war with France. The second test was contrived to get the duke of York removed from the King's presence, and even from the succession. It was to contain a renunciation of many other tenets held by Roman Catholics; none to come into the King's presence, without leave first obtained, under the hands of six privy councillors. But the duke's friends, by a majority of two, got a clause to except him; which put Shaftesbury so much out of humour, that he said he did not care what became of the bill. He urged against the duke's succession, by divorcing the King, and setting up the duke of Monmouth.

Monmouth, who was bred a Roman Catholic, under the name of Crofts, was very handsome, had no great capacity, but outward parts made him agreeable; tall, well-shaped, a good air, civil behaviour, none danced better, very brave, even cunning and insinuating. He got, at last, to be made general of the forces in England; and even designed to get the great seal put to his commission, as the King's son, without adding *natural*. Vernon, his secretary, had struck out the word *natural*, in the patent obtained, for general of Scotland; and Lauderdale refused

1674. to draw it otherwise, than *during pleasure*, and with the word *natural*. He got also a commission of general, with which he was going to command in Flanders, against France; but was stopt by the peace.

EXTRACT III.

The duke of Monmouth had been bred, in France, a Roman Catholic, under father Gough, an English oratorian. His tutor, Thomas Rofs, a Scotsman, put the thoughts of legitimacy into his head; and would have bishop Cozens to certify, that he had married the King and Mrs. Walters, who refused it, with indignity, and gave immediate notice of it to the King, who removed Rofs from about him. Mrs. Walters, for that was her true name, was born of Welch parents, very handsome, little wit and some cunning. Colonel Algernoon Sidney, who was then a colonel under Oliver Cromwell, trafficked for her first; and was to have had her for fifty broad pieces. This I had from his own mouth. But, being commanded hastily out of London to his regiment, he missed her; and she went to Holland, where his brother, Robert Sidney, lighted on her and kept her, for some time. The King, being then at the Hague, heard of her, and got her from him, who said, at the same time, these words to some of his friends, "Let who will have her she is already sped." And after her being with the King, she proved so soon with child, and came so near the time, that the world had cause to doubt, whose son Monmouth was*. When he grew a man, he proved the likest thing to him I ever saw, even to a very wart on his face. After she had this child, she kept so little measure with the King, and lived so loosely when he was in Scotland, that when, after the Worcester fight, he came to France and she came thither, he would have no further commerce with her. She used, in vain, all her little arts. She tried to persuade doctor Cozens that she was a convert, and would quit her scandalous way of life; and had, at the same time, a child, by the earl of Carlington, who grew up to be a woman, and was owned by the mother to be hers; as like the earl as possible. When the King went to Germany, she imposed on Sir H. V. the King's resident at Brussels, to go along with her to Cologne, and ask leave to marry him. But all being in

* Macpherson's Extracts.

vain,

vain, she abandoned herself, and grew so common that she died at Paris, after the Restoration, of the disease incident to her profession *.

1674.

* When James was in Ireland, in 1690, he employed some part of his time in drawing up instructions for his son. He is very particular, in his advices to him, as to his private conduct. But he has left only general heads of what he intended to say, about the government of this country, and the manner of regulating the several departments, and filling the great offices of state. He gives very sensible directions about the navy, as the bulwark and glory of the kingdom. He desires him to have the treasury always in commission; never to have a lawyer lord chancellor. To have neither lord high admiral nor commissioners, but a secretary of state, for that department, which always ought to be the chief care, and, therefore, must be under the immediate inspection of a King of England. He recommends to him to have four secretaries of state; of whom only one, should the test be repealed, ought to be a Roman Catholic, one a Presbyterian, and two of the church of England.

He desires him, in a particular manner, not to be too much attached to women. He gives several instances of the fatal consequences of such connexions to princes, and to their kingdoms. Many of them died without lawful heirs, and were ungratefully used by their natural children. He acknowledges, with shame and regret, that he himself was too much a slave to that passion. Almost every thing, he says, will apply to his brother, although he professes, from a regard to his memory, to speak in general terms.

He gives him, however, as a strong instance of the disadvantages arising from keeping mistresses. Though he used them with kindness and liberality, they had no fixed regard for his person. The factious and discontented always gained them over to their interest, which he instances, in "a certain lady;" by whom he means the duchess of Portsmouth. "If you have daughters," says he, "you will be obliged to give them portions, and to provide them with husbands, whom you must dignify with honours, or enrich with places. If you have sons, you must furnish them with estates out of the demesnes of the crown; and give them employments, to the exclusion of men of merit, and the ancient nobility, who have a right to your favour."

"And now to come to what I have seen myself, and what ought to weigh very much with you. The late King, my brother, who had the misfortune to be very much addicted to that fatal vice, had children by all his owned mistresses, and none by his Queen. Besides which, he had the mortification to have had the duke of Monmouth, whom he believed to be his son (though all the knowing world, as well as myself, had many convincing reasons to think the contrary; and that he was Robert Sidney's) fly in his face, and join with the earl of Shaftesbury and the factious party, in the design they had to seize his person, and rise in rebellion against him; though, at the same time, he showed him all the tenderness of a father, and the kindness of a friend doing things for him, which ought to have made him give a better return than he did."

In the Scotch
College,
Paris.

This paper, which he calls, "Instructions for my son, the prince of Wales," is imperfect. The last part contains only general heads, upon which he intended to enlarge. They are in a thin folio volume; and authenticated, by an attestation, in the Queen's own hand, declaring them to be a genuine copy of those originally written by her husband. They were left, by himself, to the Scotch college, where they still remain.

When

1674.

When Monmouth came over, with the Queen-mother, he was called young Mr. Crofts; pretending to be lord Crofts's son. But not long after, he was owned, and made duke of Monmouth; bred a protestant, married to the earl of Buccleugh's daughter, an heiress of ten thousand pounds a year. As he grew up the King's kindness increased. He was very handsome, well-shaped, a good air, a favourite of the ladies. The duke of York was always kind to him, till he found his designs. Monmouth had cunning and insinuating ways, when he had a mind to please. He went with the duke of York to the Dutch war when Opdam was blown up. The King bought the earl of Macclesfield's first troop of guards for him. He sent him in the second Dutch war to serve in Flanders, by land, as lieutenant general, at the siege of Mastricht; and young Churchill with him. He behaved well, at the retaking the Half-moon*; but staid only that year. He grew ambitious, and fond of pleasure. In the summer of 1674, he desired the duke of York to get the King to make him lieutenant-general. The duke declined it, as unnecessary; since, as captain of the guards, he actually commanded all the forces in England, when drawn into the field; and he had, on the duke of Albemarle's death, declared his opinion against a general in chief, it being an office he thought too great for himself. But Monmouth still intrigued for it. He had then thirty thousand pounds a year coming in, yet not satisfied. He fell out with the earl of Danby, for not complying with his desires of getting money from the crown. He struck the word *natural* out of a warrant for the King to sign, for a commission under the great seal, appointing him general, which stopped his patent of general, for life, in Scotland.

There was a copy of the treaty of Nimeguen signed, in the prince of Orange's pocket, when he fought at Mons.

* The following Epigram, written upon the occasion, is in Tanner's collection of MSS. at Oxford.

E P I G R A M M A.

Eia! ingens *Lauri* victor, MONMUTHE! triumphum

Luna dedit juveni capta, recepta tibi;

Tu modo *Idumæis* tentas proludere *palmis*:

Porriget has olim *Thracia Luna viro*.

Trajectu Mosæ, superasti fortiter urbem

Trajectu Ponti nil minus orbe feres.

The

The English forces were sent to garrison, in Newport, Ostend, Bruges, and other places. Some went as far as Brussels; and more were ordered to be in readiness. The duke of York was preparing to go over. Monmouth went to Flanders, in time enough to be in the action of St. Dennis and Chateau, near Mons. In this voyage, he began to take measures with the prince of Orange, and lay the ground-work of what he afterwards undertook. By little arts and mean compliances, he gained the prince of Orange's favour; promising to stand by him, whenever he should have occasion, in England. He endeavoured to gain an interest in the English and Scotch troops in the States service; and succeeded with very many officers and soldiers.

The parliament, not content with stripping the duke of York of his posts, by the first test, resolved, by an additional act, to drive him from the King's presence. But they were disappointed. The duke's friends, in the house, moving to exempt him from that part of the penalties, it was carried by two votes, which came that morning into the house, Sir Charles Gaudy and Sir Anthony Dean. Shaftesbury, hearing of it, declared he did not now care what became of the bill. Yet he left not off the design, but carried it at last, by the help of the earl of Danby, the treasurer; whose friend the duke had been before, though it was against his will he had been made treasurer of the navy. But seeing him serve with care and fidelity in the office, he grew his friend; and had so good an opinion of him and his capacity, that, when Clifford laid down, he recommended him to the King for treasurer, as the fittest person. He did it very well, and served the King with great vigour and fidelity, till he took distaste at what the King did in favour of Buckingham.

The faction, seeing the King had more friends and interest in the house of commons than they cared for, thought to break the parliament, on a nicety of law and custom of parliaments. This they designed to effect at the first meeting of the house; and were, some time before, very industrious in going about it, and speaking to lords of all sorts to bring it about; pretending they would prove the parliament dissolved. They sent lord Wharton to the duke of York, who, though of the party, pretended kindness for him, out of friendship and gratitude, the duke having, some years before, saved him from being ruined, to endeavour to persuade him, that the parliament was actually dissolved, and give his reasons for it. The duke said, he should hear those reasons in the debate,

1674. bate, and would judge who spoke with most reason. Shaftesbury and Hollis spoke with Arundel of Wardour, Bellasis, and most of the Roman Catholic lords, to persuade them to join with them, and draw in the rest of the Roman Catholics. But they would not comply. The turbulent party urged their arguments with so much heat and sedition, that Buckingham, Salisbury, Shaftesbury, and Wharton were sent by the lords to the Tower, to remain during the King's pleasure. But, not long after, on petitioning the King, and owning the fault, they were released. Wharton stayed somewhat longer than the rest, because he chicaned, and had no mind to own his fault in plain terms. But, seeing no remedy, he did it either in that or the next session.

Another great and warm debate happened in the house of lords, on a bill brought in or proposed by the earl of Danby, and suffered by the court and episcopal party, by which no peer was to sit or vote in the house, that did not take the oaths or test, not to endeavour any alteration in church or state, as then settled. The party, especially the four lords who were sent to the Tower, the duke of Monmouth, and Halifax opposed it; and Shaftesbury and Hollis pressed again the two Roman Catholic lords, Arundel of Wardour, and Bellasis, to join with them in opposing it, as all the Roman Catholic lords would not agree. They said, it was not prudent for any of them to irritate the King, who might execute the laws against them, and find means to turn them out of the house; and, perhaps, their party might give a helping hand to it. Shaftesbury swore, he and his friends never would; and wished his tongue might cleave to the roof of his mouth, if he ever spake for so unjust a thing. Yet not above two or three Roman Catholic lords joined with the party; and these, in another debate, proposed, that an addition to the standing rules of the house of lords should be constantly read, at the first sitting of every parliament; declaring that no peer was to lose his place or seat in the house, by reason of any oath tendered to him. But, on this, the bill was laid aside.

1675. E X T R A C T I.

1675.
January.

The ministers, to pacify the parliament, contrive a match between the prince of Orange and the princess Mary. Arlington was sent, for that purpose, to Holland. The duke was against it.

1675.

EXTRACT II.

The archbishops and bishops were pressed, by the ministry, to propose the King's executing the laws against dissenters and Roman Catholics. Jan. 25th.

The prince of Orange complained to Arlington of the King's being moved to own the duke of Monmouth, by his good friends, Carlisle and Shaftesbury. Arlington told him, that the King had rejected it.

After the severe order of the council against the Roman Catholics and nonconformists, the duke of York said to the King, he hoped he would not be displeased, if he did not wait on him to church; as he had not, at his forbearing to receive the sacrament. Feb.

Monmouth told the duke of York, that he had asked the King's leave to persuade colonel Russel to part with his regiment of guards, that he might have it, and lord Offory have his troop; and he would put the regiment in a better condition. April 24th.

In a debate in the house of lords, the treasurer moved, that lords might not, for refusing the oaths, be incapacitated to sit in the house. This being approved, the duke of York moved, that it might be general for all bills; which was agreed to, and added to the standing orders. 30th.

The treasurer's friends, in the house of commons, consisted of zealous church of England men and old cavaliers, who were influenced by the bishops and clergy. May.

Arlington's friends, by moving the duke of York to get capacity for his employments, meant to put the house of commons in a heat, in order to a dissolution.

Monmouth's agreement with colonel Russel being near finished, the duke of York opposed it. June.

1676. EXTRACT I.

There is no man of common sense in our island, who does not, or ought not, to know that England can never be secure and at ease, without she be master of the seas, at least to such a degree, as that no prince or state might alone dispute the superiority with her. This being granted, it behoves whosoever is at the helm, so to do all things, as they

1676.
Macpherson's
Extracts.

1676. they may contribute to that purpose: and this is not only to be done, by building of great ships, and having the stores and magazines full of all kinds of necessaries, for the speedy fitting out of a fleet; but by promoting and encouraging of trade of all kinds, especially those that breed and employ most seamen, that there may be always a plentiful stock of marines; and settling such encouragements as may induce the nobility and gentry to apply themselves to sea affairs.

E X T R A C T II.

Carte's
Extracts.
Jan.

Compton, bishop of London, proposed to the duke of York to confirm the princess Mary, in order to her receiving the sacrament in the church of England. The duke refused his consent. But he submitted to the King's orders.

E X T R A C T III.

18th.

The bishop of London came to the duke of York and told him, as the lady Mary, his daughter, was of age to think of preparing to receive the sacrament, he asked his leave to confirm her. The duke said, since he could not communicate with them himself, he was against his daughter's doing it; and though he had not instructed his daughters in his own religion, it was because, if he had, they would have been taken from him. He desired him to inform the King of what passed; who ordered them to be confirmed.

Feb. 20th.

Shaftesbury had refused to go out of town, on the King's message to him by secretary Williamson, on hearing he was about things contrary to his service.

The bishops got leave from the King to send orders to number the conformists and non-conformists throughout England.

The King, on occasion of somewhat deposed in council, about Coleman, relating to a book written by one Bury, a reputed priest, said coldly, he was an ill man very busy; that he did prejudice, by meddling with every thing; and, looking on him as a person not fit to be employed in the duchess's service, he would have had him dismissed. The duke desired some proofs of his meddling.

Bill proposed for a test to be made for every King of England to take. In case of refusal, then, as any bishopric became void, a number should

should be chosen by the rest of the bishops, out of which the King should choose one: the like to be done for all deaneries and church preferments; and that the children of such King, or the next heir of the crown, should be under the care of the archbishop of Canterbury, and some other bishops, till a certain age. As for Roman Catholics, in general, the penal laws should be repealed for such as should register their names. But all converts, after the act, to have them still in force against them: no catholic to be capable of any office, but to fine for such as were chargeable, and pay the King annually the twentieth of their estates; not to come to court without leave; to be liable to penal laws, if offending against the two last clauses; for priests, death and perpetual imprisonment. Other non-conformists to have meeting-houses out of towns, to be incapable of offices, but to fine for the chargeable.

1676.

1677. E X T R A C T I.

Sir William Godolphin, by letter, informed the King, this day, that Don John had told him, that France had proposed peace, on condition of Spain's giving up the rest of the Low Countries; for which Spain should have Rouffillon, all Sicily, and twelve millions of livres ready money; which would put her in a condition to recover Portugal, and four millions for Don John himself: that Fribourg should be restored to the Emperor, with some places in Alsace. On the same day, the French ambassador offered to the King, in his master's name, to enter into a treaty to put Ostend and some neighbouring places into his hands; and to give Antwerp to content the Dutch.

1677.
Jan. 25th.

When the duke of Ormonde was to be sent to Ireland, lord Ranelagh put the duke of Monmouth on being lord lieutenant, and to let lord Conway be his deputy.

March.

The King was this day assured, by an infallible hand, that the Spaniards, by means of the duke of Ber. de Salines, and other agents, fomented all they could a rebellion in England; and that it was by orders from Flanders and Spain.

April 3d.

On the tenth of April, prince Rupert told the King, that he had opposed a design, in the house of commons, to address for his being high

10th.

1677. high admiral; but hoped he would make him so, in case of a war. The King said, it was time enough yet to consider what was to be done in that case.

The commonwealth-party expected, that in this parliament the ministers would be impeached; grievances make a great noise; no money given, without sacrificing some great officer, or parting with some great flower of the crown; and, the truth is, the prospect was dismal enough. Great disorders were hoped for. Vast crowds of old rump officers and others were at the opening of it. The four lords probably expected fermentations, or they had not been so resolute. For their friends, in the house of lords, the marquis of Winchester, the lords Halifax and Hollis advised them not to trust that point of the parliament being dissolved, by a fifteen months prorogation; telling them they would miscarry in it, and only bring inconveniences to themselves. Their ill success frightened their friends and party, that they durst not fall on the ministers; and they could neither hinder the giving money to build ships, nor the additional excise for three years: all they could do was to address for a war with France.

September.

The King had advice at Newmarket, of the fifth-monarchy-men's design to murder him, and the duke of York, there or at London, on the Lord-mayor's day, in a balcony; and the prince of Orange on his way from Harwich. But the design was laid aside, because they were not enough prepared. The duke of York, at the same time, had the like advice.

Oct. 15th.

On the fifteenth of October, the prince of Orange spoke to the duke of York about his match with the lady Mary.

November.

In November the archbishop of Canterbury died. The treasurer and the bishop of Winton pressed hard for the bishop of London. It was objected, that he married and his wife alive.

Those who, since the peace with Holland, in 1673, had pressed for a war with France, out of no good design, but to force the King to disoblige France; and, by a war, to get him into such necessities as they might impose on him what they pleased, were now the only persons that opposed a supply; at least, such a one as was requisite to carry on so extensive a war.

EXTRACT

1677.

E X T R A C T II.

In June, Bentinck was sent by the Prince to England, with great professions to the duke of York.

Project of Shaftesbury and the party to prove the parliament dissolved. In one of their printed papers about it, a clause was added, affirming that the parliament had power to alter the succession.

The prince of Orange's journey into England, after the campaign, in October, was to concert the plan of a peace, for the security of Flanders, and to propose a marriage with the princess Mary. The marriage, at the lord treasurer's instance, was first settled; and then it was agreed, that Aeth, Charleroy, Oudinarde, Courtray, Tournay, Condè, Valenciennes, St. Guillan, and Binch should be restored to Spain; and the King to send an agent to the French court to require a positive answer in two days. Lord Duras was sent to France. The French were surprized. But they carried it fair, and gave a general answer; neither granting nor denying; but that the French ambassador in England should have powers to finish the treaty to the King's satisfaction.

1678. E X T R A C T I.

Buckingham waited on the King, in private; the duke of York, the chancellor, treasurer, Monmouth, and no minister knowing of it.

1678.
Feb. 7th.

Monmouth's commission, under the great seal, to be general, was signed by the King; the word *natural* being struck out by the duke himself.

E X T R A C T II.

The States strike up a separate peace with France. The King, in pursuance of a plan of peace, raises an army of twenty or thirty thousand men, and sends part of them into Flanders. The emperor and Spain had not accepted the peace; and the King proposed to parliament the keeping up his army, for the preservation of Flanders. But the house of commons voted the army to be disbanded immediately.

The

1678.

The duke of Monmouth met with the lord Ruffel and Montague, Sir Henry Capel and others, for removing the duke of York and the treasurer. The last, for his own safety, advised the King to put the laws in execution against the Roman Catholics, and send the duke of York out of England. His answer was, that he could not save him. The duke of York was more generous.

In April, 1678, a little before the parliament met, lord Ruffel and other considerable men in the party, sent to the duke of York to let him know, that if he would trust and join with them, in what they should propose for the good of the King and the nation, they would undertake to remove the incapacity he was under of being high admiral, or exercising any public office; and do any thing else for his satisfaction. But, in return, they expected his concurrence with them, in prosecuting the treasurer. The duke said, he would join with them for the King or the nation's good; but to fall on the King's minister, without his consent, unless more visibly guilty of some great misdemeanor, which did not appear to him, he thought it contrary both to the good of the King and the nation; and, therefore, could not join with them. He advised them to take other measures.

Otes's plot.—He had gone to St. Omers, and, under pretence of becoming a jesuit, had been admitted into the jesuit's college there, till turned out for insincerity and other crimes; and enraged at the jesuits, he came into England, and pretended to have discovered a plot, though never was any thing so improbable. It was founded on such reports, as had kindled a rebellion, in 1641. The King was against communicating Tong's information to the duke of York, till it was thoroughly examined. But he came to hear of it, by the letters sent to Mr. Beddingfield at Windsor. When Otes was examined, he began his narrative, with such assurance, and accompanied it with such circumstances, as would have imposed almost upon any body. But the cross examination shewed the villany. Otes said, he knew the hands of those, from whom the pretended letters came; and a line of each being shewed him, he told whose they were. But there was no similitude between them and the papers of Ireland and Fenwick. Ireland was in England, when his last letter was dated from St. Omers; and had not, of a long time, been beyond sea. Tong's deposition was in the same hand with Blundel's letter.

letter. So Tong and Otes were the contrivers. Otes wrote one himself. 1678.
None of these letters were produced at the trials.

They were all full of false spelling, no points, no marks of distinction, no air of coming from men of business. Treason was wrote, in plain terms. Five persons of different places and nations could not agree to write their own names false the same way, the same false English, and wrote on paper that had the same mark and the same size; agree in the same cant and affectation; which, on examination, was found all to be so. Nothing but inspiration could work this miracle. On the contrary, whoever compares the periods, the manner of expression, and strokes of the pen, with Otes' and Tong's original papers, will find they all came out of the same mint. What Otes said of Don John had as little resemblance of Spanish forms, as his description had to his person; and when Mr. Kirby blamed Otes for so gross a mistake, he replied, by way of excuse, he might well give a wrong description of a man he had never seen in his life. His contradictions about the Jesuits house. Arundel and Bellasis were to be acquainted with it. But he did not say they knew what he afterwards accused them for. He did not particularly accuse any lord, till he had been before the house of commons and saw how they relished it; nor did he till then give them their different employments, which they were very unfit for. The Queen and the duke of York were not accused till a considerable time after. Otes, before the house of lords, declared on oath, that he had no accusation against any person of whatsoever quality, but who he then named. Yet, a fortnight after, he accused the Queen. William Coleman was examined in council. Otes told the chancellor, he had never seen him before; yet he told another story afterwards. He said he was trusted with the jesuits greatest secrets; yet they would not trust him with money for his coach hire, when he went to Dover, but sent Grove with him to pay it. He had delivered so many commissions, yet kept not one for a proof, though he intended from the first to discover all. He swore, that so many arms were bought, yet none were ever found. Armies, he said, were raised, yet none appeared.

The plot was designed to destroy the duke of York; whom, in parliament and in his information, Otes calls a rascal, papist, and traitor. "He shall be hanged; and I hope to live to see it. We will have

no

1678. no more regard for him, than for a scavenger of Kent-street. It is to be hoped, we shall see him at the bar of the house of commons, where many better men than he have been. If the devil has a hotter place in hell than another, I hope he will bestow it on him." These were the flowers of his eloquence. Yet this language was borne. The King discovered villany from the first, and would have nipped it in the bud, had he not been diverted from it by the treasurer, who would lay it before parliament; and it was catched at and swallowed, with such greediness, that all contradiction was impossible. The first of September was appointed, by parliament, to execute the penal laws.

Nov.

On the second of November, Shaftesbury moved the house of lords, that the duke of York might absent himself from council and business. The King, at first, directed his servants to oppose it; but, soon after, he desired the duke to abstain, who did it out of obedience. The house of lords, on the eighth of November, addressed that the duke should withdraw from court. The King endeavoured to stop their career. On the thirtieth, the duke was excepted out of the act. Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey's death *felo de se*. Five hundred pounds were offered for a discovery. This reward made Bedloe come to one Brewer, for a description of Godfrey's person. So, on the eighth of November, he deposed, that Godfrey was murdered in Somerset-house, by the lord Bellasis direction. That himself, with some fellows, had decoyed him into the court, where others, suddenly rushing on him out of a door, forced him into the house and murdered him. That his body lay there two days, and was at last carried to the place where it was found. The King was at Somerset-house, at the time Bedloe laid the murder. This made him doubt it, and send the duke of Monmouth with Bedloe to Somerset-house, to shew him the place where every thing passed. On his return, the duke told the King, that the Queen's back-stairs was the place where Bedloe said the body lay. The King was there, a centry at every door, a foot company on guard; yet nobody saw or heard any thing. The King was so sensible of villany, that he did not care to prolong Bedloe's pardon.

The house of commons' business was to defeat the succession. So, on the twenty-fifth of November, the Queen was accused. Offory and Bridgewater were sent with Otes, to shew them the place where the Queen said the words charged. He directed them first to the guard-room,

room, then to the privy-chamber; out of which, he said, she went up a pair of back stairs to a great room. Whereas there were neither any such stairs thereabouts, nor any large room in that story.

1678.

The duke of Monmouth began, now, to set up for himself. He held cabals with the lord Ruffel, Sir Henry Capel, Mountague and others; and Sir Thomas Armstrong said, on several occasions, that Monmouth assured him the King had promised to declare him prince of Wales, and if the King died he had four witnesses ready to swear, that the King was married to Mrs. Barlow. The King was acquainted with it by the treasurer, and reproved Monmouth; but he did not change his conduct. Colonel Birch moved the treasurer to persuade the King to it; but was told, that the King abhorred such an untruth. The treasurer was, now, struck at.

Mountague's correspondence with the Nuncio.—He was apprised of what was intended, and had secured the papers which the King designed to seize. Francis, Dugdale, Dangerfield, Smith, and others, offered themselves as witnesses. The parliament would not give the King a groat, yet he was forced to maintain this rabble of witnesses. Colman condemned. He was a busy man, and generally hated. Five lords imprisoned. The parliament was dissolved on January the twenty fourth, 1679. The day before the dissolution, Praunce was removed before the King and council. Green, Barry, and Hill were his accusers. The second was a protestant.

EXTRACT III.

Letters from France of Dumbarton and Monmouth's regiments being reduced, from eighteen and twelve hundred to six and four hundred; seven shillings and sixpence only given to men disbanded in Dauphiny and Burgundy.

June.

Israel Tonge, a fanatic, known to be an infamous villain, that, in rebellious times, did what he could to destroy both universities; turned out of Tangier and all places wherever he had been, was brought, the day before the King went to Windsor, on an information of one Kirby, a broken merchant, that he had a terrible plot of murdering the King to discover, by night to the King. He charged the jesuits with the plot, as related in papers given to the lord-treasurer. Mr. Bedingfield brought

Sept. 28th.

1678. letters directed to him, in counterfeit hands, signed by jesuits; and, soon after, received another packet, signed Blundel; all to the same tune, about a plot.

Oct. 13th. Otes related his story, with such circumstances, in council, as to gain some credit, till he came to be examined, when the villainy appeared. They asked if he knew the hands of the letters sent to Bedingfield. He said he did; and the court making the clerks shew him a line of each letter, the rest being folded up, he presently said they were Ireland and Fenwick's hand-writing. Both these denied it; and several papers of theirs taken with them being compared, they were proved not to be the same. When Otes said they were counterfeit hands, they denied it too, or that they knew ought of their contents; and as to Ireland's letter, dated from St. Omers, in August last, he proved that he was in England at that time, and had not been beyond sea of a great while. Blundel's letter appeared to be in the same hand with Tong's deposition; other hands counterfeit, and yet names signed at length. The packet was directed to Mr. Bedinfield at Windsor, to be left at the Posthouse. So White's letter appeared to be forged. Otes, after telling several improbable things of Don John, and that he was in the room, when the money was told out in Don John's presence to be sent to Sir George Wakeman; the King asked him what kind of a man Don John was? He answered, a tall proper man. He was known to be a man of little stature, but a little fat. Otes did not know where the jesuits professed houses were; but said near the Louvre.

Nov. 22d. The duke of York's proviso carried for him, in the house of commons. Ayes 158, Noes 156. The treasurer was for him; but the presbyterians were against him.

Bedloe deposed to Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey's murder in Somerset-house, and that his corps was laid on the back stairs. All the Queen's servants came up them, her meat was brought that way, footmen waited there constantly, a sentry night and day, her Majesty and family in the house, sentries at all the doors, and a foot company on the guard; and then not discovered, but by such a fellow long after.

25th. Otes was brought before the council, on the twenty-fifth of November. He was sent with the lords Ossory and Bridgewater to Somerset-house, to shew them the place, where he heard the Queen say what he accused her of and saw her. But he could not shew the place.

The

The King could not persuade the duke to abstain from council, to prevent an address for removing him from his presence. The council was forced to order him to do so.

1678.

The King, informed by letter from Sir Leoline Jenkins, that he had been advertised that Mr. Mountague, envoy to France, had secret conferences with the nuncio at Paris, ordered in council his papers to be seized; and Sir John Ernely to acquaint the house of commons with his reasons for it. Mountague said his papers were not seized, but safe, and they sent for them. Danby impeached.

Dec. 19th.

Praunce confessed the falsehood of all he had sworn about Godfrey.

Dec. 30th.

Ireland and Grove knew not, till ten at night, that they were to be tried at eight next morning; so they were not prepared to prove their innocence.

1679. EXTRACT I.

Lady Powis was deputed from the lords in the Tower to beg the duke of York to withdraw. The king lays his conduct before the parliament.

1679.

Jan.

The archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winton try, in vain, to persuade the duke of York to turn protestant. The King resolved to send the duke away; assuring him, by letter, that no absence or any thing else should change his affection. The duke and duchess go to Brussels; but lady Anne is not allowed to go. Two days after their departure, the parliament met, men of estates in it. The earl of Danby surrenders to the black rod. The duke of York liked him as a man of abilities and resolution; but questioned his loyalty and judgment. The re-admission of Bucks was the first thing that turned his head and heart. He then thought of resigning; and looked afterwards more for his own safety, than the King's service. Lauderdale and the duke of York would fain have had the King to put off his journey to Newmarket; and to examine the plot, before the parliament should meet. Shaftesbury would cry louder than the treasurer. Lady Shaftesbury's butler's story of a French invasion, with sixty thousand men; and the duke of York to come with them. The parliament's voting the duke's religion gave rise to the plot.

Feb.

The King is resolved not to abandon the duke of York. He offered an expedient. The house of Commons vote to exclude the duke of

York.

1679.
Feb.

York. The King being displeased, remained firm for the duke. The duke of Monmouth's views. The King was in some conflict with himself, about falling out with Monmouth; whom the duke of York had pressed him to discountenance and not put into power, but keep him in Ireland in some hands; and to shew his displeasure to Armstrong and Young. The house of commons would not allow the bishops to be present at the trial of the popish lords. The parliament is prorogued. The duke of York pressed his return; but the King refused. The King forms a new council, Halifax, Sunderland, &c. who were the duke's friends; yet they were against his return, which could not be, till after the trial of the lords in the Tower.

EXTRACT II.

The treasurer was blamed, for not putting an end to the popish plot, before the parliament met. The duke of York and Lauderdale persuaded the King not to go to Newmarket; but to stay and put an end to the plot. The treasurer, however, did not second them. If the plot had been examined to the bottom, it would have ended; the perjuries being detected. But the treasurer never acted heartily for the King's service, after the King had seen Buckingham at Mrs. Gwyn's instance; and he persuaded the King to send the duke of York abroad.

EXTRACT III.

April.

The faction divided; some were for the bill of exclusion; the presbyterians for cutting off the succession quite, and be rid of monarchy; others would lay the duke of York aside, and bring in the next heir: If the duke had a son, to have the breeding of him; and to nominate a council of state, by act of parliament, else take the prince of Orange*.

EXTRACT IV.

May 28th.

On the twenty-eighth of May, the duke of York sent a letter to the King, from Brussels; also one on the thirty-first, and on the eleventh, twenty-seventh, and twenty-ninth of June, and first of July.

29th.

Insurrection in Scotland, after the murder of archbishop Sharp.

* From this period the prince began to turn his eyes to the crown; and all his secret intrigues were employed to accomplish his purpose.

EXTRACT

1679.

EXTRACT V.

The duke of Monmouth went, on the fifteenth of June, for Scotland, with only five or six servants. He wrote, from thence, to the duke of York. At his return, he is complimented with the title of Highness; and received, by the King, with tenderness. Halifax, Sunderland, and Essex, undertook, that the next parliament should give the King money, &c. if the duke of York was kept away. The duke's friends pressed him to change his religion.

June 15th.

On the twentieth, five jesuits were executed; and Langhorn, a barrister, on the fourteenth of July.

20th.

When Sir George Wakeman was acquitted, people's eyes began to open; yet the King was still positive against the duke of York's return. Shaftesbury continued president of the council till the fifteenth of October: So fearful was the King of breaking with a popular man.

July.

The King treated with the French ambassador not to obstruct his master's designs, provided they related not to Flanders or Holland, if he might find his account in it; so far, at least, as to be able to live without other helps. France caught at it; but desired, that the duke of York's consent might be first had; he having used some sharp expressions against France. So Sunderland acquainted the duke with it; but before the duke's answer, the King fell ill, on the twenty-second of August, and sent for him; who came, and thanked the duchess of Portsmouth and all the ministers, who were privy to his being sent for.

The King found, that Monmouth had managed the Scotch fanatics, as if he intended rather to put himself at their head, than repel them; and that he had more inclination to court their friendship, than to punish their rebellion.

EXTRACT VI.

On the sixth of September, the duke received a letter from Sunderland, that the King was ill, but he hoped it would pass over; charging him, at the same time, not to be alarmed, nor to come over. Feverham wrote, that he would send an express, if the King grew worse; and, on the seventh of September, he received letters from both, and the duchess

Sept.

1679. duchess of Portsmouth, by express, that the King was ill again, and had a severe fit of an intermitting fever. On this, Sunderland had advised with Feversham, Halifax, Hyde, Godolphin, the duchess of Portsmouth, and agreed to send for the duke immediately. The King, on proposal, agreed to it: But all this was to be kept a secret; and he was to say, that he came of his own accord. So he came very privately. Sir R. Bulstrode was sent to tell the duke of Villa Hermosa, then at Namur, the reason. Essex knew of his being sent for, and approved of it; but none of the duke of Monmouth's cabal. He got to Windsor, by seven on Monday morning. Monmouth looked much disturbed, though he had been ordered by the King to behave civilly.

E X T R A C T VII.

Sept. On the eighth of September, N. S. the duke of York began his journey from Brussels to England, on advice from the lord Feversham and others, that the King was in danger of an ague, and advising him to come as privately as possible, that it might not be known at court, till he arrived at Windsor. He told it only to the duchess; taking Peterborough and Churchill along with him. He came from Calais, in a French shallop, to Dover; where he was not known, but to Portman, an honest man, who kept the secret. He left Peterborough, and rode post, with Churchill, to London. He took a coach at Southwark, and went to Phil. F. at the Post-office, and lay all night at Sir Allen Apsley's near St. James's; and got to Windsor as the King waked, being better by the Jesuit's powder. The duke of Monmouth, who was then at court, had gone to hunt in the morning; and Sunderland, though he knew of the duke's coming, denied it positively to Monmouth. The King received him kindly; but would not let him stay long, all the ministers being against him. The duke returned, in a yacht, to Ostend; and arrived at Brussels, the first week of October; N. S. He took the duchess, the princesses Anne and Isabella, to see the princess of Orange in Holland; leaving the gross of his family at Brussels. They stayed a short time at the Hague, then embarked at Maeslandstuyts, in a yacht for London; and, about the end of October, the duke went by land to Scotland; leaving his two daughters at St. James's.

E X T R A C T

EXTRACT VIII.

1679.

Sept.

When the King told Monmouth he must go abroad, he shewed his displeasure, with heat; and, since the King did not think him fit to command as general, which he did not seem fit he should do, or captain of the guards, he desired that his troop of guards might be given to the duke of Grafton. But he came next morning, with more submission; declaring himself ready to obey orders, and set out that night from London. He, however, held a conference, that evening, with his factious cabal. It was resolved, that the duke of York should go. Secretary Coventry proposed to Scotland, rather than Brussels. Sunderland and the King came into it; only thought the duke should go first to Brussels for the dutchess, and then go straight to Scotland. But Sunderland and some others assured him privately, that if he came back to court, he should not be obliged to go to Scotland at all.

EXTRACT IX.

It was now necessary to prepare for the meeting of parliament: So Sunderland, Essex, Halifax, Hyde, and Godolphin, thought it proper, that the duke should return to Flanders; on condition, that Monmouth was sent out of England. The commission of general of Scotland and England taken from him; and he himself sent away. He continues his correspondence with Shaftesbury, Montague, &c. The next day, the King, in presence of the above lords, declared his resolution to the duke of York; when Monmouth, in a heat, told the King, that he did not think it proper for him to keep the command of the horse-guards, since he was no longer general; and he desired, that the duke of Grafton might have his troop. Next morning, he came in better temper, and told the King, that he was ready to submit to what he ordered; and, that evening he went to London, where yet he had a private meeting with Mr. Montague and other disaffected persons; giving out, that this disgrace befel him, because he was for the King's agreeing with the parliament, and because he was a protestant. This being publickly discoursed, some of the duke's old friends were much against his going; especially secretary Coventry, who spoke to the King, in vain, for the duke's stay. Sunderland was of the same mind. Essex and Halifax were

1679.
Sept.

were for his going; and Mr. Hyde for his stay. Godolphin was for his going, since Monmouth was gone.

The faction were against the duke of York's going to Scotland; for reasons, as an intelligencer informed, that determined the King for it. Effex approved of it; and Halifax, though he at first objected, acquiesced.

EXTRACT X.

The duke was to write from Brussels, on his arrival, to ask the King's leave to go to Scotland; and to carry lady Anne and Isabella, who had been lately permitted to visit them, to see their sister, the princess of Orange; and that the yachts be sent for him to Holland and some frigates kept ready in the Downs to carry him to Scotland.

EXTRACT XI.

On the twenty-fifth of September, the duke took leave of the King, and went to Brussels and Holland; and came back to London, without having troubled Effex or Halifax; the season of the year not being proper for a voyage by sea. He waited in the Downs, till leave was sent to come to London; the duchess being so ill as to vomit blood.

Oct. 13.

On the thirteenth of October, the duke came to London, by the King's leave, in his way to Scotland. A week after he arrived in town, Lord Sunderland and Mr. Hyde came to tell him, that the King thought it for his service he should go to Scotland, as soon as he could; but did not intend he should stay longer than January. The duke resolved to obey; and set out on the twenty-seventh of October. Effex and Halifax were, probably, the cause.

EXTRACT XII.

20th.

A week after the duke's arrival, Sunderland and Hyde were sent to acquaint him, that the King thought it for his service he should really go for Scotland, though not to stay longer than the middle of January. So he set out about the end of the month; leaving the princesses Anne and Isabella at St. James's. The King ordered Lauderdale to send directions, for the duke's sitting in the privy council, without taking

ing the oath of allegiance. The duke arrived at Edinburgh on the fourth of December.

1679.

The marquis of Montrose met the duke at York; and told him of the difficulty of sitting in the privy council, without taking the oath of allegiance.

EXTRACT XIII.

The ministers sent one of their number to propose the duke of York's joining with them, to remove the duke of Lauderdale. The duke said, that Lauderdale had served the King very well, and was his particular friend, of which he had many testimonies in his absence; and, that it would be a great discouragement to the King's servants, to see a person, who had supported his authority with so much zeal, so ill requited for it; and he could not give his consent. The ministers said, they only proposed to lay him gently aside, to sweeten things before the parliament met; which had a pique against him and would else fall upon him, and, therefore, hoped the duke would be, at least, passive in it: But he told them he would not promise; thinking it his duty to speak his mind freely and sincerely to the King, on all such occasions. This might, probably, give a helping hand to the resolution of sending him back. The King, however, promised to recal him a few days after the parliament should rise.

EXTRACT XIV.

On the tenth of October, the parliament was prorogued, by proclamation, to November. Another proclamation was issued against association.

Sir Leoline Jenkins had taken more pains to excuse himself from the post of secretary, than another would have taken to get it.

EXTRACT XV.

The faction was alarmed at the duke of York's going to Scotland, which made the duke less averse to it, for fear of a counter order to remain at Bruffels. So the King communicated it to Effex and Halifax. The former readily assented; the last, with some hesitation. The King declared his resolution to them all five, Effex, Halifax, Sunderland, Hyde, Godolphin.

Nov.

1679.
Nov.

The duke of Monmouth returned from Holland to London, where he appeared publickly, the day after the duke of York set out for Edinburgh. He sent Godfrey to the King.

The duke of York, by his industry, application, affability, and kind reception of the nobility and gentry, served the King's affairs, and got himself such an entire love and esteem as dejected his enemies; and therefore, the persecuting of him in England served only to make him reign, as it were, in Scotland, where he engaged with no party.

Essex quitted his post in the treasury; pretending that the duke of York had not kept his promise of doing nothing without his advice. The parliament had been prorogued to the twenty-sixth of January; but not, then, designed to sit. The faction set to procure a petition for it. The lord mayor forewarned, by the King. The petition of ten lords. The Roman Catholics prosecuted.

EXTRACT XVI.

Nov. 28th.

On the twenty-eighth of November, the duke of Monmouth arrived, about eight o'clock at night, at Whitehall. He sent, by captain Godfrey, a short letter to the King; hoping that he would not be offended at his coming over, since it was with a design for his service; and having some business of consequence to speak to him, desired his leave. The King answered, in writing, that he was extremely surprized to hear of his coming into England, after such positive commands not to do it. He ordered him to be gone immediately, if he hoped ever to see his face again; and to do it so privately and suddenly, that the world might take no notice of his disobedience. Godfrey returned, with repeated instances for Monmouth's seeing the King and speaking a word; assuring his Majesty, that he would do any thing he desired. The King said, he would be obeyed; and stood firm. His coming was concerted with the lords, now framing pretences for the parliament's sitting; and there was reason to think, that Monmouth had been in town three or four days before he sent to the King; it being known, that Godfrey had been there so long. If the duke did not go, the King was resolved to send an officer of the guards to see him on ship board. This the King told Godfrey, after being with him the second time. The King went to bed, not doubting but Monmouth would obey, none as yet knowing of his coming.

coming. But after twelve o'clock at night, Monmouth came to his lodgings at Whitehall; and, before the morning, it was known all over the town. Monmouth came to visit him, as soon as stirring. The King rose; and fresh instances were made only to see him. Lord Fauconberg, Macclesfield, and his son came upon the errand. The King refused, and ordered him immediately from Whitehall: and, by night, out of England, on pain of losing all his places. He answered, by lord Fauconberg, that he was gone out of Whitehall; but begged he might be permitted to stay in England, in any place. He was then at his house in Hedge-lane, where the cabal held a meeting. The King still peremptorily ordered him to be gone; and, if he did not obey by that night, he must never expect to see his face any more. The King sent for all the principal officers of his troop immediately, and ordered them not to obey Monmouth. He resolved to take away his post of captain of the guards; and, for that purpose, ordered Sunderland to make a commission for the duke of Albemarle to be captain, and to send for him to town. The duchess of Monmouth begged the King to see the duke. The King bid her tell him, that he wanted nothing but an entire obedience in this matter; and that he would give him no longer time, nor hear any more from him. The next morning, she sent the King a letter, that her husband was not yet gone, and renewed the request of admittance into his presence, as he had somewhat to justify himself from the accusation. He sent her a verbal answer, desiring her to remember what he had said the night before; and that he would certainly be as good as his word.

Fauconberg came, in the afternoon, with a letter from Monmouth, pretending he had long refused to bring it; but had yielded, at last, to his importunities. The King would not receive the letter, nor send an answer to it, but that he had nothing to say to him. The duke of Albemarle was put, that evening, into the command of the guards, Mulgrave made governor of Hull and lieutenant of the East Riding, and the earl of Shrewsbury made lieutenant of Staffordshire. The commission of master of horse was likewise taken from Monmouth, though not disposed of. Sir Thomas Armstrong was turned out of the guards, and his commission given to Mr. Griffin. The thousand pounds that he had paid were, however, refunded. A design was laid to prove the

1679. King's marriage with Monmouth's mother. They pretended that a letter was taken from her, when she was put in the Tower, under the King's hand, owning the marriage; and, to prove that the paper was then taken, they produced a news-book, in 1652, calling her Charles Stewart's wife, and saying, that the letter was to be a ground for it. Sir —— Parry pretends to prove the marriage, by a bishop that is dead.

On the 30th of November, the duke of Monmouth had not left London. The prince of Orange was no stranger to his proceedings.

Dec.

On Sunday, the lords Huntingdon, Clare, Stamford, Shaftesbury, North, Gray, Cherbury, and Howard of Escric, came to the King, with a paper presented by the earl of Huntingdon, now printed. Chandos and Bedford were at the door. Four com. were to make up the commissions for master of horse.

1680. E X T R A C T I.

1680.
Jan.

On the twenty-sixth of January, the parliament was prorogued to the fifteenth of April. Monsieur d'Avaux solicits the Dutch to an alliance with France. A further prorogation to November was urged, for that purpose; so that the King of England could not assist the States, if attacked. Thus a prorogation might keep France from invading Holland, and Holland from a league with France. The King proposed to recal the duke of York before the session. But he was dissuaded by his ministers. The duke of York told the privy council, whom he had chose, that he would acquaint the King, that he had, in Scotland, a brave and loyal nobility and gentry; a regular and wise privy council; and the judicature filled with learned and upright persons. That the disaffected party was not so considerable as those in England represented them; and, having reconciled peace to some of the Highland families, they were now firm to the King's interest. He took leave of the privy council; the chancellor answering how sensible they were of the honour of his presence, the advantages of his conduct and advice; and that they themselves were entirely devoted to the King, and to his royal highness. Their letters to the King. The duke and duchess embarked at Leith; and they arrived at Privy-Stairs on the twenty-fourth of February. An address from Norfolk thanking the King for recalling the
the

the duke of York. The faction alarmed at his return. Rumours of plots. Alford and Shaftesbury told the privy council of an Irish plot; Plunket's. Blackburn's contract of marriage of the King and Mrs. Barlow. The King is resolved to search into the bottom of it; and Sir Gilbert Gerrard, who was said to have seen it, was carried before the privy council, and declared positively, that he had neither seen nor knew any thing of it. In May following, the King being indisposed, with two or three ague fits, the duke of Monmouth wrote to him to inquire of his health; signing at bottom, "Your dutiful Monmouth." He inclosed it in one to Mr. Godolphin; who delivering it to the King, he bid Godolphin tell him, if he would make his actions answerable to the conclusion of his letter, and obey his orders, it was the only way to a reconciliation. But if he flattered himself with the support of the factious party, or that parliament might interfere in his favour, he should find it would make things worse. Accordingly, about a month after, finding no change in Monmouth's conduct, he published a declaration, protesting, on the word of a King and a faithful Christian, that he was never married to Mrs. Barlow, alias Walters, the duke of Monmouth's mother; nor to any other woman but the Queen; which, together with the oaths of all the lords present, was registered in Chancery.

1680.

EXTRACT II.

In Norfolk, the grand jury, instead of presenting the petition to the Justices of the session, presented the promoters thereof, for meddling therewith; and, in Somerset, they not only remonstrated against the petition, but issued warrants against the promoters thereof; one of whom they indicted, for promising to petition against the proclamation, and procuring a party's hand to be set to it, without his privity. The grand jury found a bill; but the cause, by a *certiorari*, was removed to the King's Bench. In Berks, the petition was presented by Sir J. Stonehouse, Mr. Barker, Wood, &c. most of them honest gentlemen; though prince Rupert was lord lieutenant, and constable of Windsor Castle and Forest; the only petition that came so formally to the King. The Yorkshire petition was not presented in council as proposed. The King saw, that nothing but time could do good to parliament.

Jan. 24th.

The

1680.
Jan. 28th.

The King said, in council, "I think fit to acquaint you, that I have sent for my brother; not having found such an effect from his absence, as should incline me to continue it longer; since we have lately seen, and may see again, questions started, of so high a nature in themselves, and to him particularly of so great concern, as make it agreeable, both to reason and justice, that he should be present at the next session of parliament. For though it shall always be my care to preserve him in his right, yet I think it may be for his satisfaction, as well as for his interest, to be upon the place, if any such debate should arise again; and, in the mean time, I promise myself such a compliance from him in all things, that shall be thought necessary for the general quiet and security of my kingdom, that no body will have reason to be alarmed at his return; or to apprehend, that his being near me will have any ill influence upon the public."

Feb. 25th.

Letters, which came from Mr. Chudleigh last night, say, that the States still insist on calling a parliament. So plain a combination fortifies the King, in his resolution not to call one.

March.

Journal from Tangier attacked by the Moors.

This day six lords, Shaftesbury, Huntingdon, Gray, Cavendish, Russel, Brandon, and nine commoners, Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir Scroop How, Sir William Cooper, Mr. Thynn, Trenchard, Wharton, and Dr. Otes, went to the grand jury at Westminster, and delivered an information against the duke of York, for being a popish recusant. Just as they came to the jury, they found them going down to the King's Bench, with a petition for the parliament sitting, which the foreman delivered to the lord chief justice, who ordered it to be read; after which, the judges spent some time in consulting of an answer to it, and judge Jones demanded of them, whether they had all their presentments ready. They replied, that a small time would finish them: but then the court told them, that they had spent their time in things that did not belong to them, and neglected things they ought to have done; and, therefore, they were discharged, and their petition would have been returned, but they would not receive it, saying, they had done their duty; and so left it with the court. This discharging of the jury makes a great noise, because they had not given in their presentments; as doth the information against his royal highness; none believing

believing that Shaftesbury, &c. would have troubled themselves with a bare information of the duke of York's being a recusant, had they not had something else to be done, after they had obtained this.

1680.

EXTRACT III.

On the twenty-second of March, the King was at Newmarket; and, the same day, the council met at Whitehall, on information, that a great number of apprentices were enlisted by one Alford, under pretence of burning the rump. He was secured by the lord mayor, and committed by the council, for high treason, as he deserved, for offering to enlist men.

March 22d.

Sir William Waller and the fanatics endeavoured to make it be thought a popish plot; and some were so malicious, as to write and contrive, as Sir Samuel Bernardiston and others, that the guards were to join with them to fire the city, and to cut the throats of the protestants. These were the very words of some of the letters, adding, that the like design had been discovered in Ireland.

On the twenty-fourth, Shaftesbury called a council, and told them of a new popish plot in Ireland, by primate Plunket and his clergy, to deliver the kingdom to the French. He desired a private committee, for imparting all he knew; the president, lord Bridgwater, Essex, secretary Coventry, and Mr. Hyde, to form this committee, that the author might not be named; and likewise powers to examine, without the knowledge of the duke of Ormonde or the King. All was granted. But Mr. Hyde told the chancellor, and complained against it in council.

24th.

Don Pedro Ranquillo came ambassadour, in place of the marquis de Bourgamont, with powers for making a league, not from the King of Spain, but from the duke of Villa Hermosa. He told them, that he would send for them; and the treaty was concluded in June.

May.

EXTRACT IV.

On the twenty-sixth of June, Shaftesbury and others came to Westminster, to get the grand jury to present the duke of York, for recusancy, hearing mass, &c. and that the dutchess of Portsmouth might be presented as a common nuisance. She soon made her peace, and joined the faction, with the duke of Monmouth; and both laboured to re-

June.

1680.
June.

move the duke of York from court, because the dutchess of York had not shewn her respect enough.

Halifax and the other ministers proposed a bill to banish all Roman Catholics out of the realm, to rouse the nation; though religion was only a pretence. The duke of York is sent again to Scotland. He desired a pardon, but was denied it.

EXTRACT V.

On the twenty-sixth of June, Shaftesbury came to Westminster, and made a speech to the grand jury, then sitting, about the danger of popery; invectives against the duke of York, offering an indictment against him for recusancy, and witnesses to prove his hearing mass; and desired them to reflect how unsafe it was he should have the management of the post office; that two thirds of his estate might be saved; and, that they would declare the dutchess of Portsmouth a common nuisance.

EXTRACT VI.

October.

On the ninth of October, the duke of York had notice from Mr. Hyde, that Sunderland and Mr. Godolphin were of opinion he should retire abroad. Essex and Halifax were of the same opinion; but he was more surpris'd at the former, who had obligations to him, and professed to be his friends. The duchess of Portsmouth, pretending to resent his not giving her assurances, during the King's late illness, of his friendship, in case of the King's death, though not decent for him to do, and needless, because the King's illness was slight, and not at all dangerous, was employed to draw the King to the resolution of sending the duke away. She had gone from Windsor several times to London, to make up matters with Shaftesbury and his party, by the canal of lord Howard of Escric, and, having done it, promoted their measures. The King signified to the duke of York, that his affairs required his absence; and he advis'd him to go to Scotland, sending before him a letter, that he had sent him to take care of the affairs of the realm; and some proposed a pardon for him, before an impeachment, which Shaftesbury threatened; in which case it was undoubtedly valid. The King thought that the commons would proceed by bill, and not by impeachment, as
a shorter

a shorter way, but was against a pardon; and, in any case, assured him, that he would dissolve the parliament.

1680.

EXTRACT VII.

On the ninth of this month, the King came from Newmarket to London. The duke of York's removal abroad was discoursed more than ever. Sunderland and Godolphin both assured him, that the King thought of no such thing. Coming to London, Mr. Hyde told him, that Sunderland was grown cold to him; and, though they often saw one another, had never opened his mouth to him of any business, which made him and the duke of York believe the reports were true. But Hyde did not think his friend Godolphin of that mind. He was undeceived the next day after the King came to town, when they told him they thought the duke of York's absence for the King's service; and, the next day, both said so to the duke. Essex was for his returning to Flanders: Halifax only from court: the King in doubt whether he should be able to stand by him. Essex and Shaftesbury are reconciled. Halifax was an atheist, and had no bowels. The King consulted the privy council who were of opinion, that the duke should not go; yet the King continued of the same mind.

Oct. 9th.

Two days after, he desired their advice, whether he should break the parliament, if the duke of York was impeached; but this was a question not to be answered, so no resolution was taken in council about the Duke of York. On Sunday, the King proposed his going to Scotland; and wrote on Monday, to his council there, that he had ordered his brother to repair thither, to look after the affairs of the realm. The duke, accordingly, on Wednesday, took leave of the King and set out. The King expected, that the parliament would move for the militia, or some act to retrench his power, and would then dissolve it. The duchess of Portsmouth complained of the duchess of York, as being kinder to the duchess of Mazarin than to her. After the duke's return from Scotland, the cavaliers are disobliged at the directions given to the judges, in favour of the non-conformists, and judge Ellis not being turned out.

1680.
Oct. 21st.

E X T R A C T VIII.

On the twenty-first of October, being the day after the duke's departure, the parliament met. The bill of exclusion, and the debates thereupon, by lord Ruffel, Sir Henry Capel, colonel Titus, and Harbord. The expulsion of the members, for discouraging petitions, though it frightened all, had purged the house, and paved the way for the bill's passing. The bill was kept four or five days in the house of commons, till the house of Lords was prepared for it, by addresses from the common council of London. Rumours of plots :— Dangerfield.

The same stratagem had been used in the house of commons when the bill was first brought in there.

Dugdale, Francisco Perez, and Dangerfield were thought to lessen the votes for the duke of York, by accusing his friends. This made the lord privy seal vote for it.

As soon as Dangerfield had given his evidence, lord Ruffel carried the bill to the lords. Many of the house of commons opposed it; but his imperious temper hurried him on with it; and the members gave a shout, when it was delivered. Sunderland voted for it. A proposal was made for the King's divorce. The commons were vexed at the bill's being rejected. Ruffel declared, if his father had been against it, he would have voted him an enemy to the King and country; and if he could not live a protestant, he would die one. Mr. Leveson Gower said, some, perhaps, might be for making peace with the duke of York, "but," says he, "I will perish first, and my opinion is, that we should break up, and return each to his country, and let the people see how we are used; and I doubt not but they will soon join us, with their swords in their hands; and then we will let the duke know, that we defy him and all his popish adherents."

The parliament fell on the duke of York's friends. Sir E. Seymour, for misapplying 600,000l. given for building thirty ships. Halifax, lord chief Justice Scrogs, and Sir E. Seymour warded the blow. Halifax offered to withdraw, but the King would not suffer it. Scrogs was discharged, and recompensed with a pension. New accusations against the duke

duke of York about the plot. Mrs. Cellier's engagement with Lewis, to burn the ships at Chatham. The disputes about the pardon; which and maintenance the house of commons, accordingly, addressed for, and desired a pardon for perjury too, it not being safe for witnesses to declare at first the whole truth, as sworn to say. The attorney general had been complained of, for not drawing Dangerfield's pardon full enough. Lewis had forgery in his pardon, to make him a legal witness.

1680,

EXTRACT IX.

Narrative of the victory of the garrison of Tangier over the Moors.

Oct. 27th.

The duke of Monmouth professed a readiness to make all manner of submission; and hoped he might be received, as earl Huntingdon and lord Mordaunt had. Mrs. Crofts pressed the King to speak to him, but was refused.

The duke of York's absence hindered many from opposing the bill of exclusion.

Nov. 12th.

The dutchess of Portsmouth does not find her account in her late measures, and except she be preserved by them, she has no way of preserving herself, but by the French interest; and by that, the duke of York might be well with her again. "But it is the most damned and false bottom you can put yourself on, and such as I can never serve in, with any confidence or hopes of success." He recommends being well with the Scots; and if the English parliament get an address for his removal, he will get a contrary one from the Scotch government. Halifax firm in opposing the bill of exclusion. He had procured the King's message, on Monday, to the house of commons, to destroy the report, as if the King consented to the bill; and a man sent, from the great* men to the bishops, to prepare them for it, as for the King's service; and a good correspondence between the two houses was acceptable to the King. This made his public disapprobation necessary. The King resolved to have the bill refused by the lords, at the first reading, and not returned, in hopes of mending it at a committee, which had been mightily laboured to get him to consent to. Agreed to limitations or some tem-

Hyde to the duke of York.

* The exclusionists.

1680. porary law. In the disputes between the houses, the commons have always got the victory of late years.

Nov. 15th.

The additional duty on wines, expiring next August, amounts to above 300,000*l*. the King could scarce be able to live on his revenue, and pay his troops and seamen. Protest of the lords, respecting the bill of exclusion. Halifax signalized himself in the debate for rejecting it. Sunderland voted the other way, which displeased the king. The point of religion moved them more than a spirit of faction. An artifice to persuade many; but they were engaged too far to retreat, and their safety consisted in getting it passed, as the duke of York would not forgive. The commons adjourned next day. The lords considered how to secure the protestant religion. Divorce of the Queen proposed in the debate. Lord Peterborough was not committed by the lords, on Dangerfield's evidence, which Essex did not believe. It was contrary to *habeas corpus* to imprison lady Powis twice for the same crime. Dangerfield withdrawn. Lord Russel brought up the bill of exclusion. When he had read the title, there was a great shout at the bar. The debate about Peterborough was kept on till three, that the bill of exclusion might lie on the table. The duke of York's friends thought it of worse consequence; so debated from three to nine, and rejected it by thirty-three votes. Halifax spoke incomparably, and bore the burden of the day in the committee. He answered Shaftesbury and Essex, as oft as they spoke. He spoke, at least, sixteen times, letting slip no good occasion. His reasons were so strong, that they convinced every body that was not resolved not to hear. Yet he proposed, next day, a bill of banishment, that the duke should not come near the King's person as long as he lived. Shaftesbury and his party turned it into ridicule. The duke's friends said nothing, and it fell. Shaftesbury said no expedient would serve, but marrying the King to a protestant wife, and divorcing the Queen. He was seconded by Salisbury, Escrie, Essex; and opposed by Bridgwater, Halifax, &c. This also fell, though it was threatened afterwards, to be taken up. Resolved to prepare a bill of association, as in the time of Edward Third, and the thirteenth of Elizabeth. The duke of Monmouth made a speech against the duke of York, saying nothing should have provoked him to it, but his concern for the King's
life,

life, and because he was fully satisfied, that the duke designed to take it away. Halifax reflected severely on this speech.

1680.

For rejecting the bill of exclusion, 49 lords and 14 bishops, 63; for passing it 30.

In the house of commons, for an address to remove Halifax 219, against it 95; Birch was of this number.

Ziele, one of the witnesses against Mrs. Cellier, owned he knew her not, nor had ever seen her, only Lewis told him she was the woman he talked with, who had a hood over her face. The attorney general added, that for fear of being blamed again, as in Dangerfield's case, for not making a pardon full enough, he had asked Lewis whether he had been guilty of any other crimes, besides those mentioned in the King's warrant for his pardon, viz. treasons, misprisions, felonies, outlawries. Lewis owned he had been convicted of forgery.

A bill of indictment had been found against Mrs. Cellier, by the grand jury of Middlesex, but ought to have been, by that of Surrey, the fact being done there. Shaftesbury represented Lewis as a gentleman of good birth, and fit for any employment; whereas his top preferment was footman to Sir J. Moreton. The King had resolved not to pardon perjury. Sir E. Seymour's answer to the articles of impeachment against him.

Essex moved for a clause in the bill of association, to oblige the King to dispose immediately of the Tower, and governments of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Hull, to none but such as shall be approved in parliament; and without such approbation, the employments to be void. Shaftesbury called all those who were against the bill of exclusion *Yorkists*.

Nov. 14th.

The twenty-ninth, being the last day of the term at Westminster, the grand jury presented the duke of York as a papist: but this could not operate till Easter term.

29th.

EXTRACT X.

The house of commons address and narrative of the plot. The duke of York's friends renew their solicitations about a recal. The duke presented again for a recusancy. A bill of limitation in the house of lords; and articles of treason formed against him. The duke to be

banished.

1680.
Nov.

banished for the King's life to some place five hundred miles from England; to forfeit his revenues if he came nearer, and his life if he returned to any of the King's dominions; and whoever received him, in England or Ireland, should be guilty of high treason. In case of his accession to the crown, that the whole power of government should be vested in a council of forty-one: all foreign treaties and negociations to be transacted by commissioners taken out of the said council: Ireland to be governed by it also: and it should have power to fill up all vacancies, or remove any from employments; yet to be subject to disallowance or approbation of parliament, which, while sitting, was to exercise all the authority vested in the other, during the interval of sessions.

This, as Mr. Algernon Sidney and his party thought, was a gentle way of dropping the government into a commonwealth. Lord Stafford tried and condemned. He played his game worst when he had the best cards. He made little use of advantages given him by witnesses. The duke of York was aimed at in all these proceedings. The faction durst not venture the trying of lord Arundel, the evidence not being full to him. Carlisle and Ešcric had voted Stafford, their kinsman, guilty; yet moved to change his sentence to perpetual banishment. This being rejected, they desired to see him; under pretence of carrying the bishop of London and Dr. Burnet to him. They only wanted to get somewhat out of him against the duke of York: but the lords would not allow them to see him alone, without a recorder present: so their project was disappointed.

The King was wrong advised, in sitting neuter, and leaving all his servants to their own judgments.

All men in power, the dutchess of Portsmouth, &c. against the duke of York. The prospect of his affairs dismal.

Robert Sydney arrived from the Hague. The Dutch and Spanish ambassadors try to persuade the King to pass the bill of exclusion. The Dutch had deserted the allies at Nimeguen. The duke of York gained ground in Scotland. The Scots were as zealous to support his right, as the English were to invade it. Great endeavours were used to remove the duke's friends from the King. Essex quoted precedents of persons being removed on reports. The lords had passed a bill for the trials of peers. Bill of association.

The parliament would make a bargain with the King. The privy council not to judge of *meum* and *tuum*. The commission of judges rejected, by a clause *quamdiu se bene gesserint*.

1680.

The duke of York's letters. All civil and military employments are in the hands of good protestants. Acts of exclusion and association; and then Tangier to be relieved, and the fleet supplied.

More projects against the duke of York. Contrivance to make Shaftesbury lord mayor.

EXTRACT XI.

The duke of York's letter, dated Edinburgh, Dec. 14, in answer to Hyde, pressing him to be a good protestant. The duke was zealous in hindering his brother, the duke of Gloucester, from turning Roman Catholic. He himself did not turn till after he came to England, and reading the histories of the reformation. He only withdrew from communion in 1672.

The republican party are very earnest to bring the non-conformist ministers into the church; in order to infect that body of men, who they now look upon as the only support of the crown. Earl Thanet about the buying of colonel Ruffel's regiment.

EXTRACT XII.

Algernon Sidney and the ablest of the republican party said, that if a bill of limitation was once got, they should, from that moment, think themselves sure of a republic. So the King judged. Memorial of the States, when the bill of exclusion was rejected by the lords, that the King would agree with the parliament. They were encouraged to this by Sunderland, and directed in it by Sidney, the King's envoy, else they would not have ventured on it. Spain and Holland wanted to engage the King in a war; and then parliament would have the management of it; the putting in all officers, &c.

Dec. 7th.

28th.

The duke desired a *noli prosequi*, to prevent his being convicted, on the presentation last term, by the grand jury.

Danby concurred with the faction about the popish plot, to save himself from the storm which was raised against him.

EXTRACT

1680.
Dec. 6th.

E. Seymour
to the duke
of York.

E X T R A C T XIII.

On the sixth of December, the house of commons resolved to out the duke of York's friends, by addressees and impeachments; and to take away his revenue and subsistence, disabling him to support his dignity. He recommends his turning protestant, as the only means to prevent so many miseries. It is much less trouble to conquer three kingdoms, than to save them from ruin. He conjures him very earnestly.

On the seventeenth, a bill brought in to distinguish protestant dissenters from popish recusants, by declaring, that the laws of Elizabeth and James I. against Roman Catholics, should not be executed against protestant dissenters, though intended against both. Shaftesbury and his party owned frankly, that they would have all dissenters, who subscribe the test, exempted from taking the oath of allegiance. This occasioned a great debate. The bishops and lords opposed the bill. It was carried, in a committee of the house of lords, that the oath of allegiance should remain still on fanatics as on Roman Catholics; so that the faction did not care for the bill.

18th.

The lord mayor, his wife, the two sheriffs, the sword bearer, and some others, have, once a year, power to make, each, one freeman of London, which they usually sell. Sheriff Bethel proposed, for his, the duke of Buckingham. But the court of aldermen, though at first they had inconsiderately granted it, last Thursday, would not, on consideration, permit it. Had this passed, Cornish would have presented Shaftesbury; and they two had been Sheriffs next year, and afterwards mayors. Had Buckingham been made last Thursday, he would have been chosen common council man; and he intended to accept of it. This looks as if London would set up for a commonwealth, and this the first step to it.

On the twenty-first, a petition was delivered by lord Lovelace to the house of lords, without mention of the lords spiritual. A motion made by lord Salisbury, for removing all persons that depended on the duke of York's party, was seconded by the duke of Monmouth and the first commissioner of the treasury. Colonel Legg, governor of Portsmouth, was moved against by Shaftesbury.

Almost all the Roman Catholics in England, worth above a hundred a year, would be put into the bill of banishment.

The

The bill about dissenters to be read to-morrow, for the second time, which plainly enough throws down the church of England, and sets up presbytery; and yet independents and quakers are not satisfied with it, though agreeing against the duke of York.

1680.

Blundel is the young brother of a good and honest gentleman of a thousand a year. But he is a most lewd, wicked, dissolute fellow, not worth a groat. He had courted a virtuous good lady in Lancashire. His own sister, Mrs. Penington, told her what a wretch her brother was; who, coming to her house, and finding her alone, threw her on the ground and beat her terribly. Her servants came to her rescue, and pulled him off her; he drew his sword and cut her in two places of the head and face; ran her into the arm and hand, the use of a finger lost. He was abhorred for this, by all the country. The earl of Derby alone would receive him into company; and now he has turned informer, and begun with his own sister.

Self-denying ordinance, in the rump parliament, passed for independents; so threw presbyterians out of all employments, and got in themselves.

1681. EXTRACT I.

The parliament impeach the duke of York's friends. The King prorogues them; but they first passed some violent votes. One to meet at Oxford, on the twenty-first of March. The duke of York pressed to change his religion.

1681.
Jan. 10th.

Salisbury quitted the council; and Essex, Sunderland, and Sir William Temple were dismissed.

The duke of York sent Churchill to the King, with proposals not to suffer the parliament to sit, at least till popular heats abate; nor to engage in an alliance with Spain and Holland, so as to break with France; since the parliament would certainly leave him in the lurch, in case of a war; and France only could enable him to subsist without a parliament. France dreaded a commonwealth in England. Spain and Holland desired it.

1681.
Jan.

The prince of Orange complained of the parliament's being prorogued; and was for the bill of exclusion.

The King agrees to a treaty with France, so as to allow the duke of York to bring it about; but he would not move for it himself. He cautioned the duke, not to consent to any article that might foreclose from calling a parliament, if he thought fit; and to press that the first payment might be more considerable, than the succeeding and last; and, that the person sent by the duke might come straight to London, and deliver his letters to Mr. Hyde, to be shown to the King. The duchess of Portsmouth pretended friendship for the duke. But it came to nothing. Mrs. Wall conferred with Mr. Hyde, with overtures for a reconciliation; but Mr. Hyde, in the treasury, had shewn more regard to the King's necessities, than his credit with that lady. There is no benefit from it.

On Otes's affidavit, that he had seen the duke of York at mass, and receive the sacrament after the rites of the church of Rome, the grand jury, after being discharged at Hicks's-hall, were sent for, by the justices of the Old Bailey, and presented him for recusancy: Which allowed a pretence for the duke to appear after proclamation, as the duke of Norfolk and others had done. But this was neither safe nor practicable: so was removed, by *certiorari*, to the King's Bench, and, if necessary, by a *noli prosequi*.

The King, to prepare for the Oxford parliament, had some guards with him, and quartered the best part of Oxford's regiment on the road, to secure his return. He left a body to secure the city. In doubt of colonel Ruffel, he would have had earl Thanet buy his regiment, who agreed; but afterwards declined it, on pretence that the King went not on for a reform at court, which disheartened honest men. The duke of York would have recommended Mulgrave; but the King was prepossessed against him: so nothing was done, only the chief command left with earl Craven.

The King wrote to all the lords to be there. Great pains were taken to prevent the parliament's meeting at Oxford.

Fitzharris's plot and malicious libel, to alienate the people's affections from the King. He was encouraged to it by the French ambassadour.

Everard brought privately into his chamber. Fitzharris denied what he was accused of; but, as Cornish told the King, he knew of a higher plot, if he might be pardoned. The two secretaries were sent to examine him. He said, that Monticuculi *, before he left England, had offered him 10,000*l.* to kill the King. That he refused, and said it might easily be done at madam Mazarin's, by poison; and, that the duke of York was privy to the design; who effected, that an army was to come from France and Flanders to support the duke of York; a great many parliament-men to be boiled to death, to make a *Sainte Ampoule*, to anoint him and succeeding Kings of England, at their coronation; and, that money had been expeditiously raised, by the dutchefs of Modena, to support the design.

1681.
Jan.

The King, seeing the design of this incoherent stuff, and that the parliament would ask a pardon, ordered a commission of Oyer and Terminer, to try Fitzharris for his libel, proved by three witnesses, Sir William Waller, Everard, and Smith. The time before the parliament met was only a warning; yet prosecution followed with all possible expedition. This foolish story made the duke of York's pardon to be waved, when the King sent for granting it. The lady Isabella died at London.

EXTRACT II.

The King declared in council, and ordered writs for a parliament, at Oxford, on the twenty-first of March. The earl of Salisbury spoke first; and said, that he was sorry for the resolution; but since the King had forbid the lords to offer any advice in it, he looked on himself as unfit to serve him at the board, and begged his attendance might be dispensed with. The King answered, with all his heart; ready to grant so reasonable a request. Essex, Fauconberg, and Sir Robert Carr, spoke very much against the dissolution; the first calling it a desperate and pernicious council, and of fatal consequences, if the King removed from London. The lord privy seal would fain have spoke against the dissolution; but, according to frequent custom, ended with no opinion. None else said any thing.

Letters to
the duke of
York.

The bill of exclusion, declared by the party, not sufficient, without the bill of association to make it good, and all the power they could think

25th.

* Envoy for Modena.

1681.
an. 25th.

of put into their hands, during the King's time. The parliament was held at Oxford, to prevent the designed management between the faction and the city. The earl of Craven was superannuated. One troop of guards to go with the King to Oxford. Halifax against the dissolution of the parliament till a further trial.

The prince and princess of Orange to be made protectors, during the duke of York's time*. Halifax discontented, because he not sure of the duke of York. This, however, was only a pretence. The King could not depend upon the guards under colonel Ruffel. Conway to succeed Sunderland. Seymour answers for him. Yesterday, the King declared in council, that Sunderland, Essex, and Sir William Temple, should come no more there. Chesterfield, Ailesbury, and Oxford to be sworn in.

This day, about noon, Essex, Salisbury, Shaftesbury, Clare, and six more lords, presented the King a petition, signed by thirteen or fourteen lords, for the sitting of the parliament at London. The former part of it a Remonstrance. The King said, it was the opinion of so many private men, but he was of another; and, these were things they ought not to meddle with. The duke of Monmouth and lord Bedford signed the petition; but came not with it. Lord Townshend was desired to sign it; but he refused, and hindered several from signing it.

It is expected, that Manchester, Suffolk, and Macclesfield, will be turned out. The lord Newport much afraid.

The King had promised the foreign ministers, that the Oxford parliament should meet, else it would not; but, if on old measures, he was resolved to dissolve, not prorogue them.

A hundred new members, in the Oxford parliament, who were not in the last. Wildman was one; the greater part for the worse. Halifax says, the bill of exclusion if sent to the lords, it must lie some time on the table; and the expedients offered before thrown out. The duchess of Portsmouth in great credit. A way from the King's lodgings to hers, so the King perpetually there, though not seen. She is implacably enraged against the duke of York.

* The prince of Orange, from this proposal, was induced to continue his intrigues for mounting the throne. He owed his elevation to the suggestion, if not to the assistance of the party.

Sir

Sir N. Carew moved for the bill of exclusion, and was seconded. 1681.
Colonel Birch was not for going so fast, but harkening to expedients; and January.
moved for a day. Hampden was of the same opinion. They resolved
on the bill, and rejected all expedients.

The duchess of Portsmouth laboured to get Danby out of the Tower,
and to persuade the King to give up the duke of York, as to exclusion.

EXTRACT III.

The house of commons, not better composed than the last, resolved, Feb. 22d.
at some of their cabals, to begin with the bill of exclusion. Either that,
or a bill of limitations, would be the destruction of the monarchy. It
would serve likewise, for a precedent to meddle with the succession, on
all occasions, and make monarchy elective.

EXTRACT IV.

The house of commons, being enraged, ordered in the bill of exclu- March 28th.
sion, on Saturday night. It was read the first time on Monday, and
ordered a second reading, when the King sent for them to the house of
lords; and, to their great surprize, appeared in his robes. The lords,
ignorant of it, had not theirs. He dissolved them, took coach immedi-
ately, and went that night to Windsor. This struck them, like thunder,
with confusion and amazement. It gave the King great reputation. His
friends took courage. The faction were in the greatest rage and despair.
The King still would not let the duke of York return, till he saw how
matters went; and, till he had reformed the lieutenancy of the city, the
justices of the peace, and the militia throughout the kingdom.

Arguments by Smith, a lawyer, against removing the duke of York's
presentment by *certiorari*. The duke's counsel not prepared to answer
a thing never yet disputed; so prevailed with the court to adjourn, till
the answer could be framed; which proving satisfactory, the *certiorari*
was granted.

The duke of Monmouth tried to get into favour; duchess of Portf-
mouth helped him. The King's affairs likewise favoured it; but
the duke of York's friends opposed it, as improper, while he was in
exile. Some of the duke's friends would have him be content with
living at Audleyend, or some other house of the King's; and the
duchess;

1681.
March.

duchess being at Bath or Tunbridge. Only Hyde, and secretary Jenkins wished the duke's return, at this time: all being jealous, that Hyde would be treasurer, if the duke returned. The King said, that his enemies wished for it, to create new troubles. Churchill is sent to court, to beg leave for the duchess to go to Bath. The duke of York's return was denied. The princess Anne went to Scotland.

The duke of York desired, by Churchill, a parliament to be called in Scotland. This granted, because the other request was denied; and the duke to be commissioner, it not being fit for any other person to represent the King, while he was there. But he ordered it not to be opened, till the other was denied. This being known, the faction opposed it. Lord Murray, secretary for Scotland, dispatched the proclamation and letter to the privy council, July 28th, for the duke of York's being commissioner.

EXTRACT V.

April 4th.

Some Roman Catholics zealous to advance the Roman Catholic religion, but no plot. Otes, at his first examination, before the King and council, said, that he had ventured his life, for his Majesty's service, at sea, and his soul at land. He owned, that he confessed and received once a week, at the jesuit's, to discover their designs; yet was no Catholic in his heart, but to get favour with the jesuits. When, on his accusing the lords Arundel and Bellasis, and Sir George Wakeman, as knowing of the plot, the King said, that the two lords had served him and his father so eminently, that, unless proofs were full, no credit was to be given them; Otes answered, "God forbid he should accuse any unjustly. He did not say they knew it, but were to be acquainted with it, by the jesuits." The King, afterwards, mentioned this publickly.

At his first examination, he said he had been at Madrid when the 5 or 10,000 *l.* were telling out before Don John, to be sent Sir George Wakeman, as a reward for promising to poison the King. The King asking what sort of man Don John was, he said, *a lean, tall, black man*; yet Don John was a little, fat, well-complexioned man, though brown hair. He said he had been at the jesuits' college, with father La Chaise, the King of France's confessor; he knew not where, but said it was the house just by the Louvre. Otes was so little credited, that Sir George Wakeman
was

was dismissed after the examination. Otes told none of the essential parts of the plot, at first. See Journals of the lords, for his perjury about the queen; before whom he had sworn, that he had no other person of quality whatever to accuse. This was a fortnight before he accused her. The lord chancellor asking him at council, if he had ever seen Coleman, he said, no; yet, at his trial he told another story. It was impossible that the jesuits should trust Otes, after turning him out of their society for ignorance and debauchery.

1681.
April.

Lord Bellasis, a brave officer, was infirm, troubled with the gout, and unfit for employment: Petre was timorous, and no soldier: Sir Francis Ratcliff, no man of the sword, and finical; and when Otes swore he had given him his commission in Wild-garden, he had not been in London for two years, but constantly at his house in Northumberland, not having, in that time, lain a night out of it, as was known to all in those parts, and as Daniel Collingwood testified in the house of commons when he was first accused. Colonel Thomas Howard was grown very infirm, and died of his indisposition, about the time named by Otes, who swore he gave him a commission in Wild-garden, when Thomas Howard was at Bath; and, after he came to London, he never stirred out, being so lame and infirm, that he could not walk up stairs, but was carried in a chair, not able to stand or walk. He died a fortnight after he came from Bath. Sir William Goring, not of age, and but lately come from abroad, was unfit to have many thousand pounds pass through his hands. No meeting of jesuits at the White-horse Tavern, though once in three years they met to chuse a provincial, and other officers, secretary, procurator. All that died in prison, or were executed, denied it: No commission was produced or appeared: No arms in any Roman Catholic's house that was searched, besides a fowling-piece and a case of pistols.

Bedloe, when he was first examined, before the secretaries Coventry and Williamson, in the King's presence, declared he knew nothing of any plot; but only of Godfrey's murder (see Journals of the lords next day); yet turned witness for the plot. He made a foolish story, of Spanish pilgrims to land at Milford; swore against Whitebread and Fenwick, though, when brought to the bar and examined, he denied, when asked upon oath, if he had any thing to say against them; yet

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April.

yet they were condemned and hanged on his evidence, which agreed with Otes's. He swore, that Godfrey's body lay upon the stairs at Somerset-house, in a common passage for pages and footmen, between eight and eleven at night.

Praunce, after accusing the four, afterwards hanged for Godfrey's murder, being sent for to the council to be examined, desired captain Richardson to carry him first to the King, having somewhat of consequence to tell. He was, accordingly, carried to Chiffinch's chambers, where the King came. Praunce fell at his feet, trembling and shaking, which the King seeing, he called in Richardson and Chiffinch. Then Praunce confessed, that he was perjured, and not a word of truth in all that he had deposed; that he had no rest till he told this to the King; and, being brought to the council, he made the same confession. But, when he got back to prison, he unsaid it again; and swore to it, at the trial of the three persons he had accused, and who were condemned. The fourth, Bury, a protestant, was reprieved. He told Dr. Loyd, he would not tell a lie to save his life, and, that all Praunce had sworn was false. When he would not confess the fact, he was, after fifteen days, hanged. He died a protestant. Godfrey was not seen by any body, after one, the day he was missing. Bedlow saw the body lying on the Queen's back stairs, which looks into one of the courts. Praunce says, in a room, which looked into the garden; and they differ in the manner of the murder. Bedlow's perjury against Atkins, Mr. Pepys's clerk.

EXTRACT VI.

May 3d.

Query, whether Fitzharris's counsel would submit to the jurisdiction of the court? Danby moved the council to bail him. The duchess of York ill in Scotland.

24th.

Halifax drew, at Oxford, a promise from the King, that he would not send for the D. of York.

On the Saturday night, Shaftesbury came to the chancellor, to tell him there was a new witness of Sir Edmond Bury Godfrey's murder, whose behaviour and parts shewed he was a gentleman; but, without a pardon, durst not reveal ought; and, therefore, pressed the King for one. There was objected, after three years time, and many proclamations

mations and pardons granted, it was hard and ridiculous, to grant more to this point, or any other of the plot. 1681.

The duke of Ormond says, that the King's declaration, on dissolving the Oxford parliament, had very good effects in Ireland, where the King might be obeyed if he would; and, where they should observe the motions of England, as soldiers ordered to do that of their right-hand men: And, since he came into government, he resolved not to march slower; but durst not go faster, lest he should put the King to the inconvenience of defending an indiscreet zeal, or abandon a servant, that resolves, as far as he is able, to support the rights of the crown, and run the fortune of it. Letters to the duke of York.

Whilst the King and Queen went to Chatham and Sheerness, the duchess of Portsmouth went to visit her beloved friends at Althorp. Ranelagh and Mr. Crofts were her attendants. The visit made a great noise. May 28th.

Fitzharris found guilty of treason. Johnson foreman, who had made a treat for the duke of Monmouth, and petitioning lords at Wapping, about six months ago. He made scruples on the late votes of the commons; but the lords chief justice, justice Jones and Dolben took the pains to clear it. His plea was being employed by the King, in secret services. The duchess of Portsmouth, being called, said she had begged some charity for him of the King; but was not privy to any of his concerns. Mrs. Wall said, that he had received a hundred and fifty or two hundred pounds; but it was for bringing in eminent persons to the King's interest: M was one, Howard of Escric another. June 9th.

Howard of Escric is sent to the Tower; Mrs. Fitzharris and her maid both averring, that he set her husband at work on the libel; and that the greatest part of it was his own writing. The attorney-general ordered to prefer an indictment next morning; and suppose he will make his peace by a full discovery. 14th.

The prince of Orange had made Sidney general of the English, in the Dutch service. Conway, by the King's order, wrote to the prince against it; and, that he would not dispose of it, without the King's consent first had. The prince of Orange persisted he had the disposal of 18th.

1681. it; but has since wrote, that he would not have it, if, in vain, he might write of it to the States.

Conway's
Letters.

Fitzharris sent on Thursday last to the King, that if he would give him his life, though with perpetual imprisonment, he would declare who had put him on accusing the Queen, the duke of York, and Danby. He was, accordingly, to be examined to that point last night. Shaftesbury and his gang are much out of order. They are disturbed at the parliament's going to be held in Scotland, and chiefly at the duke of York's being commissioner. Dennis offers to make a large confession, who put him to accuse the Queen, the duke of York, Ormond, &c.; and, if he says true, great men are reflected on. Howard is to be indicted on Tuesday before the grand jury. The Dutch insolent refusal of Skelton, to be King's envoy. In a way of discovering Shaftesbury's designs.

June 30th.

Brian Haynes had made considerable discoveries. He was once a favourite of Shaftesbury's, who had used interest to get his pardon; and he now owns all that he said about Godfrey's death to be a mere fiction. College and Rous, a servant of Sir Thomas Player's, were seized on Haynes's discoveries.

EXTRACT VII.

June.

Fitzharris tried. Sir William Waller, &c. forced, against their wills, to swear against him. The duchess of Portsmouth's practices laid open, by his order. He turned evidence. Shaftesbury's trick to keep up the plot. Dennis and M'Namara were to accuse the Queen, the duke of York, the duke of Ormond, and the lord chancellor of Ireland, of a plot. Stifled, by an action of subornation against them.

14th.

Shaftesbury's
character.

Escriu is sent to the tower; being accused, by Fitzharris's wife and maid, of having the greatest hand in the libel. Plunket executed. His last speech shewed his innocence. Shaftesbury was committed, the next day, on information of six Irish witnesses, five protestants. He sunk when the warrant was signed. "Shaftesbury had a ready tongue, great address in business, without shame, honour, or conscience, so obstructive to ambitious designs. While matters went successfully with him, his good humour kept pace with his fortune. None was ever higher for prerogative, when chancellor. But like wind he came about to the popular

lar party, and turned the bitterest enemy to the King and duke. He had rather a subtle wit, than a solid judgment; better at pulling down, than building up. Never any incendiary had a quicker invention, and a more promising face, without faith or truth." He and Escric demanded a *habeas corpus*, before the attorney-general was aware of it.

1681.
June.

The prince of Orange comes for England; but returned dissatisfied. The faction, failing in this scheme, began to wheedle with the King; promising, if he would call a parliament, to give a supply, without insisting on the bills of exclusion or limitation. This was the prince of Orange's proposal. The lord chancellor and others favoured it.

The parliament meets in Scotland. Questions about burroughs. The first trial of skill in it was carried for the King. The faction are much cast down. The duke of York's friends solicit his return. Halifax opposed it. Hyde sent to prevail with the duke to change his religion. A scheme for the government of Scotland. The revenue but 60,000 l. a-year, which seven commissioners of the treasury are sufficient to manage it. Customs and excise not to be farmed: Frauds in both: Money employed in two companies doing nothing. To be given to Huntly, Argyle, Athol, and Seaforth, seven hundred pounds each, to answer for the Highlands, and make good what is taken from the Lowlands. The King approved of it. Lauderdale offended at the duke of York's exceptions to the lord-register, the earl of Argyle, and the president of the session. He laboured to persuade the King, that they were all disposed to his service.

The Scotch parliament had framed a new test, which was refused by the dukes of Monmouth and Hamilton, when ministers at Edinburgh. Argyle was prosecuted, for refusing it, or explaining it, as a privy councillor, and as commissioner of the treasury. When sworn as commissioner, he gave in his explanation. He was found guilty of treason, leasing-making, &c. He escaped out of prison; and the only design being not to take away his life, but to get a forfeiture of some jurisdictions and superiorities surreptitiously acquired by his predecessors, and most tyrannically exercised, so the examination stopped. He escaped out of prison, by means of his daughter's changing cloaths with her footman, and carrying up her train. He passed undiscovered by the guards, and got out of the realm. Sentence then pronounced.

1681.

The duke and duchess of Lauderdale intreated for lord Lorn, who had leave to come up and to plead for himself. He was restored in estate. Shaftesbury acquitted.—Quo warranto.—

The prince of Orange tries again to get the King to close with parliament, and desert the duke of York. The King's necessities forced him to a private treaty with France. Fifty thousand pounds a quarter were the terms; and the first payment to be at the end of June 1681; without any condition on the King's part, but that of friendship; and with promises on the French part, not to disturb Flanders or Holland. But France thinking it no breach to take Strasburg and Cassel, and block up Luxembourg, the Dutch clamoured; and the King promised to call a parliament, if France proceeded *par voy de fait*. So the King was forced to send a memorial to the French King, that, unless he suffered provisions to be brought into Luxembourg, he must call a parliament. Halifax is for the duke of York's being sent for. Fifty waggons let in. The parliament to convene at Cambridge. France offered to quit all pretences, if Luxembourg is delivered. This was sufficient to ground a treaty. All the Dutch vehement solicitations, for a parliament, came from the prince of Orange. The duke of York comes to court, by the duchess of Portsmouth's means. G. Jefferies, the duchess of Portsmouth's council, assured, that the five thousand pounds a year being surrendered to him, he might surrender it again to the duchess of Portsmouth. This might be done, by levying a fine on so much of the profits of the Post-office as was necessary for that end. The duke of York came by sea to Yarmouth, thence to Newmarket.

E X T R A C T VIII.

Conway's
Letters to the
duke of
York.
July 2d.

Shaftesbury sent to the Tower. Three or four depositions, that he would depose the King. The party terrified. Papers seized. Fitzharris executed yesterday; he delivered a paper to the minister of the Tower.

3d.

Shaftesbury had prepared to be gone in two days. All the boys huzza'd him through London, calling "out, a traitor." He was sent by water.

The prince of Orange referred Sidney's affair to the King's pleasure.

The

The grand jury would not find a bill against Escric. The sheriffs of London would return none but of the party, who would find nothing against them. 1681. July 9th.

Sidney had a considerable sum due from the wardrobe, if he would quit his command, and use his endeavours to undeceive the prince of Orange, in the measures he had taken; for which he would have the prince invited over. The duke of York would be at public prayers, at the parliament of Scotland. Sidney came over this day, and delivered the prince of Orange's letter to the King, designing to come to England, and a yacht to be sent for him.

Lady Anne went for Edinburgh yesterday.

14th.

The prince of Orange came to Windsor on Saturday night. Sunday, *p. m.* he had a long conversation with the King, who sent for him next Monday morning; H. Seymour, lord Hyde, lord Conway, the writer, were present. The prince publicly declared, that unless the King could assist his allies, Flanders and Holland would be lost; that the King could not assist them, without a parliament, was evident; and therefore, that a parliament should be called. The prince was asked, if a parliament's meeting, on no better hopes of agreement than the last, would contribute toward the support of the King's allies; and he was told what were the desires of the last parliament, and asked, if he thought these things should be granted, and whether he would advise the exclusion? he cried out, "he abhorred it."

24th.

Whether he could propose any limitations? He said the crown could not be tied.

Whether the militia, navy, judges, and sea-ports, should be put out of the King's power? He said, he would never advise it.

Whether all the ministers and officers about the King, suspected or esteemed to be the duke of York's creatures, should be removed, and confiding men true protestants put in? He disclaimed it all. He was told, these were the substantial matters of last parliament; and if a parliament was necessary, he should propose somewhat for a better agreement. He replied, that he knew only abroad, and understood them not at home. Being pressed extremely to propose somewhat, he desired time to think of it. The King had called several parliaments, partly to assist his foreign allies;

1681. allies; and, instead of aiding him, the very treaties he had made with them, were urged as suspicions for the support of popery in England: And the parliament, so far from giving a penny to assist him, that they would not give a farthing to preserve Tangier. The King desired the prince of Orange to propose somewhat to remove jealousies. England had then a greater aversion to the prince of Orange, than to the duke of York.

Macpherson's
Extracts.
July 30th.

The prince of Orange, being invited to dine at the lord mayor's, obstinately resolved to go. The two sheriffs came to invite him. Halifax, lord Hyde, and Mr. Seymour dissuaded him. He said, he had dined with them twice before. But they replied, that the city then was in a fair correspondence with the court: but now in opposition. He turned angry, and said, he had promised and would go. Seymour posted upon this to Windsor. The King wrote to the prince to come immediately thither. He durst not refuse to comply with his commands. He pressed hard for the preservation of Flanders. He undertook the States should do whatever the King did; but he must make the first step. The King, on the other side, offered to do any thing he was able, in conjunction with the States and the King of Spain. They differed on these points.

EXTRACT IX.

Carte's
Extracts.
July 15th.

The prince of Orange made Sidney general, in the earl of Ossory's place. Proposals about Scotland. The nobility in general there are well affected to the King; dreading nothing more, than to see either presbytery restored, according to covenant, or England made a commonwealth, which would make them slaves, as in Oliver Cromwell's time. There are only one or two suspected of being republicans.

EXTRACT X.

August.

The King judged it unfit to call a parliament. But if the French King absolutely invaded Flanders and broke the peace, he would call one; though in that case, he did not expect that they would do any thing for preserving Flanders, without having their will at home; and, even in that case, he would part with them again. The King was desired to name commissioners, to speak with the Spanish ambassador, in presence of that

of the Dutch, to see what they would go on, before the prince of Orange went away. This the King agreed to; and appointed Halifax, Conway the secretary, and Hyde. The substance of the conference was, that the Spanish ambassadour desired the King to send the States word what he was in a condition to do, if France proceeded farther *par voye de fait*. Answer, this would put the King on making a step by himself, if the States should not be so forward as the King proposed to be. Secondly, asked, that the King and States might appoint their minister at Paris to present memorials, that the King of France would remit all further pretensions, to be decided at the conference at Courtray; and, mean while, not to put himself in possession of any place, either by decree of the chamber of Metz, or by force. And if he denied this, thirdly, that the King and States should declare they must take other measures for preserving the Low Countries. And, fourthly, the Spanish ambassadour desired that the King would send over two thousand foot, of his own men, to Flanders, by way of loan, till they could perfect the levies they were about.

To the first, was answered, that what memorial soever the States would order their ambassadour to deliver at Paris, the King's should have orders to second it, though he had not had the same experience. The States would not order theirs to use the phrase of taking measures; but let it be what it would, as the King had hitherto used jointly with the States, he would continue to do so, and make no separate steps. As to the fourth proposition, the King had no obligation to send any men, till war was declared; that the number was too inconsiderable for the preservation of Flanders, but too many for him to spare from his service. This was reported to the King, in presence of the prince of Orange. The King agreed to it; and the prince of Orange was fain to acquiesce, though not satisfied. The prince's coming was certainly contrived by the Spanish ambassadour and our own people, to try, if possible, either by the consideration of foreign or of domestic affairs, to oblige the King to call a parliament speedily; in which all the points, art and industry imaginable have been used, but the King has resisted them all. Yet if France continue to proceed as she has done, it will be unsupportable; and a parliament will be called, as the French ambassadour has been told.

1681.
August.

1681. told. The faction pretended now to be afraid of France; and would not aim at the bill of exclusion.

E. Seymour's
letter.
Aug. 13.

Since the prince of Orange's going a project on foot, by the Southampton club, of having the parliament presently called, in which they undertake for a supply for preserving Flanders, and not to insist on exclusion, or question any ministers, was the very dregs of the prince's council, and by his advice.

Had it not been for Halifax, the bill of exclusion had not been thrown out of the house of lords.

18th.

College's trial lasted three or four hours; in dispute whether a man, within the liberties of London, could be tried at Oxford. Otes was witness for him; but exposed himself, so as to do his business, even with his own party. The examination of witnesses lasted till midnight. College excepted to eleven of the jury.

Sept. 24th.

The witnesses against Howard and Salisbury were frightened, with the reports of a parliament, which would certainly hang them; and they wanted the King to declare he should not call one. It was expected, that Sir John Moore would be chose lord mayor on Thursday.

The news of Strasburg surprized them, and had an ill effect on disinterested people. The King answered, to the Spanish ambassador's instances about it, that he must first see what the Emperor and Empire and the States would do, all more nearly concerned than him, and then judge of what was fit to be done.

Conway's
letters.
Oct. 1st.

The prince of Orange carrying on a protestant alliance, as he calls it, without acquainting the King with a syllable of it, Conway gave the King notice of it, when moved to the States, under an oath of secrecy, when the prince of Orange told them it was agreed on, and modelled here in England.

Mr. Hales, of the admiralty, was sent to Holland to discover measures, as an agent, in that court. The King of France took Cassel, and destroyed the Tripoline fleet, in a port of the grand Seignior's; whom he defies, as well as the Pope and Empire.

Shaftesbury afraid of a trial, offered, if the King pleased, to go and live in Carolina. The lord chamberlain was for the King's hearkening to

to him. The grand jury would not find a bill against Rouse. Van 1681.
Beuningen came over, with the project of a general league.

The King spoke to lord Hyde, desiring the duke of York to con- Conway's
sent to give 5000*l.* a year of the post office; since he could settle letter.
nothing on the dutchess of Portsmouth beyond his own life. It was Oct. 22d.
not to be done, without borrowing what you are to receive from the
King; and, by advice of council, looking into the settlement of the
duke of York's estate, and his coming into England. The duke of
Monmouth had refused the test. The duchess of Portsmouth would do
the duke of York all the service she could. The King of Sweden had
come into the prince of Orange's league. On Hales's excusing himself,
Mr. Chudleigh was chose for Holland. When a parliament is called to
preserve Luxemburgh, the Dutch will not concern themselves, whether
it is preserved or no; so that we shall only discompose our own affairs,
disoblige the King of France, and do Spain no good. Yet the King,
if the blockade is continued, told the Dutch that he would call a par-
liament.

This night there were bonfires, on Shaftesbury's being acquitted, by Nov. 26th.
an ignoramus jury.

The duchess of Portsmouth pressed the duke of York's return ear-
nestly; and with as good reasons as could be used. The King allowed
them. Shaftesbury let out of the Tower. The lord mayor ordered to
put the laws in execution against non-conformists in London. *Quo war-
ranto* brought against the city-charter, which pleases all good men there.
The common council, on the twenty-first, were better than last year.

E X T R A C T XI.

Lord Hyde came to Edinburgh on the thirty-first of August, Dec. 2d.
1680; and brought an answer to the message sent by Churchill, for
leave to wait on the King. The answer was, that, except the duke of
York resolved to conform entirely, and go to church, no leave was to
be had; that, if he did not conform, the King could no longer support
him, though he had hitherto done it; "that I should ruin myself and
him." Hyde executed his instructions well, in pressing and representing
the dismal state of affairs; when, after two or three days discourse, he

1681. saw he could not prevail, he shewed the duke a short note, in the King's own hand; "that, if I would but go to church, without doing more, I should have leave to come to him, as soon as the parliament was up *."

Extracts from
letters from
the King to
the duke of
York.
March 8th.

EXTRACT XII.

On the fourth of March, the duke of York's youngest daughter died.
The Oxford parliament was dissolved on Monday last.

30th.
April 27th. Fitzharris's indictment before the grand jury to-morrow. The King was confident it would be found; and though all the practices imaginable were used to pack a petty jury, yet the proofs were so clear against him, that they would hardly find twelve men so wicked, as to perjure

* Had his royal highness's ghostly fathers been more indulgent, he himself would not probably have been so averse from this proposal. But they had forced him to a rigid adherence to the rules of the church, in articles for which others have frequently obtained dispensations. This appears from his own account of his conversion, which he relates as follows. The extract was made from his own memoirs, and in his own very words, by father Sanders, his confessor. It is to be found, as in the margin, in Nairne's hand.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 5.

"It was about the beginning of the year 1669, that (having long had in my thoughts that the church of Rome was the only true church) I was more sensibly touched in conscience, and began to think seriously of my salvation. Accordingly, I sent for one father Joseph Symonds, a Jesuite, who had the reputation of a very learned man, to discourse with him upon that subject; and when he came, I told him the good intentions I had of being a catholic, and treated with him about my being reconciled to the church. After much discourse about the matter, the father very sincerely told me, that, unless I would quit the communion of the protestant church of England, I could not be received into the catholic church. I answered, that I thought it might be done, by a dispensation from the pope; alledging to him the singularity of my case, and the advantage it might bring to the catholic religion in general, and in particular to those of it in England, if I might have such a dispensation for outwardly appearing a protestant, at least, till I could own myself publicly to be a catholic, with more security to my own person and advantage to them. But the good father insisted, that even the pope himself had not the power to grant it; for it was an unalterable doctrine of the church, not to do ill that good might follow. What this good Jesuit thus said, was, afterwards, confirmed to me by the pope himself, to whom I writ upon the same subject. Till this time, I believed (as it is commonly believed, or, at least, said, by the protestant church of England doctors) that dispensations, in any such cases, are by the pope easily granted: but father Symonds's words, and the letters of his holiness, made me think it high time to use all the endeavours I could to be at liberty to declare myself, and not to live in so unsafe and so uneasy a condition."

themselves so impudently, against law and justice, in the face of the world. 1681.

The prince of Orange's journey to England, was to persuade the King to call a parliament presently; "and it was shewn him clearly, by myself and others, I trust, that the only effect it would have, was to be broken again in a few days; and by it, absolutely dishearten our allies abroad; yet such was his prepossession, as I did not perceive we gained any thing on his judgment. We parted very good friends, though different in opinion in many things; and it is plain, that great pains have been used to misinform him, and you know it is not an easy matter to convert him, though he was as well baited as possible. He had very little to say in particulars; made the King great professions at parting; and, though he does not live to be convinced, I believe, in the main, when he has thought well on what was said to him, he cannot be in the mind he was when he came over." August 7th.

Sent by Hyde, Sept. 6th. The faction displeased and cast down, at Sept. 1st. the proceedings in Scotland.

There is a good lord mayor chosen; and, next year, good sheriffs are to be hoped for. Oct. 8th.

Letters sent in form, for passing sentence on Argyle; but not to be put in execution, till further orders. Dec. 18th.

It was neither the King's nor the duke's intentions to take away either the life or estate of Argyle. But to make use of that occasion to get him more under their power, and to forfeit certain jurisdictions and superiorities, which he and his predecessors had surreptitiously obtained, and most tyrannically exercised. The King respited his sentence. He was glad to get those superiorities and offices, which he thought too great for any one subject, out of such bad hands. He escaped by means of his daughter. Some of the council advised that she should be publicly whipt through the streets of Edinburgh. The duke prevented it; and said, smiling, "That they were not used to deal so cruelly with ladies in his country." But notwithstanding the duke designed no real harm to Argyle, his enemies were too watchful to let slip any opportunity of decrying his conduct. The duke and duchess of Lauderdale had a great share in these false reports. They interceded vehemently in favour of

Macpherson's Extracts.

1682. Argyle's son, the lord Lorne. This the duke was no less ready to concur in, than the King to grant; only desired, that in settling the estate, due regard should be had, and provision made, for the younger children. But the duchess of Lauderdale pressed hard for having all the offices, except justiciary, confirmed to Lorne. The duke urged for a signature and disposition of the estate, for the payment of all just creditors, with moderate donatives to such as Argyle had ruined by his tyranny, the surplussage being intended to descend to his family. The King refused to see Lorne, but with the duke's consent.

The King's necessities had been long so great, and the parliament so refractory, that he had no way left for relief, but by a private agreement for a pension from France. The conduct of the French upon this, had like to have obliged the King to call a parliament; which, at that time, would have turned to the duke's advantage. The project was broke off by Halifax's refined arguing, who was always for cleaving a hair in his advice. The duke owed his return to court to the duchess of Portsmouth, without her intending it. This turned out well for the King; for, without the duke's presence, the King could not have obtained such a victory over the faction.

1682. E X T R A C T I.

Carte's
Extracts.
Jan.

The duke of York still in Scotland, at the beginning of this year; but hoping to return speedily to England. Since the Oxford parliament was dissolved, Sunderland and others of the gang were turned out; and his discountenancing and letting the duchess of Portsmouth see his being displeased with her management, with those of the rebel party who were for the bill of exclusion; and nothing saved her from more marks of displeasure, but the King's having owned her son so publickly. So that he doubts whether her journey to Bourbon was for health, or by order; but she managed affairs so well, as to prevail with the King to propose to the duke of York, to consent to settle on her a rent-charge of five thousand a year, for which he would give an equivalent out of some fund of the hereditary revenue. The duke answered, he was ready to comply, and sign any paper the attorney-general should think necessary; but thought it could not well be done, without his being at

at London, in presence of the judges, to make it valid, as was generally believed. The duke's answer was calculated to make his return necessary to dispatch the affair, which was much desired by the duchess of Portsmouth, who was greedy to have it in her power to raise a hundred thousand pounds, as soon as the grant should be passed; without which desire of hers, it was not likely, from her former behaviour to the duke, that she should press his return.

1682.
Jan.

This made the duke of York keep the affair to himself, which, by providence, none knew or had observed, but himself; which was, that it was not in his or any body's power to do what was desired, but an act of parliament. So little did those who put her on asking it, or even the King's learned council, know or remember the purport of the act. The duke kept it secret from his trustiest friends, to get her credit and interest to facilitate his return from an honourable banishment; she had promised, as well as Halifax and Mr. Seymour, who were still against his return. By her influence the duke returned, embarking at Leith in a yaucht. He came to Yarmouth and Newmarket in the beginning of March. Halifax and Seymour pressed his speedy return to Scotland, desiring the affair might be settled there; but could not prevail. Hyde solicited his stay, on the pretence already mentioned.

Feb.

The King, to satisfy his brother and the duchess of Portsmouth, gave him pretences enough for going with him to London; and, at his return thither, ordered the attorney general to prepare a deed, to be signed by the duke, to do that affair of the post office. But, after a day or two the attorney general, perusing the act, found that nothing, but an act of parliament, could empower the duke to do it. So the King and duchess of Portsmouth were disappointed. She was then in France, and forced to be satisfied with the reason of its not being done, as she could not blame the duke. She still wanted to raise a hundred thousand pounds some other way. In August she returned, and was in as great credit as ever; and, though she lived seeming well with the duke of York, began to use it to restore Sunderland to favour, and support the party. Sunderland was made secretary of state again, in the room of Conway; and, missing five thousand a-year out of the post office, she got ten thousand a quarter paid out of the privy fund, which she had no notice of till then; and was kept a secret from all the world but the duke of York;

March.

by

1682.

by whose means it was first had and negociated by Churchill, and then paid to the first commissioner of the treasury. Had the duchess known it sooner, she would have got her payments sooner; for the last quarter's payment was not made when the King died. This secret, and the credit the duke had with the King, made her jealous of him. What increased her fears was, that the King had frequent conferences with the duke about religion, which she fancied to be about politics. This set her so against the duke, that, Sunderland being recalled, she endeavoured to send the duke of York back to Scotland; had not the King been carried off by an apoplexy.

EXTRACT II.

France proposed, if Spain would quit Luxembourg, to make over all her other claims. The King thought this might serve for the foundation of a treaty; but the Spanish and Dutch ambassadours would hear of nothing but a parliament, though Luxembourg must fall, if no treaty was entered on.

Feb.

Halifax agreed to the duke of York's return, if he did not meddle with business. The duke, however, owed his return chiefly to the duchess of Portsmouth's great and earnest solicitations; and though it was proposed, that he should come to Newmarket, and, from thence, return, yet Hyde advised him to come on any terms, and trust the rest to his behaviour to the King.

The duke delayed his coming, till the King went to Newmarket, on the fourth of March. When he was with the King, Seymour thought he would prevail not to return.

The States again press the King for a parliament.

EXTRACT III.

Feb. 17th.

By a letter from lord Arran, the States were pressing for a parliament, in concert with the faction.

28th.

By a letter from W. Legg, desiring the duke of York to meet him at Newmarket, where the King should be next Saturday. The duchess and her daughters to stay behind till they met.

EXTRACT

1682.

EXTRACT IV.

The duke embarked at Leith, in the Henrietta yaucht, landed on the tenth at Yarmouth, lay that night at Norwich, and got next day to Newmarket. There was no minister there, but Conway and Hyde; Halifax having staid at London, and Seymour was at his country-house in the west. The duke, by advice of his friends, meddled with no affairs, but in secret.

March 6th.

EXTRACT V.

Halifax and Seymour opposed the King's taking the duke of York with him to London from Newmarket. The duchess of Portsmouth got ten thousand pounds a quarter, out of the King's private fund, till a hundred thousand should run up, which only Hyde and Churchill knew of.

April.

The duke staid with the King till the third of May; when he went from Windsor to fetch the duchess from Scotland. He went in the Gloucester frigate; and, through the unskilfulness or treachery of captain Ayres, the pilot, who was, afterwards, tried and condemned for it, was in great danger of shipwreck. Ayres intention was to follow the colliers rout, betwixt the coast and sand-banks; but the commanders were against it, and ordered him to go out to sea, thinking to clear them all. But he still persisted to tack, fancying he had time enough to go within the banks; at last, leave was given him, when the commanders thought themselves far enough out at sea to go beyond them all. But they were deceived: For, soon after, the ship struck on the Lemon Ore, near Yarmouth roads, where she stuck some time; and, had not too much haste been made to clear her, all the passengers and seamen might have been saved. As soon as she came into deep water, she sunk, and, at least, a hundred persons in her. The duke of York got into his shallop, and went on board the yaucht; taking the earls of Perth and Middleton with him; none offering to go into it but whom he called, viz. Churchill, and one or two more. But the other boats coming to their assistance, most of the persons of quality and the duke's servants got off also; and many more might have been saved, had it not been for the timorousness of the boatmen, hindering them from coming near the

the

1682. the ship, when they thought her about to sink, for fear of sinking with her *. Those left, as they were ready to sink gave a great huzza! when they saw the duke of York safe.

May. The duke, getting to Scotland, declared the president of the session, lord Haddo, chancellor; the earl of Queensbury, treasurer; and the earl of Perth, justice-general; and returned, with the duchess and lady Anne, by sea to England. They arrived, on the twenty-seventh, at Whitehall. Shaftesbury sued for London. Lord Sunderland and the duchess of Portsmouth soliciting his being restored, though Halifax did what he could to hinder it.

The duke of Monmouth made offers towards a reconciliation, about the end of April, by the duchess of Portsmouth, though he denied it to Shaftesbury, Russel, Montague, &c. and resolved on a progress to Chester, in which he got a few acclamations from the rabble.

EXTRACT VI.

August. The duchess of Portsmouth came out of France in the beginning of July. Her first work was to make Sunderland's peace. Halifax opposed it; but it was done, in the first week of August. Shaftesbury sent a message to the duke of York, as if he had a mind to come in; yet reported at the same time, that the duchess of Portsmouth designed to make her son, the duke of Richmond, prince of Wales. This was only a design to make a misunderstanding between the duke of York and the duchess of Portsmouth.

Sept. 1st. Reports of the duke of Monmouth's coming in; for which there was no ground, but his wife's endeavours to persuade him to submit to the King, without capitulation. Shaftesbury, Russel, Montague, and others, kept him from it; and, in the beginning of September, he set out for Cheshire. He was received, at Coventry, with the acclamation of, "A Monmouth and no York." This, however, was not the case at Litchfield.

* Party-writers have grossly misrepresented this transaction.

1683. EXTRACT I.

Quo warranto. The Rye-house conspiracy discovered; being the last effort of malice to the King and the duke of York. An accident of fire at Newmarket prevented it. It was discovered, about the end of Trinity Term, by Keeling. Shaftesbury said they were too few to do the work, and too many to conceal it. So, on the nineteenth of November, one of the days appointed for a general insurrection, he went with Walcot and Ferguson to Holland; pretending no longer *to walk the King out of the kingdom*, as he arrogantly expressed it; when he escaped by an ignoramus jury. Walcot and Ferguson soon returned from Holland, to join with Monmouth, Essex, lord Gray, Escric, Ruffel, Algernon Sidney, Hampden, Armstrong, Romney, Rumbold, Sheppard, &c. Four thousand men were said to be engaged in this insurrection.

1683.

The King was slow in crediting it; but the duke of Monmouth, at last, confessed it. He submitted, when the proclamation was issued out against him, and owned his knowledge, naming all the conspirators. But getting his pardon, herded in with his factious councillors; and though he had left a letter with the King owning all, he got the King to return it, and then denied every word of it. He was banished from court, and retired abroad to Zealand.

The princess Anne, married to prince George, brother to the King of Denmark, on the twenty-eight of July. The duke of York was made lord admiral and privy councillor.

EXTRACT II.

Either just before the meeting, or during the sitting of one of the last parliaments, a considerable sum was wanted to pay off several ships newly come home; and the commissioners of the treasury were put to it, to find ready cash. Several ways were tried, in vain; but, the commissioners of hearth money, encouraged by a good bargain of the overplus of that tax, for four thousand pounds a year, after the best enquiry of the commissioners of the treasury, advanced it. For the demurrage of the ships to be paid off would have been very chargeable; and it was so much good husbandry and credit to the government. Besides, no body offered more, nor so much, as those that had it. The

Feb. 4th.

1683,

bargain was concluded a year sooner. One Shales, who had to do with the affair of chimney money, came and brought a project to some of the courtiers, that if they could get the bargain of overplus, and he and his friends have the collecting of it, they would give the King twenty thousand pounds more than he was to have; and as much to the party, as he should get it from. This being brought to the King, he sent it to the treasurer, who examined it, and judged it impracticable. Shales, angry with the treasurer, and lord Rochester in particular, applied again to the King, who would have sent him to Rochester, but desired it might be to Halifax, who embraced the proposal warmly; representing it, as bringing in twenty thousand pounds to the King; and that, if he King did not prosecute the managers of the hearth money, any body else might. This being said to the King, he, at Halifax's instance, ordered the lord keeper to enquire into the grant made to the managers of the overplus, whether good in law. The lord keeper, after hearing Shales, and, with the attorney and solicitor-generals, examined the affair, reported their opinion, that the grant was legal, and not to be broken; that the King could recover nothing of the managers, nor could any body else; So Halifax desired that the affair might be dropped; and no further enquiry was made into their books, to see what they had got by the bargain.

March 1st.

When Otes and Doctor Tong came first to discover the plot, before they had appeared in public, or any body, but the King and Danby, had heard of it, or they had been with Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, being pressed by Danby to let him see some of the Jesuits letters, Otes pretending, he was so much trusted by them, that he often saw some of their letters, and that they passed through his hands; he promised, but did not perform in some weeks. He was still pressed, at last, to tell how they were directed, that they might be intercepted in the Post-office; but even this he could not do. After many puttings off, in the end of August or beginning of September, he wrote to Danby, whom he thought at Windsor, to tell him, if he sent to the Post-house there, he would find letters directed to Mr. Bedingfield, that would make out what he said of the plot and design to murder the King. Danby was gone to lord Norris's in Oxfordshire; so that a packet of letters, so directed, were delivered to Bedingfield's man, who was sent for letters to the
Post-

Post-office. *For Mr. Bedingfield, to be left at the Post-house at Windsor till called for.*

1693.

As soon as Bedingfield received it, he carried the letters to the duke of York, against whom, and the Roman Catholics in general, he judged there was some design; the letters being counterfeited by the names of "Whitebread, Fenwick, Ireland, Blundel," whom he knew; but was sure it was none of their hands, which he knew very well. As to Fogarty's, he could say nothing, having never seen his writing; but believed it to be counterfeited, as the rest. Fenwick's name was wrong spelt. The letters were all in one packet, four fingers broad, and five inches long; and all to the same purpose, giving an account, in plain English, that they had received letters from Peter Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, that all things were ready, in Ireland and Scotland; and that they would rise in arms, as soon as they heard *Forty eight** (by this they meant the King) was dispatched; and all ended, with desiring him to remember them to Mr. Colman. Bedingfield desired the duke to deliver them to the King, or one of the secretaries; and tell how he came by them, and his belief of their being counterfeited, and designed to do him prejudice; and, that he himself knew of no such design. The duke did so; and desired secretary Coventry might have them. The first letter the King opened and read was that signed Blundel; and he said, that he was of the duke and Bedingfield's mind, there was villainy. The hand he believed to be counterfeited; and said, that he had seen one very like it, and would keep the letters to compare with some he had seen.

The duke of York pressed Danby that the letters might be read at the committee for foreign affairs; but could not get it done, till just before the King went to Newmarket, when they were read there. Otes's first narrative was also read, in Tong's hand-writing; and the letter, with Blundel's name, compared with the narrative, and judged to be in the same hand; and that the whole affair was a mere invention. The whole committee was then present, the duke of York, prince Rupert, Chancellor, treasurer, Lauderdale, Arlington, Coventry, and Williamson. When the jesuits were seized, their papers were compared with these letters, and found not at all alike; and when, after all were delivered to

* Being the number of years the King was old.

1683.

Sir W. Jones, attorney-general, and Sir Robert Southwell, clerk of the council, they compared some of Otes's writing with these letters, they very believed one of them was of his hand-writing. They were produced at none of the trials of those whose names were put to them. The letters sent by post were so ill worded, that none, but such an illiterate dunce as Otes, would have wrote them, or his instructor Tong, who made all for Otes; as his Majesty was told by one, who was at supper with these two villains, that, being warmed with wine, as usual every night, they fell out, and called one another by their true names. Tong said to Otes, "You rascal, was it not I that made the plot for you, which you had not invention enough to do; and could never have made any thing of it but for me?" The person, who told the King, desired him to ask another about it; who, when the King asked him, confirmed the truth of it.

Dec. 8th.

The duke of Monmouth owned to the King, in presence of the duke of York, at secretary Jenkins's, that he knew of the whole conspiracy except the designed assassination; and all the persons, who were concerned in it with him; and did not contradict any thing lord Howard said, but in one point not very material. He owned what colonel Rumsey had said, as to lord Ruffel's saying when Trenchard had failed them, that he would immediately put on his boots, go down into the west, to Taunton, and make them rise himself. He wondered no more witnesses came in against Wildman, since no man was more active in the conspiracy. He said, that the council of six gave fifteen pounds a man, to send down Aaron Smith to Scotland; that Sir William Courtnay, Sir — Drake, and other gentlemen, knew of it, in the West; that Mr. Booth was the person they depended on in Cheshire, and Sir J. Hotham in Yorkshire. He owned his visiting the guards, in order to the surprize; that Doctor Owen, Mr. Mead, and all the chief of the north country ministers, were privy to and active in the conspiracy; that major Hurst, of Chichester, said, that it was easy to surprize Portsmouth; and that he was ready to undertake it; for the officers on the guard were, for the most part, drunk every night. The duke of Monmouth being asked by the King, whether they had any correspondence with any in the guards or court, he positively denied it. As for Scotland, that Sir J. Cochrane and Monroe's coming up hither about the

Carolina

Carolina business was but a pretence; it being really to adjust matters, as to the rising there, at the same time that it was to begin here: That Cefnock, Rouallen, Bailey, and the other Scots so told, were all engaged in it; that they complained they only wanted arms, but not good-will; that Argyle could bring many men to help the western men; that they had laid a design to surprize Stirling castle, by an old gutter, or fally port, towards Balanguith, where there were no centinels; that they were to seize the chancellor and treasurer, in Edinburgh, which they thought they could do with forty or fifty horse, which they could easily get into the town, without notice being taken.

1683.

Luzancy, who would have passed for a doctor of the Sorbonne, though no priest nor gentleman, but son to Beauchateau, a player, accused father St. Germain and that Colman had been brought into the affair; but this last got off, when examined, by the committee of the house of commons. He was busy, and the King, soon after, ordered him out of the duches of York's service. Upon advice from E. Godfrey, in the beginning of September, that he was mentioned in Otes's deposition, the duke of York bade him beware of his papers and person; yet he let his papers be seized; "Sure there was nothing to hurt him;" and surrendered himself to secretary Williamson.

Dec. 24th.

1684. E X T R A C T I.

Some time after the duke of Monmouth was forbid the court, he went privately beyond sea; only one gentleman and a servant along with him. He embarked at Greenwich, in a fisher-boat, and landed at Tervere, thence to Bergen-op-zoom, Antwerp, and Bruffels. He spoke with Fonsica, if not M. de Grana. He said he would go to Holland; and he could say that to the prince of Orange, in a quarter of an hour, that would satisfy him.

1684.
Jan.

After the duke of York had been at York, in the first Dutch war, he moved the King to make Sir George Saville a viscount; and he pressed it earnestly, and it was done some time after: Yet, when he came into the house of lords, he always ran along with the popular party; and joined in opposing the King's concerns. When Otes's plot was first brought on the stage, none was so violent a driver of it as he; being one of the se-

Febr.

cret

1684. cret committee with Shaftesbury; and not so favourable to the duke himself, as might have been expected.

May 20th. The duke of York to the prince of Orange. He found, Monmouth had been to see him, without advertising him of his coming. "This was odd enough, after engaging in a conspiracy, for altering the government and ruining our family; and refusing, since he had his pardon, to own that, under his hand, which he had confessed to the King, in the duke's presence. This was to keep up his credit with his rebellious party, and vain pretensions to the crown: For nothing else could make him refuse to sign it.

EXTRACT II.

Oct. 4th. When the duchess of Portsmouth came out of France, she was but recovering the credit she had lost with the King, by taking part with Monmouth, Shaftesbury, and the party.

1685. EXTRACT I.

1685.
Jan 24th.

A stop put to the passing a pardon for the Roman Catholics; the attorney general being to be heard against it, at the lord keeper's desire.

EXTRACT II.

Feb. 2d.

On the second of February, the King was seized with a fit of apoplexy; the bishop of Bath and another bishop, who read the visitation of the sick when he was despaired of. The King saying, that he repented of his sins, the bishops read absolution to him. The duke of York proposed sending for a priest to him to count Castelmellor; but none being found, Hudleston was brought up the back-stairs to the private closet, where the duke, the earl of Bath, and Trevanion, a captain of the guards were. Hudleston gave him the extreme unction and sacrament. The company were then called in; and he died, between eleven and twelve, on Friday morning, the sixth of February, 1685.

EXTRACT III.

The King was seized with an apoplexy, about eight in the morning; being dressed and just come out of his closet, where he had been some time

time after he got out of bed. The duke of York was immediately advertised of it; but before he could get to him, doctor King, a physician, being in the drawing-room, had been called in, and let him blood. This done, the moment after he fell; and, by the help of other remedies, prescribed by his own physicians, he came to himself and so perfectly to his senses, that there were great hopes of him the next day: But, on the fourth day, all the physicians gave him over.

1685.

Mr. Hooke told, that Danvers sent to him and others, who were to make a rising in the city, by the duke of Monmouth, from Bridgwater to London, to propose the dispatching of the King, by shooting him, as coming in his barge to Somerset-house; or stabbing, at Whitehall or St. James's: But Hooke said they were for open war, and it would be base to do it; and, if they would not promise him to desist from the attempt, he would discover them all. If Monmouth had not been beaten, they had risen, and had men ready for it; Danvers, Manley, Payton, and this Hooke, with others, were to have headed them.

EXTRACT IV.

The earl of Rochester made treasurer; Clarendon privy-seal; Halifax president of the council; Godolphin lord chamberlain to the Queen; Sunderland and Middleton continued secretaries of state. The King showed the late King's papers to the archbishop of Canterbury, who did not think Charles II. such a controvertist.

The parliament called in Scotland. The King's letter, of twenty-eighth of March. The parliament met in England, on the twenty-fourth of May: and settled a revenue. The King's speech of the ninth of June.

The prince of Orange considered the King, who was the present possessor, and the duke of Monmouth, the pretender to the crown, as equally obstacles to his aims. He therefore had been formerly advised, by the pensionary Fagel, that his business was to play the one against the other; and that whoever got the better would equally advantage his pretensions. If the D. of Monmouth succeeded, it would be easy for him, that was a protestant as well as he, and in the right of his wife, the next heir, to shove him out of the saddle. If on the contrary the duke of Monmouth was worsted, he got rid of a dangerous rival;

Macpherson's
Extracts.

1685. rival; and was sure all his party would then have recourse to him; which proved afterwards true. This made him, underhand, do all he could to inflame this young man's fury and ambition; and send him out, like a victim to the slaughter; playing a sure game himself, to whomsoever fortune should give the advantage at present.

The King had been long informed, even in the life of the late King, by one Monpoulean, a companion at their drinking bouts, of the strict correspondence and friendship betwixt the prince of Orange and Monmouth. Upon which the late King said, it seemed strange to him how those two should appear so good friends and agree so well together, as they aimed both at the same thing.

There were so many persons, in the mean time, ready to second the duke of Monmouth's request, and among the rest the Q. dowager, that the King, contrary to his judgment, consented to see him, which he should not have done, unless he had been disposed to pardon. He was willing to hear more of the matter, related by Mr. Sheldon*. It was strange my lord Sunderland did not oppose it; unless, as was said afterwards, he underhand assured the duke of Monmouth of his pardon, if he confessed nothing; and then, when he had destroyed his own credit, by contradicting himself, he took care to have him dispatched as soon as possible afterwards. If Monmouth's head and heart had been answerable to his mien and personal outside, he had certainly great opportunities of pursuing his aims, by the turbulency of the times, whom my lord Shaftesbury, by his great dexterity, had so much inflamed against the duke of York.

The punishment of Monmouth's followers raised discontents. A commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued to the lord chief justice Jefferyes, to go down into the West, and inflict such punishments as the example of former reigns and the security of the present seemed to require. But imprudent zeal, or, as some said, avarice, carried him beyond the terms of moderation and mercy; and he drew great obloquy

* He had sent Sheldon to meet the duke, on his way to London. Monmouth confessed every thing to Sheldon. He discovered the intrigues of the prince of Orange and his own abettors in England. But Sunderland, it seems, afterwards induced him to deny the whole when he was brought before the King; assuring him, that he was certain of his pardon, and therefore ought not to betray friends, that might be useful to him, on a future occasion.

upon

upon the King's clemency, not only in the number, but in the manner too of several executions; and in shewing mercy to so few, particularly to an old gentlewoman, one Mrs. Alice Lisle, who was condemned and executed, only for harbouring one Hick and Nelstrop, both ill men enough indeed, and the latter in a proclamation. But, as she pretended, was ignorant of it, and therefore, perhaps, might suffer for a common act of hospitality. But this severity was contrary to the King's intentions; as appears from the different treatment one major Holmes met with from the King and the chief justice. Holmes had lost his son and an arm in the battle. He was brought up prisoner to town. The King being desirous to see him, he behaved himself in such a manner, as gained esteem from every body. His carriage was free from dejection, but full of respect. He had recourse to the King's mercy; and said, the favour he had asked was more beneficial to the King than to him, considering his losses and his years. The King, who loved courage even in an enemy, could not refrain from countenancing him. He discoursed freely with him, and no one was more frequently in the antichamber, till it was thought fit to send him down to the west to inform Jefferyes of those who most deserved mercy. He was hanged with the rest.

1685.

The King questioned the chief justice, but he palliated his severities, with the pretence of necessary justice; which the King knew not how to contradict, since he had the precaution, not only to send four other judges, as his assistants, along with him, but Mr. Pollexfen likewise, in quality of his solicitor; who, being a known favourer of the Presbyterian party, he hoped would moderate the chief justice's heat. This made the King acquiesce in what had been done, though it was of great disservice to him at bottom. The cruelties of Kirk were still more inexcusable than the severities of Jefferyes. He caused many to be hanged (vol. iv. p. 97.) more out of a bloody disposition, and to satisfy his own brutal passions, than love of justice or his master's service. It is not improbable, but even then he had it in his view to draw an odium on the King.

On the eleventh of June, Monmouth landed, with a hundred and fifty persons, at Lime in Dorset. Besides the information of Sheldon and the prince of Orange, the King had been informed of it by one Monpouleam,

Carte's
Extracts.
June.

1685. a bottle-companion of Monmouth's ; who also informed him of the strict correspondence between the prince of Orange and Monmouth, when he was first in Holland. When Monmouth was taken, he wrote, on the road, to desire admission into the King's presence ; having somewhat to say, that would give him a happy reign. Ralph Sheldon was sent to meet him ; and being asked who had the chief confidence with the King, he said Sunderland. Monmouth then, knocking his breast in a surprize, said, "*Why then, as I hope for salvation, he promised to meet me.*" He desired Sheldon to acquaint the King with it ; and that he would inform him of all his accomplices, seeing some of them had the King's confidence. Sheldon, on his return, was giving the King an account, when Sunderland, pretending business, came into the closet ; and Sheldon stopt, desiring to speak to the King in private. But the King told him he might say any thing before that lord, which put Sheldon to great perplexity ; yet he told what Monmouth said. Sunderland seemed at first struck ; but, after a short time, said, with a laugh, if that be all he can discover to save his life, it will do him little good. Monmouth, after he was brought to the King, begged for mercy ; but made no great matter of discovery. He would not see his dutchess, his wife in law, nor in the sight of God.

Proclamation against colonel Danvers, J. Trenchard, George Speke, Francis Charlton, and J. Wildman. The lords Stamford, Delamere, and Brandon seized, and put in the Tower. Jefferies sent to the West. Major Holmes sent to inform Jefferies of the most criminal, and of such as deserved mercy, was hanged with the rest. Kirk, with his troops, made strange havock. Lord Brandon Gerard was tried and found guilty, on the twenty-sixth of November, but was afterwards pardoned. Hampden pleaded guilty. Delamere was acquitted, and Seaton found guilty of perjury. Stamford was not tried, but pardoned. Dangerfield was tried, on the twenty-eighth of June, and found guilty of perjury. Having been whipped to Tyburn, as he was returning in a coach, one Mr. Francis asking him, in derision, how his back did, Dangerfield making an abusive reply, and Francis thrusting in his cane, unfortunately hurted his eye ; of which he died in some days. Francis was tried and condemned ; and, though he deserved well of the King, could obtain no pardon. Hook was sent from Bridgwater to London, for the insurrection there. On this,

this, the King had augmented the guards to twelve or fourteen thousand men.

1685.

On the ninth of November the parliament met. They were alarmed at the King's speech; and a debate ensued about it. The charge of government did not exceed 1,300,000 pounds a year; and the revenue was two millions. The forces were but fourteen or fifteen thousand men; half as many as before. An address against employing Roman Catholics. The King's reply. Coke sent to the Tower for an indecent speech. The parliament prorogued to the tenth of February.

Nov. 9th.

EXTRACT IV.

This day captain Middleton came to me, and asked pardon for having been engaged in a traiterous conspiracy; owning that he was chief promoter of it; and that it was last year, after Monmouth was beheaded, when he was a captain in the first regiment of guards. The design was to surprize the Tower, one day whilst I was hunting: to seize the Queen, and the King, if they could; to put all in a disorder, and declare for a commonwealth: that he had been at the Tower to view it, and lay his design of surprize; and had engaged severals.

26th.

EXTRACT V.

The King was in danger from the prince of Orange. Bentinck was sent to congratulate on Monmouth's being taken. He was in a grievous agony, when he understood that the King was resolved to see Monmouth; and, though he found that the duke had said nothing of his *master*, he was never at quiet till his head was off. This was so manifest to all, that lord Dartmouth, returning from the execution, and giving the King an account of it, told him, that he had got rid of one enemy, but had a more considerable and dangerous one remaining.

The earl of Clarendon was dissatisfied with colonel R. Talbot's reformation and regulating of the army; yet he continued, till the beginning of 1687. When the late King died, Sunderland was actually contriving with the duchess of Portsmouth, to send the duke of York into banishment again; and the duke knew it. They thought to send him

1685. on some embassy abroad, or deputy to Ireland, which Sunderland foresaw would be his ruin; and he came to the earl of Rochester, immediately after the King's accession, and told him, though it had been his misfortune to differ with him formerly, it was the effect of the times, not his inclination. But, as he had a great esteem for him, he would use some interest he had, that he might be treasurer, and his brother lord lieutenant of Ireland. So made his merit to them, of what he knew the King had resolved on, before they asked it; not doubting but he would get both laid aside, on account of religion.

The Scotch parliament met on the twenty-ninth of April; but the favour he desired for Roman Catholics was not well relished.

On the sixteenth of November, Samuel Johnson was prosecuted for a libel; and degraded on the twentieth.

1686. E X T R A C T I.

1686. Sunderland, besides having a pension from the prince of Orange, had one from the King of France. He was the most mercenary man in the world: veered with all winds. He got the King to establish a secret council of Roman Catholics, to meet at his office, or Mr. Chiffinch's, to consult of matters of religion. Being inclined to it, he drew by degrees all business to it; and he himself was the umpire of all. It consisted of the lords Arundel, Powis, Bellasis, Dover, Castlemain, and father Petre. Castlemain was sent to Rome. Mr. Caryl had been sent before; but more worthy. He got father Leyburn made a bishop, *in partibus*, for England; but could not get Rinaldo d'Esté, prince of Modena, and uncle to the Queen, made a cardinal. Father Petre was made a privy councillor, contrary to his own judgment and the Queen's advice, and a cardinal's cap solicited for him. Petre was a plausible, but a weak man, abounding in words. Sunderland extolled his abilities; but he was not sworn till some time after.

It had long before been agreed, between Sunderland and father Petre, Mr. Jermyn and lord Tyrconnel, that Petre should be a cardinal. Sunderland, treasurer, &c. The pope refused the cap; and Castlemain quarrelled with him; only getting leave for the King to name three vicars general, doctor Giffard, Smith, and father Ellis, a Benedictine, who

were accordingly consecrated. The King took the chapel at St. James's to himself; and left that of Whitehall to the protestants. He built one there, from the ground, for his own use; settled fourteen Benedictine monks at St. James's; gave the Jesuits leave to build one in the Savoy; and settled a college there, for the education of children; into which, two hundred Roman Catholics were admitted. The Recollects built a chapel in Lincoln's-inn-fields, and some Carmelits settled in the city. Some Roman catholic chapels were also erected in the country. The religious in their habits. The opinion of the judges about dispensing power, as to oaths and tests, agreed upon. Sir E. Hales's case.

1686.

EXTRACT II.

Halifax sent father March to Windsor, desiring to be admitted, and that he was ready to serve the King in his own way, and endeavour in parliament to repeal the penal statutes. The King refused to admit him publickly; but he permitted him, if he really meant what he said, to come to a private conference with him. Halifax said that he would join in taking away the penal statutes: but that there was no need of taking away the test, as the judges had declared that his Majesty could dispense with it. The King thought this disingenuous; and would not admit him.

Macpherson's
Extracts.
August.

EXTRACT III.

Ecclesiastical commission. The bishop of London suspended *ab officio*, for not obeying the King's letter, of the fourteenth June, about doctor Sharpe.

Carte's
Extracts.

A neutrality agreed on with France, in America, in case of a breach in Europe.

Nov; 6th.

1687. EXTRACT I.

The earl of Rochester was turned out of the treasury, for opposing all measures contrary to the King's true interest. They persuaded the King, that Rochester had a mind to change his religion. The King pressed him to it, which produced urgent heats and displeasure in the King. A conference of divines was proposed; and they had scarce begun,

1687.
Jan. 5th.

1687. gun, when Rochester got up, and said, he was more confirmed in his opinion, than before. The King granted him 4000 pounds for life, and 1200 pounds a year*. The King resolved on liberty of conscience.

EXTRACT II.

Feb. Tyrconnel sent deputy to Ireland. The Roman Catholics made free of the corporations there, for the benefit of trade. The present lord mayor of Dublin, they pleading the charter, was refused; but next they admitted him†. The charters called in from the corporations in Ireland.

18th. On the eighteenth of February, liberty of conscience was published in Scotland. Declared in the church on the eighteenth of March. Declaration published in England, on the fourth of April. On the twenty-third of July, seignor Ferd. d'Adda, the pope's nuncio, had a public audience at Windsor. Consecrated, in the King's chapel, as archbishop of Amasia. On the eleventh of April, a dispute about Magdalen colledge, Oxon‡. A dispute about father Francis being admitted master of arts at Cambridge. The vice-chancellor of Cambridge deprived, on the seventh of May. The Queen with child. Sunderland endeavoured to be treasurer. He consulted with Petre and Sir N. Butler, a convert of Petre's. Petre was to succeed him as secretary, and Butlet as chancellor of the exchequer. The last moved it, but did not persuade the King. Sunderland, afterwards, told the Queen, Petre, and Butler, that he could have been treasurer; but rejected it.

EXTRACT III.

When Rochester was laid aside, the King declared he would never have a lord treasurer; yet, in the beginning of this month, he was advertised of a meeting between Sunderland, Sir N. Butler, and father Petre: when Sunderland proposed his being treasurer, Sir N. Butler chancellor of the exchequer, and father Petre secretary. A little before Christmas, Sir N. Butler, in discourse with the King, recommended a

* Some words here are illegible.

† This passage is uncertain, from its being almost illegible.

‡ Vid. printed relation of the proceedings.

treasurer, as better than commissioners, especially in parliament-time. The King shewed his own opinion was not so. In the beginning of January 1688, Sunderland declared to the Queen, that Butler and Petre had pressed him for some months, to be treasurer; but he never desired it; being content as he was. The Queen said she was glad to hear it.

1687.

1688. EXTRACT I.

The King recalls his troops from Holland. The marquis of Albeville, a title given him by the emperor, refutes all the Dutch excuses.

1688.

Pensionary Fagel writes his, or rather the prince of Orange's, sense against repealing the test, in his letter of the fourth of November, 1687.

The King, in his progress, labours to convince his subjects of the reasonableness of liberty of conscience. Endeavours against it. Reasons *pro* and *con*.

On the second of July, 1687, the parliament was dissolved.

The declaration for liberty of conscience ordered to be reprinted; and to be read in the churches. The bishops address against it; thinking it illegal to dispense with all sort of laws, in cases contrary to the very designs of the law.

The bishops petition, on the eighteenth of May, against what they were to read on the twentieth. The chancellor advised the King to summon the bishops before the council, on the ninth of June, for a tumultuary petition, liable to a legal prosecution. They, refusing bail, were committed to the Tower. The Queen expected to lye in; and did the next day. The princess Anne contrived to go to Bath, in order to be absent when the Queen was brought to bed. The bishops, perhaps, had some motive in forcing the King to imprison them: for he would not only have taken their recognizance, but even their word, for their appearance. Both were refused; because an imprisonment would inflame the nation, and prevent the archbishop of Canterbury from being at the Queen's delivery. The King had earnestly pressed the princess Anne to stay, till the Queen should be delivered; but the doctor's opinion pleaded all delays dangerous. The prince

1688. prince was born on the tenth of June. The prince of Orange sent Mr. Keppel to congratulate the King and Queen; and prayed for the prince, who had like to have died, for want of a wet nurse to suckle him.

June 29th. On the twenty-ninth of June, the bishops were tried. The presbyterians joined with the church-party, to expose the King.

EXTRACT II.

Macpherson's
Extracts.

In the case of the bishops, there is no doubt but the King had done better, in not forcing some wheels, when he found the whole machine stop. But it was his misfortune to give too much ear to the pernicious advice of those who put him upon such dangerous councils, (vol. iv. p. 322.) with intent to widen the breach between him and his subjects. But his prepossession against the yielding temper, which had proved so dangerous to his brother, and fatal to the King his father, fixed him in a contrary method. He had always preached against the wavering councils of his brother; and seeing that other bishops made not the same difficulty, and since many complied, he thought the rest ought to do the same. The King, therefore, gave more easily into the chancellor's opinion, who thought that a mere reprimand was not sufficient. It was, however, a fatal council: for, besides the common reasons against it, nothing ought to have made the King more cautious, in the matter, than the present conjuncture, on account of the Queen's being with child. It was that gave the alarm; and by consequence, required a greater attention, to avoid every cause of complaint*.

EXTRACT

* *John Ince to the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

From Tan-
ner's coll. in
the Bodleian
library at
Oxford, vol.
xxviii.

" May it please your Grace, June 30th, 1688.
" We have watched the jury carefully all night, attending without the door on the stair-head. They have, by order, been kept all night without fire or candle, save only some basons of water and towels, this morning about four. The officers and our own servants, and others hired by us to watch the officers, have and shall constantly attend, but must be supplied with fresh men to relieve our guards, if need be.

I am informed, by my servant and Mr. Granges, that, about midnight, they were very loud one among another; and that the like happened about three this morning, which makes me collect they are not yet agreed. They beg for a candle to light their pipes, but are denied.

In

1688.

EXTRACT III.

The King was pressed to come into the league of Augsbourg, betwixt the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Dutch. He refused; and therefore was charged by the prince of Orange with a private league with France. The prince of Orange told the States, at parting, that he should live their friend or die their servant. Albeville and Skelton, from Paris, were informed of the design, by Verace, late a servant of the prince of Orange, and intimate with Bentinck; but dismissed, and retired to Geneva*; and the King of France sent Mr. de Bonrépos, to convince the King

Carte's
Extracts.

In case a verdict pass for us, which God grant in his own best time, the present consideration will be, how the Jury shall be treated. The course is usually each man so many guineas, and a common dinner for them all. The quantum is at your grace's and my lord's desire. But it seems, to my poor understanding, that the dinner might be spared, lest our watchful enemies should interpret it against us. It may be ordered thus; each man guineas for his trouble, and each man a guinea over for his own desire.

My Lord,

Your Grace's most humble Servant,

JOHN INCE."

"N.B. There must be 150 or 200 guineas provided."

* *Copy of a letter written by Bude de Verace, to Skelton, Envoy extraordinary from England to the Court of France.*

Translation.

Geneva, 20th August, 1688.

I received the letter, which you, Sir, did me the honour of writing to me, while I was in the country, where I remained for some days. This is the reason I did not answer you sooner; thanking you for the obliging offers which you made me, and acquainting you, that the affair for which I quitted, is of such an extraordinary nature, that it would do an irreparable injury to that court, should it be divulged. The King your master would be agreeably revenged for Mr. Fagel's letter, if this affair was known in England. Three or four persons were acquainted with the whole of it, and several others know some particulars; for which reason I am surpris'd, that a discovery has not been made to your court. I have had consideration enough to be silent hitherto, altho' several English and Scots, who are here, frequently felt my pulse; as did likewise some gentlemen of the place, to no purpose. If I was to divulge the affair, it would be to the King himself; because it regards her royal highness, as well as the prince and monsieur de Bentinck. It is true, it regards much more the two last, and likewise a third principal person concerned, not to name several others. It regards his Majesty no further

Mr. Atle's
Collection,
vol. ii.

1688. King of his danger. The King thought this last a contrivance to frighten him into an alliance with France. The Dutch ambassadours deny any design against England.

Sept. C. d'Avaux's memorial to the States, about their design to invade England: that his master should look on it as a rupture with France, and invade their country with 40,000 men, which, had it been pursued, would have broke the design. Sunderland had persuaded the King it was a French stratagem, and got him to reject all advice. He had still credit to arraign this step, as affording the Dutch a pretence to arm, and alarming England, with a French alliance against their religion. So the King disclaimed M. d'Avaux's memorial to the Dutch ambassadour, and in all foreign courts; and he called home Skelton, sending him to the Tower, who, in a conference with Croissy, thinking Sunderland betrayed the King, and intercepted letters had procured it; but was, soon after, made governour of the Tower.

Oct. 3d. On the third of October, the bishops waited on the King, with heads of advice†, which he granted, in a great measure: On the twelfth, Magdalen

than that he would have a pleasure in knowing what passes at the court of the prince of Orange, and that the discovery would prejudice the prince in the eyes of the world. But if I could bring myself to such a resolution, I could discover to the King some very important things which regard him, and which came to my knowledge; for nothing passed at court, of which I was not informed, whatever use I might make of it. I wish such a desire may not seize me; and if you choose, Sir, that I should continue to write to you sometimes, and do me the favour to answer me, don't take it amiss, if I intreat you to return my letters, and I shall in like manner return yours; not because I do not put great confidence in your discretion, or would deprive you of the pleasure and advantage you may derive from sending them to court, but because I would choose that the letters should not, at least, be lost, after you have made all the use of them which is necessary for you; and that will engage me to be, with all kind of respect,

S I R,

Your most humble,

and obedient Servant,

Budè de Verace.

† *Lord Sunderland to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.*

My lord,

Whitehall, 24th Sept. 1688.

The king thinking it requisite to speak with your Grace, and several others of the bishops,

Magdalen college was restored: and, on the fifteenth, the prince of Wales was named. His birth was proved, in a council extraordinary, on the twenty-second *. The princess Anne waved being at it; pretending danger in coming abroad, being with child. 1688.

The seals were taken from Sunderland, as soon as he returned from the court of chancery.

On the twenty-sixth of October, the prince of Orange sailed from the Brill and Helvoetsluys. The bishop of Winton, and some other Oct. 26th.

bishops, who are within a convenient distance of this place; his Majesty commands me to acquaint you, that he would have you attend him upon Friday next, at ten in the morning.

I am, my Lord,

Your Grace's most faithful,

and most humble Servant,

Sunderland, P.

* *The Bishop of St. Asaph to the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

My most honoured Lord,

Oct. 26th, 1688.

Tanner's
Collection.
Oxon.

I was told, the last night, as a secret, that his Majesty intends to send for all the lords that were present at the examination of witnesses, concerning the prince's birth; and to require them to subsign the examinations. This is agreeable enough with that which is printed in the Gazette, viz. That a full and particular relation of this affair will be made public. For the hands of all that were present will add very much to the authority of the relation. I need not say what it will seem to import. Your grace has that to say for yourself, which, perhaps, few others can say that were present. You did not hear a great part of what the witnesses said. If that will pass for a sufficient excuse, your grace has no cause to complain of the badness of your hearing. But surely it will be better for the public, if such an excuse can be found, as will suffice for all that were present; and if all could agree to give the same excuse.

It should seem, by the calling of you hither, that either there is, or there is like to be, a dispute concerning the truth of this child; and whensoever that matter comes to be tried, you are like to be judges. But if the judges are called to set their hands to an examination of witnesses, *ex parte*, before the cause comes to be heard, it is a strange kind of preoccupation, that will make all the world of the plaintiff's side; and be rather a prejudice than an advantage to the cause. I hope his Majesty will be aware of this; and will, therefore, spare you this unnecessary trouble. Howsoever, I thought it a part of my duty, to let your grace know what I have heard. With my daily prayers, I humbly crave your blessing, and take leave,

My good Lord,

Your Grace's most obliged,

and most obedient Son and Servant,

W. Asaph.

bishops,

1688. bishops, would have signed their dislike of the invasion; but not a majority of them. The princess of Denmark went with the bishop of London and lord Dorset to Nottingham, where the earl of Devon met her, with two hundred horse; and prince George met her, not long after, at Oxford. A pretended letter of hers was published.

The King, at retiring, trusted count Therésé, the duke of Tuscany's envoy, with the papers or memoirs of his life; so put them in a box confusedly, and gave them to him. It was sent to Leghorn, and the merchant, to whose care it was committed, fancying it to be full of jewels, designed to embezzle it: but an Italian servant of the envoy's, mistrusting him, got it out of his hands, and conveyed it safe to Leghorn, whither the grand duke sent two galleys to convey it to France: and so brought it to St. Germain's, under the notion of jewels and treasure. By a writing, under his hand, he appointed them to be lodged in the Scotch college at Paris.

EXTRACT IV.

An Original Letter, indorsed the Princess of Orange, "August 17th, 1688."

"S I R,

"Being to go to Loo next Thursday, if it please God, I am come to this place to go bake at night. Last Thursday I received your majesty's of the 31 of July, by which I see you had heard the prince of Wales was no more prayed for in my chapell, but long before this you will know it had onely bin sometimes forgot. M. d'Albeville can assure you I never told him it was forbid; so that they wear onely conjectures made upon its being sometimes neglected; but he can tell, as I find your Majesty already knows, that he was prayed for heer long before it was done in England. This excessive hot weathere continues longer than ever I knew it, which I shall find sufficiently in my journey. I have nothing more to add at present, then onely to beg your Majesty to believe, where ever I am, I shall still be

Your Majesty's

Most obedient

Hague, Aug. 17.

Daughter and Servant,

MARIE.

Lord

Lord Dover told me, the duke of Grafton owned to him, that, when he went down to the fleet, a little before the prince of Orange came, it was to prepare the commanders to be for him, which he did; and assured him, that he had the words of two thirds of them. He owned, that he and the rest of them had designs to have invited lord Dartmouth on board captain Hasting or Matt. Aylmer, to have seized him there, and declared for the prince of Orange; but did not say how it was not done. Dover said, lord Godolphin and Churchill had informed him, that lord Dartmouth had got them to speak to the prince of Orange, that he might keep his place of master of the Ordnance; and they had pressed for it.

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The King was also told, that Dartmouth had written from Portsmouth to the prince of Orange, that he had hindered the prince of Wales going from thence.

I was informed from a very good hand, that the princess of Orange seeing her husband much troubled, at the news of the King's being gone for Ireland, told him, " he might thank himself for it, for letting him go as he did."

Mrs. Dawson being sent for, by the princess of Denmark, to come to her, when she was dressing herself to go to her sister's coronation, she asked Mrs. Dawson, if really the child, which was called her brother, was the Queen's child? Mrs. Dawson answered her it was; and that she could answer for it, as much as she could answer that she, the princess, was the late duchess's, having seen them both born; and added, that she wondered very much at her royal highness's asking her the question; since she could not forget, that, when she was going to Bath, coming in the morning to take leave of the Queen, and her Majesty making her feel her belly, she said to the Queen, by the child stirring so strong, she believed the Queen would be brought to bed before her return from Bath. This I had from a gentlewoman who had it from Mrs. Dawson herself.

Lord Churchill owned to lord Dover, before they last came from London, that the design of his and several other officers was laid long before the prince of Orange landed.

1688. Captain G. Churchill, commander of the Newcastle, owned to lord Buckley, that he and captain Matt. Aylmer, with some other commanders, had a design to have seized lord Dartmouth, before the prince of Orange landed; and that the duke of Grafton, lord Berkeley, and Sir J. Barry, knew of it. Captain Powel of the Queen's regiment of Dragoons told cornet Recordan, that, when Sir J. Lanier was sent to Ipswich, to oppose the prince of Orange's landing, in case he should have endeavoured there, with the Queen's and the prince's regiments of dragoons, Arran and Hamilton's horse, that Sir J. was resolved, if the prince had landed, to have declared for him; and had agreed with ten officers to have secured lord Arran, colonel Ric. Hamilton, and colonel Connor.

It was about the middle of September, before the King gave any credit to the advices, from his envoy at the Hague and others, of the prince of Orange's design to invade him. The repeated assurances he had from the States, by their ambassadour and others in their name, that the preparations were not designed against him, the prince himself often confirmed. Sunderland and others, the King trusted, persuaded him it was impossible for the prince of Orange to go through with it; and Sunderland turned any body to ridicule that seemed to believe it; and, indeed, none that the King trusted, except Dartmouth, ever said they credited the reports; and he, from the time of Monmouth's beheading, always told the King he was confident, that, sooner or later, he would attempt it. But though the King did not, till then, believe it, he ordered more ships to be fitted out, to fortify the squadron at sea, on the notion he had of the Dutch fitting out merchant ships; and though he did not then accept of the King of France's offer of sixteen sail to join his, yet he desired them to be ready at Brest, in case of need: and when M. de Citters, the Dutch ambassadour, was alarmed at the report, and took notice of it to the King; he answered, he did not intend to make use of them, unless his masters obliged him to it.

The King, convinced of the Dutch invasion, went immediately from Windsor to London; ordered his fleet to be made up thirty men of war, all third and fourth rates, with sixteen fire-ships; and for troops of horse, foot, and dragoons, to be recruited, ten men in each, except the guards;

gave

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gave out commissions for new regiments of horse and foot; ordered the troop of guards, regiment of horse, that of dragoons, and three battalions of foot, to march from Scotland into England; sent for three battalions, a regiment of foot and dragoons from Ireland: so that his troops would be, in all, near 40,000 men. He thought this a sufficient force to deal with the prince of Orange; as it would, if they had been faithful to him. Writs had been issued for a parliament, and some elections made; but, as he could not be at the head of the army and attend the parliament at the same time, though both were necessary, he put off the meeting of parliament; and, as his council and generality of his officers were averse to French assistance, he did not send for the sixteen sail from Brest. Those who had advised his measures, which gave most offence, were for undoing all, even liberty of conscience, to disoblige the non-conformists; now the church of England was offended. Of these was Sunderland, catholic as he pretended to be, since his public declaration, in July last, though he was privately reconciled some months before. He restored to the church of England, Magdalen and Sidney colleges, which he had designed for breeding up Roman Catholic scholars; but did not recall liberty of conscience. The King had kept the original petition or remonstrance of the seven bishops in his pocket; yet copies flew about. The King drew his army near London. The earl of Dartmouth, Sir Roger Strickland, and Sir J. Barry, were the three flag officers of the fleet.

The prince of Orange at first stood northward; but the wind turning contrary next day, and blowing very hard, dispersed many, and drove them back to port. Lanier's, major general Arran's, and Hamilton's regiments of horse, with the Queen's regiment of dragoons, under colonel Connor, were sent to Ipswich: two regiments of horse and one of dragoons to Colchester. Dartmouth proposed to anchor to the east of the Galloper, clear of the sands, to stretch away as he pleased; but the east wind taking him, and blowing very fresh, he anchored a-breast of the Long-sand head. The prince of Orange passed by to the westward. Dartmouth's scouts took a Dutch fly-boat, a league and a half a head. Why he did not sail is uncertain. He said he could not get about the Longsand-head, as the wind and tyde were; yet some commanders said he might have done it. If he could, and if the commanders were true, he might have destroyed the fleet, or hindered their landing.

1688. landing. Three battalions of guards, the King's regiment of dragoons, and a hundred horse grenadiers, were ordered to Portsmouth; and, if the prince of Orange had gone further, to march for Salisbury. The rest of the troops were ordered to the west; Lanier to command the troops at Salisbury, Sir J. Fenwick at Marlborough, and another body ordered to Warminster; Feversham to come to Salisbury, and march west, to hinder the prince of Orange's advance, and others from joining him. This body consisted of twenty squadrons of old horse, and ten of dragoons. All the foot were ordered to the same place.

The public talk in the prince of Orange's army was, that he was betrayed, none coming to join him. His own officers were for re-embarking. Colonel Strangeways, &c. sent his letters to the King. None joined him, till lord Cornbury began the defection, colonel of the King's regiment of dragoons and chief officer, by *

ordered the King's regiment of foot, under Sir Francis Compton, the lieutenant colonel, the duke of Berwick being at Portsmouth, of three squadrons, St. Albans's two squadrons, under lieutenant colonel Langston, Fenwick's two squadrons, to march, pretending orders; and accordingly marched to Blandford, Dorchester, and towards Honiton. When his own major, Clifford, asked to see his orders, or, at least, to know his design, in making so great a march toward the enemy; Cornbury said, it was to beat up a quarter of horse in those parts; and, when they came to Axminster, he commanded sixty dragoons to fall into the quarter at Honiton. By this, major Littleton and other officers, suspecting the matter, and beginning to question him, Cornbury, the commander, went away, with those commanded men and their lieutenant colonel Hayford, captain Ruffel, and the rest of the captains then with a regiment, without letting the common men know their intention. Langston followed with his two squadrons, being the chief man that concerted with Cornbury; not letting his other officers know of it.

When they came to Honiton, two regiments of the prince of Orange's foot were ready to receive them; one commanded by Talmash. Being there, Littleton told his men, that he had brought them to serve the

* The sentence here is illegible.

prince of Orange; which Norton*, his major, and several subalterns refusing to do, were immediately disarmed, dismounted, and plundered; and, with much a-do, got leave to go back on foot to the King's army. The other two regiments, finding themselves betrayed, marched back in great disorder; only cornet Compton and two or three more subalterns, with about ten troopers of the King's regiment of foot, deserted. Clifford, major of dragoons, brought back the body of the regiment. The common men were generally loyal, though so many of the officers deserted; and many of St. Albans' troopers came back, as they found opportunity with their horses. Though the number of deserters was inconsiderable, it was attended with bad consequences. It caused a jealousy in the troops, who suspected one another; encouraged country gentlemen to go in to the prince of Orange; and animated the enemy, who were before discouraged. The King was at London when this happened. Feverham was just come to Salisbury; and thinking the regiments gone, ordered those at Marlborough and Warminster to Salisbury, the foot to Andover, and those on march to march back to Windsor, Staines, &c. This surprised all at London; and the King staid to settle their minds before he went to Salisbury. He made a speech to all the general officers about Cornbury's desertion; and offered to dismiss them, if they did not care to serve: but all promised fidelity.

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The duke of Grafton, one of the first, set out for Salisbury on the seventeenth. The prince of Wales was sent, at the same time, to Portsmouth, under the escort of some Scotch horse and Irish dragoons: but the night before he left London, some of the bishops presented a petition signed by them and some peers, seventeen in all; of which the dukes of Grafton and Ormonde, the marquis of Halifax, the earl of Nottingham, and several considerable lords, having refused to join with them. The King said it was too late at ten at night to give an answer in writing; being to go next morning to Salisbury: that it was not a time to call a parliament, nor fit for him to treat with the prince of Orange, who had invaded, contrary to the laws of God, duty of a nephew and son-in-law. He told the bishops, that it would have become them

Nov.

* Vid. Norton's own account of this affair, in the papers printed, in this collection, under the head of 1688.

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better to have declared their dislike of the invasion, than presenting such a petition. The bishop of Winton and some others had been for signing their dislike*.

Nov. 19th.

The King got to Salisbury too late, to execute his first project of advancing, with horse and dragoons, to Axminster and Lamport, to hinder the country's going in, to coop up the enemy, and with foot to support them in hedges as good as retrenchments. The prince of Orange at Axminster. The train of artillery, the Scots and Irish dragoons, and a troop of horse guards, not come up. In the mean time, the King resolved to visit the advanced quarter at Warminster, commanded by major general Kirke, of the foot; Trelawney and Maine, brigadiers of horse, who had the third troop of guards, Warden a troop of horse. Two battalions of Dunbarton's, Kirke's, and the Queen's made the two other battalions, and the Queen's regiment of dragoons. But the evening before, his nose fell a bleeding, and doing so next morning a considerable quantity, and continuing to do so several times that day, he was obliged not to go, but to be let blood. It was three days before it could be quite stopped. It is generally believed, had it not been for this accident, that Churchill, Kirke, Trelawney, &c. deserted soon after, with some in that quarter, had designed to seize the King, in going thither or coming back, and have carried him to the prince of Orange. It was easy enough to do, the King having no suspicion of them. But, a few days after, he began to doubt some of them; and once intended to secure Churchill and the duke of Grafton, and have sent them to Portsmouth; but on further consideration, did not think fit to do it.

In a council of all the officers, Feversham, count de Roy, lord Dunbarton, and the truly loyal, advised retiring to London; Churchill, &c. were for staying at Salisbury. The first advice was followed; and Churchill and Grafton went off that night or the next. Schomberg said to Churchill, when he arrived, "That he was the first lieutenant general he had ever heard that had deserted from his colours." The next morning advice came, that Rogers, lieutenant of horse grenadiers, colonel Lawton,

Macpherson's
Extracts.

* Vid. Original Papers, under the head of this year.

captain

captain S. George, and two or three other captains of the queen's regiment of dragoons, were gone from Warminster, with some few of the common men. Kirke did not execute his orders for marching to the Devizes, and by Hungerford to Reading. The King marched the same day; designing to post behind the Thames the foot and horse of the army; but ordered Feversham to stay behind, with horse and dragoons to eat up the forage and maintain Reading as long as he could, without exposing himself to have his quarter beaten up. The King went from Salisbury the first night to Andover; and that night prince George, the duke of Ormond, lord Drumlanrick, and others deserted and several officers from other quarters. The King fearing Kirke would do so too, ordered Dumbarton to take two squadrons of horse to help bringing off the four battalions of foot ordered from Warminster. But before he could join them, as they were to march from the Devizes, Brigadier Trelawney, who commanded them, with lieutenant colonel Churchill, and all his captains but captain Fox, and about twenty or thirty common men, and some subalterns, deserted; the rest of the men, being loyal, would not go.

The King continued his march to London; and the troops were sent to their quarters at Maidenhead, Windsor, Staines, Egham, Chertsey, and Colnbrooke. Every day some officers, though few common men, deserted. The King arriving, on the twenty-sixth of November, at London, found his daughter, the princess of Denmark, had gone off, with lady Churchill and Mrs. Berkley. Whether it was by prince George's directions, or the two ladies advice, is uncertain, though with child, and much afraid; being apt to miscarry. She was under the bishop of London's conduct, at least he met her, as soon as she was out of town. This made a great noise in town; and her nurse and the earl of Clarendon went up and down like mad persons, saying the papists had murdered her; and asking some of the Queen's people what they had done with her: But it was known the next day which way she went. Some days after, a letter of hers, or bearing that title, to the Queen, came out in print; as if she left it on the table, when she went off. But no such was found; or, at least, delivered to the Queen. Prince George and lord Churchill sent letters to the King, with reasons for their withdrawing. The duke of Berwick coming to the army, lord Dover had been sent to command in

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1688. Portsmouth. Orders to send away the prince of Wales to France, if things grew worse; and to the captain of the *Mary yaucht*, to transport him; and lord Dartmouth, to facilitate it, who was come to Spithead, with his fleet much shattered, by ill weather. He had got the length of Torbay, and saw the prince of Orange's fleet at anchor, under Herbert. But the weather was so bad, that he could attempt nothing on them; and his fleet was much dispersed and damaged. Some were forced back to the Downs, Dartmouth himself to Spithead, and captain G. Churchill put into Plymouth to stop a leak: And, finding the place had declared for the prince of Orange, he did so too.

None of the deserters surprized the King so much as the earl of Bath, who had received so much from the crown, and was of so loyal a family. Till then, thought above temptation to do an ill action; but he declared, and secured the earl of Huntingdon, whose regiment was in garrison in the citadel, and all the Roman catholic officers, and common men of that persuasion, and kept them prisoners; Ferd. Hastings, his cousin's lieutenant colonel, and some other officers, joining with him in it. Every body now vied, who should first abandon the King; who, soon after his arrival at London, had advice that Sir G. Hanmer, lieutenant colonel of Montgomery's regiment, in garrison at Hull, hearing that several lords were up in several parts of the realm, and combining with Copely, the lieutenant governor, the present officer and some magistrates, had surprized the governor, lord Langdale, and lord Montgomery, by night, in their lodgings, declared for the protestant religion, and kept these two lords, and some Roman Catholic gentlemen of the country who had retired there for safety prisoners; and then let them go. Before this, lord Danby, and many other persons of quality, had met at York, and seized Sir J. Rearsby, who had only the name of Governor, having but one company of foot with him, and declared for a free parliament and the prince of Orange; seized all the King's money in the collector's hands, disarmed the Roman Catholics, demolished the Roman Catholic chapel in the town, and raised men, forming them into companies and troops. About the same time, the earl of Devon sent to the duke of Newcastle to come and join him. He got some Nottinghamshire gentlemen together, and declared as Danby did; but the duke of Newcastle refusing, he plundered him of what arms and horse he had at Welbeck.

Welbeck. Before this, lord Delamere was up in Cheshire and Lancashire, on the same account. He disarmed the Roman Catholics and some new raised men, demolished the Roman Catholic chapels, and roved about with four or five hundred disorderly ill-armed men.

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The King wrote to the lords Dover and Dartmouth to send off the prince of Wales, most of whose baggage was on board; when Dartmouth, sending for Dover to dine with him, told him it was against the law to send the prince of Wales out of England, without more positive orders; and he would not let it be done; and every night after, he examined every boat and vessel that went out. He had before sent up a strange address, by lord Berkely, signed by the commanders of the fleet, for calling a parliament and declaring for the protestant religion. The fleet would certainly have fought at first, their animosity was such against the Dutch. But the case was altered. The prince of Wales was sent for to London, under escort of Salisbury and Holmes's regiments of horse and some Irish dragoons, which they did in two days.

In a meeting of lords, the King was advised to treat with the prince of Orange. He sent Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin with proposals to him. When they came to Andover, the prince of Orange sent them word to go to Ramsbury, where he delayed them a day or two. When his answer came, the King resolved to go away with the Queen and prince.

Monday, about twelve at night, the tenth of December, the King Dec. 10th. went privately from Whitehall to Vauxhall. He there took horse about one, with Sir E. Hales, Sir E. Quartermaster, and a guide. He passed the Medway, at Ailesford-bridge, took fresh horse at Woolpeck, sent before by Ralph Sheldon, an equerry. He got, by ten, to Emby-ferry, near Feversham; where a Custom house hoy, hired by Sir Edward Hales, waited for them. When on board, they found it had no ballast; and it blowing fresh, the master easily persuaded the King to let him take in ballast at Shelness. It was half ebb before they ran ashore to take it in; designing to sail as soon as afloat, which would have been about eleven. He was near afloat, when three fisher-boats, of Feversham, with fifty men, boarded them, seized the King and two others, as was said by orders from those of Feversham; supposing them papists endeavouring to escape; and, when the vessel was afloat, turned with the tide up Feversham

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vertham water. The King was not, however, known. Sir E. Hales whispered the captain, and clapt fifty guineas privately into his hand, as an earnest of more, if he would let them go before they were put ashore. The captain promised, but kept not his word. Coming to anchor before the mouth of the creek, he went to the master and told him, that he had Sir E. Hales and two more on board; then came back and took what money they had, under pretence of securing it from the seamen; yet the seamen came down and searched them.

They were guarded to town, in a coach, by one Edwards, and some rabble, to an inn, where the King was discovered, and was told, lord Winchelsea and most of the country gentlemen were at Canterbury. He sent to him to come. In the meantime, the King tried to get off; and had got a custom-house smack. But Edwards and the rabble beset the inn so, that the King could not get to the horses he had got to carry him to the boat. Several protestants and Roman Catholics had been seized on the road, as judge Jenner, R. Graham, Mr. Burton, protestants; Mr. Arundel, and two ladies of that name, with Dr. Obadiah Walker, and three or four more Roman Catholics. The King lodged at Mr. a loyal man. The earl of Winchelsea came. The seamen guarded the King; but said a hair of his head should not be touched. Sir B. Dixwell and Sir James Oxenden came next day with militia, on pretence of securing the King from the rabble; but it was to hinder his escape. Those, who came last, were very rude. The King's letter, for cloaths, linen, and money, from London, was stopped one night. Lord Feversham, with some horse guards and horse grenadiers, coming to convey the King to London; they sent to the prince of Orange, for orders what to do with the King. Early on Saturday morning, Feversham came to the King and told him, that the guards were at Sittingburn. The King was conveyed thither by the militia, and by the guards to Rochester that night; and he sent Feversham to the prince of Orange.

The Queen and the prince of Wales were sent away privately, on the ninth of December, at night, under the conduct of the Count de Lauzun, in a yaucht, commanded by captain Gray. The King sent the prince of Orange word, that he would be at London, on Monday, and treat to settle the nation. He doubted the fidelity of the troops, and passed to Whitehall, through the city. It was not to be imagined, the

acclamations

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acclamations that were made, and the joy shewed at his coming back, among all orders of men. He never saw the like. Whitehall was crowded, and the like joy prevailed there. But he had no sooner got to his bed-chamber, than Zulestein came, with a letter from the prince of Orange, that what Feversham proposed was of too great consequence to be answered then; and the King had best stay at Rochester. The King said, had Zulestein come before he left it, he would have staid there; but now he hoped the prince of Orange, then at Windsor, would come next day to St. James's, to speak about his proposal by Feversham. Zulestein said, he believed the prince of Orange would not come, till the King's troops were sent out of town. The King gave him a letter to the prince of Orange; and, upon hearing that Feversham was confined, he expressed to Zulestein his surprize, at a breach of the law of nations, and desired the prince of Orange would release him. But he neither did it, nor sent any answer to the King's letter. Next day, the prince of Orange left Feversham prisoner in Windsor castle, and came to Sion; and, at nine at night, the King was informed, that count Solmes was coming with the prince of Orange's guards to take post at Whitehall. But he supposed they would only do so at St. James's, where the prince of Orange was to come the next day. But at eleven that night, the earl of Craven came to the King, as he was going to bed, and told him, that Solmes was in the Park, with three battalions of the prince of Orange's foot guards and horse; and said he had orders to take post in Whitehall. The King sent for Solmes, and told him, that he believed it was a mistake. But Solmes said his orders were positive for Whitehall, and shewed them to the King. After arguing the matter, the King told Craven, that he might draw off his men, and let Solmes take post; which he did immediately.

Shrewsbury and Delamere were with Solmes in the park; but came not up with him. Soon after one in the night, the earl of Middleton waked the King, who was asleep, and told him, that Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere had called him up, and told him, they had a message from the prince of Orange to deliver immediately to the King. They would not stay till morning. They were called in, and delivered a paper, signed by the prince of Orange: That to avoid disorders, which the King's presence in London might occasion, he would positively have the King to go to Ham;

and

1688. and to be gone before ten, with what servants he would, and the prince of Orange would send guards to secure him. The King excepted to Ham, as not being furnished, and a bad winter; and had rather go to Rochester, as mentioned in the prince of Orange's letter, by Zulestein. They said they would ask the prince of Orange, and bring an answer by nine; but he must positively be gone before ten. The King had said he might be guarded there by some of his own foot; but Solmes sent a party with him. The King would have gone by water to Gravesend, but Halifax opposed it rudely. Shrewsbury was very fair and civil, and agreed to the King's desire; who took barge, attended by a hundred of the prince of Orange's guards, before and behind it. They were so long of embarking, that they lost the tide. The King arrived not till seven at night. He lay there that night; and, next day, he received a blank pass, from the prince of Orange, to send one to London. The guards not being exact at Rochester, the King was confirmed in his opinion, that the prince of Orange wanted to have him gone; and he that brought the pass, brought orders to the captain of the guards not to look so strictly after him; so they put centinels at the fore door towards the street, but none to the back-door towards the river; yet the King apprehended, if he did not get off, that the prince of Orange would have sent him out of the world another way.

EXTRACT III.

The King came to Rochester, on the nineteenth of December, in the morning, where he staid till the twenty-second, at night. Several of his servants, the lords Arran, Dumbarton, Ailesbury, Litchfield, gentlemen of the bed-chamber; three of his grooms, F. Griffin, and Biddolph; major generals Fenwick and Sackville; Sir J. Talbot, brigadier; Sutherland, quartermaster general of horse, came to him, who all gave up their commissions; as before he left London, lord Newburg, Griffin, Litchfield, young Griffin, had done; and others did the same, next day.

EXTRACT IV.

The prince of Orange had convened all the lords spiritual and temporal. The archbishop of Canterbury refused to come, or do any thing while the King was under restraint. The lords adjourned, next day, to the

the house of lords, at Westminster. Some bishops and others advised the King not to go, at least not out of England. Doctor Bradey, his physician, was sent to him, and argued the matter; but could not convince the king they did not think the prince of Orange would attempt his life. He argued it afterwards with lord Middleton, who owned, at last, there was no safety in staying. The King resolved to go. 1688. Carte's Extracts.

The prince of Orange had sent word to the lord mayor and aldermen, not to give oaths of allegiance and supremacy, or test, to the common-council, chosen on the twenty-first of December: and he ordered them to act, without taking them.

Captain Macdonald bringing word, before twelve at night, on the twenty-second of December, that captain Trevanion was come up with the shallop; the King left a paper, with reasons of his withdrawing. He charged lord Middleton to have it printed, when he got to London; but left it with Dumbarton to be given, next day to Middleton. The King told the earl of Litchfield of it; trusting him entirely, a man of great honour, and who had always served with steadiness and fidelity. He was forced also to trust Ailesbury with it; else he would have lain in his bed-chamber, with the servants, a room through which the King was to pass.

The King went to bed, at his usual hour. As soon as the company were gone, he got up, dressed, and went, by the back-stairs, through the garden, where Macdonald staid for him, with the duke of Berwick and Mr. Biddolph, to shew him the way to Trevanion's boat. About twelve at night they rowed down to the smack, which was waiting without the fort at Sheerness. It blew so hard right a-head, and ebb tide being done before they got to the Salt Pans, that it was near six before they got to the smack. Captain Trevanion not being able to trust the officers of his ship, they got on board the Eagle fireship, commanded by captain Wilford; on which the wind and tide being against them, they staid till day-break, when the King went on board the smack. It blew so very hard, E. N. E. and E. N. when they got to the Buoy of the Nore, that they durst not venture to turn down any lower, and they were obliged to bear up the river towards Lee, and anchor on the Essex shore, under the lee of the sand, in smooth water, till the next tide of flood should be gone. It blew very hard all that day, being Sunday.

1688. As it began to be dark, the gale slackened a little; so that when the tide broke, they got under sail, and turned down as far as the Red Sand. Next morning, the weather being fair, they got under sail before sun-rise; and, without tacking, reached the buoy off the Narrows, turned through it, and so to North-foreland; designing to go on the back of the Goodwin, and not through the Downs. But they could not weather it, and so went through the Downs. There seven ships lay at anchor; but not one under sail. It began to snow about six; and not being able to fetch Calais, they bore away for Boulogne, and anchored before Ambleteuse, where they landed, about three on Tuesday morning, Christmas day.

1689.

1689.
Macpherson's
Extracts.

The King landed at Kinsale, on the 12th of March. He found a great deal of good will in that kingdom, but little means to execute it; which made the prince of Orange slight it to the degree he did. The fear of disgusting the Irish catholics, on whom he wholly depended, and the hopes of recompensing such protestants as suffered by the act for rescinding the acts of settlement, induced the King, at last, to give his royal assent, though he saw it was highly prejudicial to his interest. Nothing, but the unwillingness to disgust his only friends, could prevail with him to foreclose himself in the act of attainder, from the power of pardoning those comprized in it; and to agree to such diminutions of his authority, as that the acts of the English parliament should not be binding in Ireland, nor that writs of error and appeals should be carried from thence to England. It would, without doubt, have been more generous in the Irish, not to have pressed so hard upon their prince, when he lay so much at their mercy; and more prudent not to have grasped at gaining all, before they were sure of keeping what they already possessed. He gave his royal assent, with good will, only to the act for liberty of conscience.

[Mr. Thomas Carte made no extracts, from the memoirs of James, concerning the transactions of 1689; probably for the same reasons which induced the editor to content himself with the preceding; having found,

found, among Nairne's papers, the original materials, from which James composed his memoirs for the present year. That prince usually wrote, with his own hand, all the occurrences of the times, or examined and corrected what was written by others. He sometimes wrote down his instant reflections and conjectures on the state of his affairs, and the expected effects of his measures, without waiting to see what time might determine. The pen must have been constantly in his hand. The first paper which occurs, relating to the transactions of this year, is a journal, in his own hand, containing an account of some intelligence he received, when on his journey from Cork to Dublin.

1689.

The journal which immediately follows the intelligence, in James's own hand, contains an account of what passed in Ireland, from his landing at Kinsale, on the 12th of March, O. S. 1689, to the 18th of July, when he prorogued the parliament. There are two copies of it among Nairne's papers; one in French, and another in English, which is full of French idioms. The language and orthography of the French copy, which is in Nairne's hand, is the most correct. There are some additions in the margin, by lord Melfort, in French; and several, by James himself, in English. From the mention made of it in James's instructions to lord Dover, it appears he intended it for the information of Lewis XIV. However, the English copy, from which the other is said to be a translation, is printed here, though corrected in some few places according to the French, which is more exact. The additions are placed in the margin, as they occur in the margin of the French copy. The variations are carefully marked, and the letters and memorials, from which the journal was framed, are placed at the bottom of the page, as further illustrations of the subject.

This journal may be reckoned, in a great measure, the work of James, from the corrections, alterations, and additions in his own hand. The account which he gives, in his memoirs of the military transactions in Ireland, during the year 1689, is but an abstract of what this and the following journal contain; and these journals were composed from the letters which James received from his generals; and of which some are inserted, as vouchers and illustrations, in the notes.]

1689.

"News from the army in Ireland, and from Scotland, from the 16th to 20th of March, 1689;" in King James's own hand.

March 16.

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 7.

THIS morning, by letters, and an officer who came from Cavan, had an account, that Kirke came thither on the 14, in the morning, about seven, with six squadrons of horse and dragoons and fifteen hundred foot, all of Schomberg's owne army; they marched into the towne, designing, as was believed, to attacque the fort on that side: but brigad. Wachop. who commanded there, having left some men in three strong store-houses in the towne, to preserve it, they obliged the enemy to march out of it, leaving six of their men slain in the street. What others they had killed or wounded there, is not knowne. There had been greater, if some of the protestant inhabitants had not advertised the enemy, as they were marching on, of some of Wachop's men being in those houses; for had they not had that notice, they had come up close to them; our men having had orders from the brigadier, not to fire till they were just under them; and they kept close, till they saw the enemy begin to march back, who were come within half musket-shot, and so did that execution on them. After this, they marched up to the fort on the other side; but, after viewing it, and having skirmished for some time, they finding it stronger and better provided than they expected, marched, about two in the afternone, back for Belurbatt. What men they lost on that side, one cannot certainly say, only that from the fort they saw them carry of several dead bodies on horse-back befor them. It's probable their designe was to take the fort, or to burn the towne, since they came with so great a body. They only burnt two small cabins at the town's end. Wachop writes word he is afraide a smal foot-guard, which he had at Butler's Bridge, which he had there to advertise him of the enemies motion, may have been cut of by the enemy.

A foldier newly come from Charlemont, gives an accout, that a party of that garrison marched twenty miles to the enemy.

* * * * *

[Here there is a leaf wanting.]

* * * * *

only

only put out their ensigne, and not their gib; upon which two masters of small ships, which were in the harbour, came on board the Pink; believing she came from England, to know news, whom capt. Anderson secured, and one of the boats they came in. The other boat got away, and gave the alarm upon shore. Upon which, captain Watson, capt. lieut. to col. Tiffany, who was quartered and commanded in that town, came to board the Pink, with three boats full of soldiers. They let the captain come up into the ship, and then seized him and the men of the first boat, who came up with him; which the other two seeing, made away. But the Pink's men fired so fast on them, that one of the boats cryed for quarter, and rowed on board and yielded. The third got off. But most of her men were killed or wounded. As soon as it was night, the Pink warped out of the harbour, the wind blowing right in; and, by that tyme 'twas day, got clear of the mouth of it. The enemy, by that tyme, got downe to the sea-side, and on the rocks, in great numbers. A regiment of foot being quartered hard by, fired some small shot, which did no harme; and to the country towards Derry stayd there about three days, plundered the country, and brought back with them some twelve horses, loaden with plunder, and some ready money they met with.

I have had an account from Castleblany, that a party of Macmahon's, and some of the garrison of Dundalk, having met a party of the enemy, not far from Castleblany, who came a cow-stealing, fell on them, beat them, and killed 20 on the spot, and took 10 prisoners.

March 19th.

The Pink, which carried gen. major Buchan into Scotland, is come back to Broadhaven, in the county of Mayo, gives an account, that she had a long passage back from the Isle of Mull, and endeavoured to have put into Sligo. But being near to Killibeg, in the county of Donegalle, put into that harbour; believing it to be in the King's possession; but no sooner in, than they found they were mistaken; and, it blowing hard, and right into the harbour, the mouth of which was very narrow, so that they could not turn out, came to anchor. The Pink got of, and brought away the captain, the two masters, 20 souldiers and seamen
8 prisoners.

1689. prisoners to Broadhaven. In this Pink came as passengers, Sir Alexander M'Laine, colonel James Purcell, Sir George Berkley, and Mr. Hays, with some others.

March 20th.

This day had an account, that the party sent to Charlemont, with provisions, got safe thither, by knowing the country well, though that place be strictly blocked, and came back, without striking a stroke, though the enemy had notice of their march, and had way-laid them. Have been informed, by one come out of the enemy's quarters, that some of the Danes are already landed, and that the rest were expected every day; that one English regiment was also landed.

"A Journal of what passed in Ireland, from his Majesty's arrival, on the 12th of March, Old Stile, to the 18th of July, 1689, when he prorogued the parliament."

March.
Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. i.
fol. No. 6.

HIS Majesty arrived in his kingdom of Ireland, the 12th of March, O. S. 1689; and was received, at Kinsale, where he landed, with all the demonstrations of joy imaginable.

His Majesty's first care was to have the money, arms, and ammunition, which he brought along with him from France, safely landed and secured in his fort of Kinsale; and, *because one part thereof was sent by Mr. de Louvois, and the other by Mr. Seignelay, his Majesty* * ordered one of his servants to receive that of Mr. de Louvois, and to deliver it to the Sieur de Pointis, that he might take care and give an account thereof; having, for that end, several commissaries under him: all which was done, with great readiness and care, and in a few days.

After this was done, his Majesty calling into his council the count d'Avaux, ambassador of France, and the earl of Melford, caused himself to be informed, in their presence, of the posture of affairs in this kingdom, by those of the country that were come to wait upon him at his landing; but chiefly by Sir Thomas Nugent, lord chief justice of

* The words in Italicks are omitted in the French translation.

Ireland, and his lieutenant-general, the lord Mount Cashell. He found by these, that the lord deputy of Ireland, finding the designs of the prince of Orange succeed so well in England, and that the half of the Irish army was there, and consequently lost for his Majesty's service, had endeavoured to supply this defect, by giving commissions to raise men, to all whom either the love of their religion, their King, or their country incited to accept thereof. That the fidelity of the Irish, and their zeal for his Majesty's service, had appeared so extraordinary, on this occasion, that, in less than a month, there were above one hundred thousand men on foot. The reputation of which alone, was sufficient to hinder the prince of Orange from attempting any thing against Ireland, without very great preparations. That this thing alone had saved the kingdom †. But that, on the other side, it was attended with great inconveniencies; for the troops being raised, and having no pay, were forced to live on the people; and, though the officers had undertaken to maintain them at their own charge, there were very few that did it effectually.

That the lord deputy had done another thing very necessary for the safety of Ireland, by disarming the protestants and seizing their horses. But that too brought inconveniencies along with it, and caused so great disorder, that every catholique thought himselfe entitled to pillage the protestants, and render back to them the same usage they had before received at their hands. This so provoked the protestants, being already too much inclined to revolt, that they took occasion to assemble publicly for the forming themselves into troops; and committed great disorders, particularly in the North and at Banden.

† The prince of Orange has been much blamed for his long neglect of the affairs of Ireland, and his conduct was variously accounted for. Some said, that he was deceived by Tyrconnel's assurances of attachment and fidelity; others affirmed, that he was willing to give the Irish an opportunity of rising in arms, that he might enrich his followers by forfeitures; and those who were disposed to judge with more candour, alleged, that he followed the opinion of the marquis of Halifax, that an unsettled state of affairs in Ireland, would compel the English to a speedy settlement of England. But the writer of this Journal, with less malignity and refinement, gives another account of that prince's supposed inattention.

That

1689. That the rebels at Banden had been reduced without much difficulty; and that those in the North were so near being so, that it was not doubted but the first news from that country would bring the news of it; and that his Majesty should have no ground to fear any ill consequence from that side.

His Majesty, applying himself after this to the forming of his army, gave orders to his lieutenant general, the lord Mount Cashell, to form seven regiments of foot, of the forces raised in those quarters, as also to arm the regiment of dragoons of Sir James Cottar, and to transport the rest of the armes to Dublin, with all speede. Having ordered this, and, with much trouble, found horses to carry the French officers to Dublin*, his Majesty advanced to Corke, 12 miles from Kinsale; after having visited that place, and left orders at his departure for the putting it out of danger of any sudden attempt. Leflieur de Baiffelau to command under lieutenant general Mount Cashell†.

† Note on the margin of the French text in lord Melfort's hand. To command under the lieutenant general Mac Carty.

His Majesty was no sooner arrived at Cork, than he caused an exact view to be taken of that place; and finding it in a reasonable good condition, he gave orders for the strengthening the garrison, and the leaving some ammunition and fifty thousand livres there, for the paying some small subsistence to the soldiers; of which there were a great many in that country. *It was here, that his Majesty, having received a great number of petitions for leave to transport wool into England, refused them all; but gave a general liberty for the transporting into France, which had been done in great abundance, but that vessels were wanted†.* It was here too that his Majesty began to find the difficulty of transporting his arms and ammunition, as he designed, as well by reason of the unfitness of the carriages used in the country, as of the ill ways; and that the general officers and others of his train, having taken all the horses, and several not paying for them, had caused the country people to drive what they

* Nairne's Papers, D. N. 1. No. 59. Estat des officiers François qui se sont embarquez pour passer en Irlande, et qui ont esté payez de leurs appointements pour six mois d'avance.

† The words in Italicks are inserted here in the English text. But they are on the margin of the French text in Lord Melfort's hand.

had

had remaining into the mountains, from whence it was impossible to get them. His Majesty having remained some days at Cork, the earl of Tyrconnel came thither to wait upon him; and was immediately created duke, in recompence of his great services, and successful endeavours towards the preservation of the kingdom of Ireland. He brought along with him the news of the rebels being defeated, by Hamilton, at Dro-more; and that he pursued them so briskly, that he hoped to reduce them entirely, before any recruits could be sent him; and, in this belief, most people continued for some time after his Majesty's arrival at Dublin^a.

1689.
March.

In the way from Cork to Dublin, his Majesty settled several things much out of order in the country; and on the road, found every where troops of peasants armed with long sticks, tip'd with iron at one end; and even those troops, which were said to be armed, had only half of them pikes and half musquets; of which, two in one hundred were not fit for service; *the officers were almost all natives differing little from the soldiers*^{*}.

^a A marginal note to the French text in Melford's hand.

The lieutenant general Hamilton was advanced to this rank by the duke of Tyrconnell, before the King's arrival, without the King's knowing any thing about it until he arrived, as also the viscount Mount Cashell and some brigadiers.

His Majesty arriving at Dublin, and finding the troubles in the north still prolonged, and that he had been but ill informed of the number and resolution of the rebels, and well knowing of what importance it was to him, to put an end to the disorders of this kingdom; he resolved to send more troops yet to the north, to strengthen those with Hamilton. But his first care was to form a council, in which all affairs should be debated; and resolved it should consist of the French ambassador, the duke of Tyrconnel, and the earl of Melford.

It was in this council, where it was considered, what troops should be sent to strengthen the camp of Hamilton, who was not strong enough to take Coleraine, much less to attack Derry. It was agreed, that his Majesty should send some regiments to block up Coleraine, on the other side of the river; and that they should be commanded by the duke of Berwick and the marquis de Pusignian. But it happened, that the commission of general major, granted to the duke of Berwick, was of an ancients date than that of the marquis de Pusignian. The King, to

* The words in Italicks are wanting in the English, but are inserted in the French text.—The translator, by saying that the officers were *gens du pais peu differentes des soldats*, means perhaps that they were peasants as well as the soldiers.

1689.
March.

shew the particular esteem he had for the French, on all occasions, would not suffer the duke of Berwick to command the marquis, on that occasion. But sent him straight to Hamilton, and left to the marquis the sole command of the detachment; the troops of which he doubted not to be in a good condition and fit to march, being the first that were armed of the new levies.

A marginal
note to the
French trans-
lation in the
King's hand.
*A mistake as
to the troops.*

This detachment consisted of five regiments of foot, that is Bellow, Germanstowne, Louth, Nugent, and Moore; the duke of Tyrconnell's regiment of horse, captain Burke's troop of horse, and another detachment commanded by the lord Gallmoy, brigadier, consisting of one hundred and sixty-five horse, one hundred dragoons, and five hundred and sixty foot; which made, in all, with the other troops that were already in the North, eleven thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight foot, seven hundred and thirty-five horse, and seven hundred and fifty dragoons; and, because his Majesty was informed, that the free communication, that those of Coleraine had with those of Derry, did very much hinder the taking of the first of those places, he commanded Monsieur de Puffignian to march, with the detachment under his command, betwixt the two rivers; by that means to hinder their communication for the future.

Whilst the troops, thus destined, prepared themselves for their general rendezvous at Charlemount, the King consulted with his general officers at Dublin about the siege of Derry, in case Coleraine should be taken. It was proposed, to prepare store of tools and other things necessary for a siege. Upon which, his Majesty caused his magazines to be looked into. But, instead of finding things necessary, as he expected, he was informed, by the earl of Melford, who had visited the said magazines, by his order, that there was nothing at all of what was required, nor even any thing that looked like a magazine*; and as his Majesty

Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 64.

* See " *An account of arms, ammunition, and other habilaments of war, remaining in the several magazines in the kingdom of Ireland the 1st day of April 1689.*" There were but 6 mortar pieces, 188 guns mounted, 79 guns not mounted, 397 barrels of powder, 196 barrels of ball, 421 bundles of matches, 878 muskets serviceable, 896 muskets unserviceable, 1152 pistols in pairs, 1029 carabines, 2 petards and covers, 7 waggons, 9 tumbrills with 1449 cannon-ball, 190 tents for horse, 335 for foot, 100 pike axes, 100 shovels and the like number of spades, 5 hand-screws, 200 baskets, 145 wheel-barrows, 170 hand-barrows, 1398 pikes, 130 yards of caddows, that is tartan for hose, 54 yards of canvas, 12 axletrees and 789 iron balls.

was

was obliged, for the repairing of this defect, to set people at work immediately for the making of the tools and instruments, that were wanting, it was scarce possible to find workmen enough to make fifty or sixty of them a week; and even those workmen that were employed, being protestants, and going unwillingly about their business, the preparations were delayed; and by that means, the army was not so soon provided, as they should have been, with the tools that were necessary. Even this his Majesty began to look out after, providing cannon, of which there was not one piece of battery ready mounted in all Ireland, of field-pieces but twelve, in all of which three were with Hamilton, and two little mortars, the two great mortars and two of a middle size (which were all that were in the kingdom) not being in a condition to march.

1689.
March.
A marginal
note to the
French trans-
lation in lord
Melford's
hand.
*Effets des ma-
gazins maré*
No. 1.

Monsieur de Pusignian, who was to command the troops destined for the recruit of Hamilton, would have deferred his departure to join the said troops, till some cannon could be mounted to march along with him. But being assured, that there were some at Charlemount, both better and readier for service, he parted from Dublin the 2d or 3d day of April, and went streight to Charlemount, where he found only two ordinary batards fit for service, and those two without carriages.

April.

It being there and at Dungannon, where the troops under his command were to rendezvous, he expected to have found them there at his arrival, but they, being little acquainted with military discipline, came two or three days short, which the Sieur de Pusignian, not to lose time, employed in mounting the two pieces of cannon he found at Charlemount, by the workmen which he carried along with him from Dublin.

Whilst things went thus in Ireland, news was brought from Scotland, that the convention was assembled at Edinburgh, that the duke of Hamilton was president thereof, and that his Majesty's letters had with much difficulty been allowed to be read, and in fine his friends, and those that were faithful to his interest, had quitted the convention, finding things carried on against his interest with the violence which they could not oppose.

Affairs of
Scotland.

His Majesty, to neglect nothing that might confirm his friends in their fidelity, and reduce his enemies to their duty, took that occasion to publish his declaration of the first of April, of which he sent several

1689.
April.

A marginal
note to the
French trans-
lation in the
King's hand.
*Le chevalier
Mac Lean et
le Sieur Mac
Donald.*

Affairs of
Ireland.

copies into Scotland *. He dispatcheth also two or three persons of trust into England and Scotland, to have, by them, a more certain account of the posture of affairs in those countries, and to carry letters to those of his subjects who espoused his interest, and were capable to serve him, with commissions to raise men upon occasion. He sent at the same time two young Scotch noblemen, who came with him from France, and who had great interest in the Highlands, giving them commissions to raise regiments and arm all their friends and followers.

About this time, his Majesty applying himself incessantly to provide for the good and welfare of his subjects of Ireland, and finding that there were above one hundred thousand men of foot, which were a charge as well to the people as to the officers who raised them, resolved immediately to reduce them to a lesser number, and gave his orders to that effect to the duke of Tyrconnel, who disbanding all the rest, reserved only, according to the King's intentions, seven regiments of horse, of which one was of nine, three of eight, and three of six troops; seven regiments of dragoons, of which three of twelve troops, and four of ten; and thirty-five regiments of foot, of which the regiment of guards had two battalions, and the rest thirteen companies each, every company of sixty-two men. Having thus reduced this great army to a more compact number, his Majesty gave orders to bring the arms without delay, that those whom he thought fit to be kept on foot might, by receiving them, be fit for service.

Having thus provided for the reform and arming of his forces, and left the care of seeing his orders put in execution to the duke of Tyrconnell, his Majesty resolved to goe to Charlemount, in person, to see the troops that were there, under the command of the marquis de Pusignan, which he did as well to animate the soldiers by his presence, as to see himself what they wanted, and to give orders on the spot for their supply, *being extremely surpris'd at the ill posture in which he was informed the marquis de Pusignan had found them* †.

* A marginal note to the French and English copies of this Journal refers to the printed proclamation. D. N. 1. fol. No. 2.

† The words in Italicks are in the French text in lord Melfort's hand.

He was also persuaded to this voyage, because he should be there both nearer to Londonderry, in case his affairs required his presence there, and nearer to the coast of Scotland, whither he might send what troops he might judge necessary, with more expedition, in case Derry should surrender, which would have been of very great consequence and advantage, as well for the frightening of his enemies, as the fortifying his friends, and preserving and encouraging in their duty those of his servants and subjects that began to waver, *his approaching that way making them hourly fear his passing into Scotland* *.

1689.
April.

He parted from Dublin the 8th day of April, and two days after the duke of Tyrconnell parted from thence also, and went thro' all the garrisons to execute his Majesty's orders, for the arming and reforming his forces, which his Majesty would also have ordered to be paid, if his Majesty had wherewith. But the duke of Tyrconnell, who foresaw well enough, how absolutely necessary it was for the good of his Majesty's affairs, to have still a reserve of money against any sudden occasion, proposed, with great prudence, to his Majesty, to spare that little that he had, and to find means to make the forces subsist yet some time longer, and to get them cloathed without putting him to any charge †.

Whilst Monsieur de Pusignian assembled his troops nigh Charlemont, and Hamilton was ordered by his Majesty to try on his side to make himself master of the bridge, which would render the communication easy betwixt him and Monsieur de Pusignian; which the enemies fearing, they burned the bridge, before we could come at it; but that did not stop his march, and so great was the courage of himself, his officers, and the troops he commanded, that most of them passed the river in the face of the enemy, and made themselves masters of a redoubt on the other side.

As his Majesty was on the way from Dublin to Charlemont, he received news, that the rebels had quitted Coleraine, when they saw that Hamilton was master of the passage over the river, and that M. de Pusignian marched to get between them and Derry, and having ruined all

* These words are in a marginal note to the French text in lord Melfort's hand.

† The earl of Melfort inserts here in the French text with his own hand, *And even to get them cloathed by the officers.*

1689.
April.

the country between Coleraine and that place, retired to Derry, and into the country on the other side the river Finne.

His Majesty staid some days at Ardmagh, a town pillaged by the enimie, and very inconvenient as well for himself as his train, whilst he sent Mr. de Rozen and Mr. de Maumont to view the troops at Dungannon, and to give him an account of them. A little after he advanced to Charlemont, from whence he went two days after to visit the post of Dungannon, Mr. de Rozen's quarter. He saw the regiment of Cavenach armed half with pikes and half with musquetts, but so bad and so much out of order, that not one hundred amongst them were in a condition to be shot in; at which his Majesty was much surpris'd, believing them to have been in a much better condition, which made him redouble his orders for bringing the arms from Corke, Kinsale, and Waterford, with all speed.

Att the same time the marquis de Pufignian, in pursuance of the orders which his Majesty had sent from Ardmagh to him and Hamilton to march to Straban (a passage of the river Finne, at the mouth of which is situated, ten miles from thence, the city of Derry), march't with his detachment within a league of Dungannon, and hearing of his Majesty's being there, came to give him an account of the troops which were with him, and were in little better condition than those at Dungannon; which obliged his Majesty to reiterate his orders, and write to the duke of Tyrconnell and the Sieur de Pointis to send away the arms and ammunition with all speed.

The King seeing there was no more enimies left on this side the river, except in Inniskillin, and that every where, upon the approach of his troops, the rebels had abandoned the villages and little castles, where they had garrisons, he resolv'd to go on as far as Omi, being perswaded by all those who knew the country, that Derry will surrender upon his approach.

He left Charlemont the fourteenth of April, and arriv'd the same day at Omi; from whence he found that Hamilton was march'd for Straban, and that Monsieur Pufignian, with half the troops under his command, of which the most were horse and dragoons, was advanced to Cladyford, three or four miles above Straban. His Majesty was also inform'd, that the rebels appeared in great numbers on the other side
the

the river which obliged him to send Mr. de Rosen, Monsieur de Maumont, and Monsieur Lery before him, with all the rest of the troops that were at Omi, except one regiment of foot and one troop of dragoons, to see if possible they could pass the river at Straban. In the mean time Hamilton, the duke of Berwick, and Monsieur de Pusignian having joined their troops about Straban, forced the passage of Cladyford with a handful of men in sight of five or six thousand of the enemy that were on the other side to oppose them.

1689.
April.

Monsieur de Rosen not finding them at Straban on his arrival, and not being willing to stop there, went himself to view the passage of the river from Straban to Lifford, and though he had with him only two troops of horse and one of dragoons, and that the number of the enemies on the other side appeared, and were effectually ten times the number, he bravely attempted the passage, and himself and the general officers leading the way, his troops followed him with that courage that they all swam the river; and by so bold an action, so frightened the enemies, that they fled upon the first charge, and pursuing of them for three or four miles killed many of them.

His Majesty judging by this manner of proceeding of the enemies that they reserved all their efforts for the defending of Derry, and seeing the necessity there was, to provide things necessary for the siege, as also to reinforce his army, resolved to return to Dublin, and left the command of his army in the hands of Monsieur de Rosen, Monsieur Maumont, Hamilton, the duke of Berwick, Pusignian, and de Lery.

The sixteenth his Majesty came back to Charlemont, where he sent more troops to reinforce the garrison of Coleraine newly taken, as also, the county of Down, where he was informed that there was a likelihood of some stirring of rebels. The night of the sixteenth and seventeenth the King received an express from the army, which let him know that the general officers had resolved to rest the troops, the 17th and the 18th, to join all their troops together and march straight to Derry; and that it was the general opinion, that in the consternation in which the enemies were since the forcing of the passages of the river, the town would surrender without any resistance.

The

1689.
April.

The morning of the 17th arrived another express sent by the duke of Berwick, acquainting his Majesty, that the rebels of Derry had sent to capitulate with lieutenant general Hamilton, who had sent them to Monsieur de Rosen as his superior officer, who answered, that he referred himself to the King's declaration †, and would allow them the advantage of it if they forthwith surrendered. Upon which the deputies of the town went back, promising to send their answer by 10 o'clock the next morning; and that it was the general opinion, the town would surrender, and, that he was desired by the general officers, to inform his Majesty, that in their opinion, his presence would be necessary.

The King who would fail in nothing that might contribute to the good of his affairs, or the reducing of so important a place, resolved to go thither; and although he foresaw that the voyage could not be only troublesome, but dangerous, yet he would expose himself thereto, and shew thereby the regard he had for the opinion of his general officers: He knew that thereby his return to Dublin was delayed, where the main of his business lay, but having left all his things there to the management of the duke of Tyrconnell, whose care and exactness in putting these orders in execution which he had left them, would, he doubted it not, supply his absence; and considering, on the other side, that the resistance of the town would have been imputed to him, if by avoiding two or three days of fatigue extraordinary, he had neglected any expedition which might have had the least shadow or probability to reduce it; he delayed no longer to return back again, to appear at the head of his army, within sight of Derry, to disabuse those unhappy rebels of the obstinate belief which they had entertained, that his Majesty was not in Ireland, but had died at Brest, and, that what was said to persuade them to the contrary was only to deceive them: therefore as soon as he had received the duke of Berwick's letter, he set out from Charlemont, where he left a great part of his train, taking with him only those who were most necessary of his household, as well because of the scarcity of provisions as the general want of forrage, the ruin of

† There is a reference here on the margin of the English copy of the Journal to paper 2d in Mr. Nairne's collection. It is the King's proclamation of the first of April, referred to above.

horses,

horses, and other extremities, which were feared. And after a long and painful day's journey of thirty miles, he arrived that night very late at Newtown Stewart, where having rested three or four hours in his clothes, he was on horseback the next morning by break of day, and by 8 o'clock came to Straban, where he received a letter from Monsieur de Rosen, which let him know, that the rebels at Derry had again sent to capitulate for the surrender of the place; and that to induce them to do it the more readily, he was marched with the whole army to shew himself near the town. The same letter informed him that there were English ships in the lake, with succours of soldiers and arms for the town.

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April.

The King, who expected to have found the army at Straban, finding it march towards Derry, and desiring to overtake it with all speed, stopt not at all, but passing the river on horseback, he overtook the foot, commanded by Monsieur de Pusignian, two miles from Lifford, and having viewed them without stopping, went on to join Monsieur de Rosen, who was gone from Straban four hours before his arrival, with part of the horse; the rest of the horse and dragoons being sent a day before to Raphoe, as well to save the provisions which were there in great abundance, as to confine the enemies and drive them further into the Peninsula, had orders to rejoin Monsieur de Rosen within sight of Derry, being commanded by Hamilton and the duke of Berwick.

His Majesty, having joined Monsieur de Rosen, within two miles of Derry, put himself with him at the head of his troops, and, marching straight to the town, stopt upon a hill within cannon-shot of the walls.

The place being thus invested by the few horse and dragoons that were there, Monsieur de Rosen desired his Majesty to hasten the march of the foot that was behind, which coming up but slowly, Monsieur de Rosen pressed his Majesty to send back two or three messengers one after another to make them advance with all speed, which his Majesty did. Mr. de Rosen having posted the foot round the town, from the sea on the one side, by the wind-mill, to the garden and sea on the other side, *the King proposed to send to summon the town, that they might know he was there; to which Monsieur de Rosen answered, that it was not proper to*

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April.

do it till all the troops were in battalion in view of the town, and desired the King to send to hasten Hamilton and the foot; in the mean time, he, Monsieur de Rosen, advanced with some horse and dragoons, and posted them in the bottom within less than half cannon-shot of the town, they of Derry not firing one shot at them. His Majesty, who was resolved to let Monsieur de Rosen act as he thought best, remained on the height, where the horse and dragoons were first drawn up; seeing from thence the foot marching along the highway in the bottom, went down to meet them; finding Monsieur de Rosen resting himself in a large field on the side of a hill out of cannon-shot, though in full view of the town, proposed to him to draw up the foot there, to give the rebels a full view of them. But Rosen desired his Majesty to let him post them as he thought best, to which the King acquiesced and said no more; but went down and met the foot in the bottom, and let them follow Mr. de Rosen's orders, and kept himself just out of cannon-shot from the town, and then sent a trumpet to summon it; so that it was not by the King's orders that they advanced so far. Monsieur de Rosen, notwithstanding that, made the troops advance towards the town, and post themselves very near it under the shelter of the wind-mill, and a house near it, and the high enclosures thereabouts, and detached others along the bottom towards the Butcher's Gate. Whilst this was a doing, the trumpeter came back to the King, and told him, the answer he had was, that they would in an hour's time send an answer, but desired the troops might not advance further. Whether the trumpeter told this last particular to Monsieur de Rosen as he came back, is not known; if he did, Monsieur de Rosen took no notice of it, for he did not stop the troops who were then advancing: the trumpeter spoke French very well, being either a French or a Dutchman, and was slain since*. Every one was surprised to see that in a little time, that answer was nothing else than

* The passage in Italicks is in both the French and English copies of the Journal and yet it is in English in James's hand on the margin of the French copy.—It was James's constant custom to write instantly an account of whatever happened, as appears frequently from his mistaken conjectures about the conduct of others, and from the manner he expresses his hopes of success in his own undertakings. He seems to have been ignorant of what passed in Londonderry. The inhabitants offered him terms of capitulation at the instigation of Lundie;—but Murray arrived with a reinforcement, and persuaded them to take arms and fire upon James.

cannon and musquet shots from every side. This continued the rest of the day, and there were some soldiers killed. In the mean time several came out of the town that assured his Majesty, that this only proceeded from the rabble, who being drunk had seized upon the cannon and fired without order from any people of authority in the town; that the better fort were generally resolved to surrender, and did all they could to persuade the common people to the same.

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His Majesty, who had eat nothing all day, had the patience, notwithstanding the fatigue of the two preceding days, to remain a horseback until the evening, exposed to cannon, and under heavy and incessant rain, waiting for the effects of the assurances which had been given him, and endeavouring to bring these unhappy rebels to a sense of their duty with a singular and unwearied benignity and forbearance.*

His Majesty seeing that he gained nothing upon the minds of these obstinate wretches, who neither offered to surrender nor capitulate, he drew off his troops [*on account of the bad weather, French copy*] to the quarters nearest the town; there to expect the arrival of the cannon and other things necessary for the forming of a siege or blockade, as should be found most expedient, and retired himself to St. Johnstone.

The next day, being the 19th of April, considering how much his troops were harassed, he let them remain in their quarters to rest themselves. That night, the King called together the general officers, when it was resolved in the council of war that his Majesty held with them, that the horse should be sent to reduce the rebels, who were said to be retired into Innishowin, and to drive away all the cattle from thence, and that a party of foot should go and summon the fort of Killmare, whilst the rest of them should draw up on a mountain to shew themselves near Derry. The King, in the mean time, at St. Johnstone gave protections to all the protestants, who having laid down their arms, were come to submit themselves to him, who were in great number.

Marginal
note to the
French copy
in the King's
hand.
*To leave
Maumont, Ha-
milton, D of
Berwick, and
Puisignian, to
command, and
to go back him-
self with Ro-
sen and Lery
to Dublin.*

The twentieth in the morning his Majesty parted from St. Johnstone, to repass the river and return to Straban, taking along with him the

* This passage is in the French copy of the Journal;—the pen is drawn through the words in Italics, but they are still legible.

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marquis de Rosen and Monsieur de Lery, leaving the chief command of the troops and the care of all to Monsieur de Maumont, as first lieutenant general.

Marginal
note to the
French copy
in the King's
hand, who
sayd they
would give up
the place if
they were sure
it was his
Majesty was
there, and up-
on their return
it was given
up to Mau-
mont.

At Straban his Majesty received the deputies of the garrison of Killmare who came to offer the place, which he accepted, pardoned them, and gave them his protection; and the day after their return, the place was surrendered to his Majesty*.

The 21st the King came to Omi, where he received the deputies of the castle of Dergue, who came, in the name of the whole garrison, to offer to surrender upon condition to have their goods and lives saved, and leave to return each man to his home with a protection. His Majesty was pleased to grant them these requests; and so that castle, which is strong of itself, and stands upon a narrow pass between Inniskilling and Derry, and might have hereafter much inconvenienced his Majesty's army, was reduced without trouble, and received a garrison without resistance.

From Omi his Majesty came, the 22d, to Charlemont, where he received an express from Derry, who brought in the news, that those in the town had made a fally the with three squadrons of horse and three thousand foot towards Killmare; that they had posted their horse upon the strand and their foot in the hedges a little farther advanced, and to the left, so that it was necessary to pass directly before the foot to attack their horse. This hindered not Monsieur de Maumont from putting himself at the head of the advanced guard, consisting of 40 troopers, with Hamilton, the duke of Berwick, Mr Fitzjames, Monsieur de Pusignian, and several volunteers, and to march straight to attack them; and, although he received all the fire of the foot passing by, yet he charged their horse so smartly, that he put them in disorder, (notwithstanding what Brigadier Sheldon said to him, to persuade him not to expose himself, and all the general officers, at the head of so few men;) and his foot to the number of 400 men coming up, with 40 dragoons, they made such an impression upon the enemies, that after an obstinate combat,

A marginal
note to the
French copy
in the King's
hand.
Sheldon begged
of Maumont
not to goe at
the head of
that small
party of horse,
it not being
fit for him to
engage himself
and all the ge-
neral officers,
but to let him
(Sheldon) goe.

* In the French copy the words are, and a few days thereafter the place surrendered to Monsieur Hamilton, who had the King's orders to receive it, and to execute all the conditions which his Majesty's clemency had been pleased to grant to the garrison.

they

they fled, and were pursued by ours to the gates of the town. The marquis de Maumont was killed at the beginning of this fight, with a lieut. col. that was near him, and some other officers killed or wounded. The duke of Berwick had two horses killed under him, and the marquis de Pufignian one. His Majesty was extremely afflicted with the loss of monsieur de Maumont, and commanded his body to be brought to Dublin. He writ too, at the same time, to Hamilton, positively forbidding the general officers to expose themselves after that manner; it being a thing altogether contrary to prudence and the good of his service*.

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The King had already sent a general officer to command the troops, which were to march into the county of Down, near Antrim and Carrickfergus, to hinder the landing of the English, in case their ships which had appeared before Derry, and retired the day the King came before the town, should attempt any thing against the castle of Carrickfergus; a place of much importance, as commanding a convenient port of that side. But being informed that there were again in that county some new commotions of the protestants, he sent thither a recruit of one troop of horse before he left Claremont, and the next day being the 23d, being come to Newry, and finding the disorders in the said county of Down increased, he sent one troop more of dragoons, which was all the force on that side of the country or with his person.

From Newry his Majesty came, the 25th, to Drogheda, and the 26th to Dublin, where he found the duke of Tyrconnell not returned from visiting the troops; the arms not arrived from Cork, Kinsale, or Waterford; and that in the arsenal nothing had been done for preparing of tools, which obliged him to renew his orders on those two heads.

The news from Scotland being, that there were many among the gentry disposed to declare themselves for his Majesty, and that the people in general were well inclined, his Majesty resolved to send thither the regiments of Ramsey, Antrim, and O'Neile; and, in the mean time, his

Affairs of
Scotland.

* Marshal de Rosen writes to the King of this affair in the following terms: Je suis fort fâché de la perte de tant de braves officiers que V. M. a faite a l'occasion de Londonderry. Mais, sire, cela ne peut jamais arriver autrement, quand on veut attaquer des places bien garnies contre toutes les regles de la guerre. D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 16.

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first letters, sent by Mr. Bradey, having been intercepted, and he who carried them made prisoner, tho' not much of his Majesty's designs could be thereby discovered, yet as some of the persons to whom the said letters were directed, being known thereby to be friends to his Majesty, would be obliged, in their own defence, and for his Majesty's interest, to take up arms, his Majesty found it convenient to send fresh letters, with commissions; and, at the same time, he published a declaration against all the members of the convention, and the adherents of the prince of Orange, as rebels; and gave full power to all his loyal subjects to fall upon and destroy them; this being necessary for authorising the actions of his good servants; since, by the law of the land, none can take up arms without the King's authority.

A few days after the King's return to Dublin, his Majesty received the ill news of the death of monsieur de Pusignian, who was wounded in a sally made by the rebels of Derry, and died two days after. His Majesty was extremely concerned at it; nor could enough regret the loss of two such brave men as monsieur de Maumont and him, whose courage, conduct, and obliging manners had gained the love and esteem of all men.

His Majesty, being still bent upon finding means to put his armies in a good condition, proposed the having three camps; that Derry being taken, the troops on that side should camp in the North, toward Scotland; that ten regiments should camp near Dublin, and all the rest of the army, except the garrisons betwixt Cork and Kinfale; and that magazines should be established near each of those camps, from whence the troops should be furnished with all things necessary.

His Majesty likewise applied himself to the arming of his troops, with all speed possible, still sending to Derry those that were best armed; he ordered all the old arms to be mended, two pieces of cannon for battery, and one great mortar to be prepared, and tools and other instruments to be made without delay; and, that this might be done with more regularity, he gave the commission of master general of the artillery to the lord viscount Mount Cashell. *He was also resolved to have sent cannon to Derry by sea; but the English vessels being abroad, that was impracticable*.*

* The words in Italicks are in lord Melford's hand, in the French copy of the Journal.

His

His Majesty resolving to draw together the horse and dragoons newly levied, to send them to several places in garrison; and, by that means, to have more men to send to Derry, more straightly to besiege the same; having been hitherto, properly speaking, but blocked up; those new levies, when looked into, were found to be only regiments in name, and not formed or fit for service. The duke of Tyrconnell, at his return from visiting the troops, acquainted his Majesty, that he found amongst the infantry so many good men, that he could not think of disbanding them; and therefore, that he had kept up, in some regiments, twenty companies, instead of thirty; and in others, 22 companies, &c. However, those which were disbanded, committed strange disorders every where; for the preventing of which, his Majesty erected several provost martials in all the provinces of the kingdom, to restrain and punish the authors of such disorders without delay. He gave orders also for seizing the goods of absent protestants and rebels, making use, for that purpose, of the most effectual means which the laws of the country permitted, and going even beyond that where the occasion required.

1689.

The King, considering the trade was lost, and all commerce broke off with England, resolved to give out commissions of privateers to all those who would take them; giving several to those of St. Malo, which he had done much sooner, if he had not considered, that after beginning to take the English vessels, it would be no longer easy for him to have any intelligence from England, the frequency of which was of so much importance to the good of his affairs.

All traffick being thus broke off, and the transporting of wool, hides, and other merchandise of the country into England entirely forbidden, his Majesty found an expedient, by which trade might yet go on with some security with France; and to that end commanded such merchants as desired to trade for the advantage of the country and their own interest, to endeavour to find Spanish and Dutch vessels, to which he would give passports for the transporting of such goods into France*.

The

* Before King James left France, a memorial was presented to Lewis XIV. by one of his ministers, recommending a treaty of commerce between France and England, before James returned to his dominions, which might be published along with his declaration, granting

1689. The resistance of Derry had encouraged several of the rebels, and especially those of Inniskillin, to commit insolences. They began to make excursions into, and destroy the neighbouring country, when his Majesty sent colonel Sarsfield, with thirty-five companies of foot, four troops of horse and dragoons, towards Sligo, to confine them within narrow limits, and repress a little their insolence.

About this time happened the defeat of the rebels in the county of Down, by colonel Baughan, general major of his Majesty's forces [*le Sr. Bochan, marechal de camp*] who had set upon them with one troop of horse, another of dragoons, and two regiments of foot; they being be-

D. N. vol. i.
fol. No. 12.

granting a liberty of free trade to such of his Majesty's subjects as should declare for him, and obtain passports from him; and proposing to erect a court of admiralty in France, to regulate this trade in such a way as should confine it to James's faithful subjects. It does not appear, that such a treaty was made. But, on the sixteenth of July, James gave the following memorial to D'Avaux, the French ambassador.

A Memorial given to the French Ambassador, the 16th July, 1689.

Translation.

Ibid. No. 10.

His Majesty, when he entered his kingdom of Ireland, gave his orders, that his most Christian Majesty's subjects, trading to the said kingdom, should be treated as the Irish, and not pay more duty than they did; and that the crown *per ton*, which they usually paid for their vessels, should not be exacted. That order was given, by his Majesty himself, to the commissioners of his revenue, and executed so punctually, that the French have not since paid any duty for their merchandize, nor the crown *per ton*. But, as that order was only verbal, his Majesty has given it in writing, in order that his most Christian Majesty's ambassador extraordinary might send a copy of it to France.

His Majesty likewise ordered to allow wool to be exported to France, by all those who would ask permission, which he has never, and never will refuse to any, who will choose to transport wool to France. But the want of vessels has hindered that traffic. The King has entirely forbidden the exportation of any wool into England; and would be very well pleased, that French vessels would come for it, as was promised.

His Majesty having answered to the article proposed concerning wine, that, if his most Christian Majesty demanded the diminution of the duties upon it, he will diminish it as much as his most Christian Majesty will desire. But if he imagines thereby to augment his Majesty's revenue, his Majesty has got that affair examined by his commissioners, in order to know the state of it, that he might send an exact information of it to his most Christian Majesty. In the mean time, he has, as the French ambassador demands it, bought all the wines which the French had imported for sale, without making them pay any duty.

Done, at Dublin, the 16th day of July, 1689.

MELFORT.

twixt

twixt three and four thousand in number, of which six hundred were killed on the spot, and the rest dispersed. Upon which, that country being a little more secure from the enemy's attempts, Boughan had orders to march with his troops to Derry. A few days after, the King received the welcome news of the arrival of the French fleet, in the bay of Bantry, and of the fight they had with the English, who were beaten and put to flight with as much ignominy, as they had, with insolence, and disrespect to the law of nations, attacked them. This arrival of the fleet, which brought a supply of officers, arms, and money; and which was followed with so glorious a victory, filled the court with a general satisfaction; and the whole city expressed their joy for it with bonfires. His Majesty, who had expected this fleet, with the French officers, a month before, had given orders, when he went to the North, to all the seaports, intimating how he would have them received at their arrival. He had kept for the most of them places vacant in the regiments, though not without difficulty, considering that the officers who had raised the said regiments, had placed the subalterns, who were, for the most part, their relations, and had maintained them five months at their own expences. His Majesty sent orders to bring the French officers with all speed from Bantrey to the quarters of the regiments in which they were to serve; and they were all employed and distributed in different posts, according to the rank which the ambassador desired: his Majesty making those who had been captains in France, majors; those who had been lieutenants, captains; the ensigns, lieutenants; and the cadets, ensigns or lieutenants*; the engineers were particularly sent for, and dispatched

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* The whole hopes of James resting upon Lewis XIV. that unfortunate prince was reduced into an abject dependence on the count D'Avaux, the French ambassador. The French in general were treated with singular attention; and James paid great respect to the person, and deference to the opinions, of the ambassador in particular: yet he was constantly misrepresented by him to his court. James was very sensible of this, when he wrote as follows to lord Waldegrave, then in France.

"Probably there will be complaints sent to that court against our court martial, for a sentence given in favour of an Irish soldier, accused of having wounded his officer, a Frenchman. That you may know how the thing passed, we send you an abstract of the trial."

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 42.

1689. patched to Derry, where they were extremely necessary. His Majesty also sent Henry Bond (*le chevalier Bond*) one of his receivers general, to Bantrey, to bring from thence the arms to Dublin, with all possible diligence. But the country being full of mountains, and a desert where they were landed, the distance, and the want of all sorts of carriages, and not daring to venture them any more at sea, was the cause of their arriving but very slowly. Whilst they were a-coming, his Majesty dispatched to Derry two cannon, one great mortar, with bombs and ammunition, and two battalions of the regiment of Eustace, being all that was armed and fit to be sent; and, for the greater advantage and conveniency of the army, his Majesty established a French munitioner, to furnish the rations of bread to the soldiers, who was to begin to do the same, fifteen days after the signing his agreement, to the camp of Derry, where there was then bread or meal for above a month.

The officers that had hitherto subsisted the regiments at their own charge, being weary of receiving no pay, the most of them having laid out all they were worth, and reduced themselves to an impossibility of doing so any longer, it was resolved in his Majesty's council, that they

“ At a general court martial held, at his Majesties camp near Dundalk, the 24th day of September, 1689.

“ An information was preferred, by the judge advocate, against John Wall, a private sentinel in colonel Nicholas Purcell's regiment of dragoons, for drawing his sword against le Sieur Coverent, against the latter part of the 13th article of war, and against the custom and rule of war.

“ To this information, the prisoner pleaded Not guilty, and put himself upon his tryal.

“ His defence was, that le Sieur Coverent was not an officer, which he proved first by his colonel, who said, that lieut. general Hamilton had writt to him, and desired him to take him as a second lieut. *sans façon*; but that he never saw any commission he had. The major of the regiment gave evidence, that he never did guard or party duty, or was received at the head of the regiment, or any troop thereof, as the major heard or saw, as an officer. The prisoner also produced one Fitzpatrick, a cornet in the said regiment, who deposed, that he never took him for an officer in the said regiment; but believed him to be a comrade only of a reformed officer, he saw him very much with. By all which, it appearing to the court, that he was not a known officer in the regiment, he neither having produced the King's commission, nor done guard or party duty, the prisoner was acquitted, by the whole court, *nemine contradicente*.

“ By this, you see the court martial proceeded *secundum allegata et probata*. The judge advocate may be blamed, for that he pressed on the tryal, before witnesses on both sides could be produced.”

should,

should, for the future, be paid regularly ; and for that end an exact list was taken of all the regiments, and all the companies of which they consisted, with the number of each company : and twelve commissaries were sent through all the provinces and garrisons, to take an exact muster of them, they being obliged, before the 28th of May, to give an account of such their muster, that his Majesty might, in pursuance thereof, cause them to be paid for that month : but whilst this was a doing, it being represented to his Majesty, that the commissaries newly come from France would, either by themselves, or others appointed by them, make musters much more exact and true ; for this reason, without having any regard to the review made before, his Majesty having established the said French commissaries, sent them a second time to make it, in their way ; and, in the mean time, caused money to be given *a bon compt* to such as had most occasion for it. After which, the pay of officers was regulated, who had hitherto received no subsistence ; having been given only to the soldiers, at the rate of eighteen pence *per* week to the foot, and of five and forty pence half-penny to the horse, and six and thirty pence to the dragoons. This being regulated, and the account of the musters examined, it was resolved to compleat the full payment of the month of May to the whole army, defaulting what they had received *a bon compt* ; and as his Majesty had not yet established a method for receiving the money which came out of France, but seeing that the ambassador was willing to take the trouble of it upon himself, his Majesty left it entirely in his hands, requiring none but as he had occasion for it for his army, to the payment of which he had designed to employ it entirely ; shewing to the ambassadour, from time to time, the reasons for which he demanded any ; and thereupon the ambassador delivered to his Majesty's receivers general the sums agreed upon, or else gave orders to Monsieur Alexander, treasurer of the money which came from France, to pay the troops ; directing orders to him for that effect by his secretary, with which his Majesty was so much the better satisfied, in that the ambassador saw thereby how the said money was employed to a farthing, and his Majesty's officers were not charged therewith.

But however exact the method was, which was taken for the *acknowledgment*, [*menagement*, French copy] of that money, his Majesty foresaw very well, that it could not suffice for subsisting, any longer time, the

1689.

great number of troops which he was obliged to have on foot for the defence of Ireland; and fearing, with reason, to fall into the greatest difficulties, if the army should once come to want every thing, and that he should not have wherewithal to maintain them, he considered of all the expedients and ways imaginable to prevent so great an evil. His faithful subjects of Ireland were not in a condition to lend him any*; money from France not being to come, but with the fleet, the present necessities of the army, which required a speedy remedy, could not be relieved time enough. All these reasons made his Majesty resolve to coin certain pieces of copper, which should go and be received as silver; and this, after having weighed all the inconveniencies which could happen thereby, was found the only expedient capable of serving the army, in the want to which it was reduced; not having yet received subsistence for the whole month of May, nor any means left to find in the whole kingdom wherewith to pay them the half of the month of June; and it being of the greatest consequence to the good of his Majesty's affairs, that he should keep some two hundred thousand livres, which yet remained of the French money, in case his Majesty should have occasion thereof for England or Scotland, or for intelligence and other things of that nature; pieces of copper, worth six-pence, were therefore begun to be coined, which is continued every day; nor can enough be made for the payment of the army, which is very well satisfied with them; and they pass now in the country without difficulty.

All this time, the parliament was employed in making acts necessary for the good of the kingdom, for the raising of money, and for establishing liberty of conscience, such as might give no cause of discontent to his Majesty's subjects in his other kingdoms.

At Derry, the resistance of the rebels continuing, they made several sallies; in one of which, colonel Ramsay, who commanded the troops that were furthest advanced, having begun his work too late, the nights

* *All the Christian princes, and even the pope himself, only pitied him, but gave him no relief. His Christian Majesty alone, though he himself was attacked by all Europe, had undertaken to support him, and had already done so much, that it was unjust to abuse his generosity, at a time when he himself was so much involved: besides, it is always proper to save the money of our friends.* These words are in the French, but are omitted in the English copy of the Journal.

being

being extremely short, was perceived by those of the town, who fell upon him, before he could put his work in a condition of defence; so that, overcome by a great number of the enemies, he was beat back, with the loss of thirty men, and himself killed fighting bravely. He was a very good officer, and one whom the King regretted extremely. 1689.

His Majesty seeing that the siege of Derry was likely to continue yet some time, and that the rebels of Inniskilling grew stronger every day, and becoming more and more insolent, pillaging and destroying all the neighbouring country, he sent three regiments of foot, five troops of horse, and one of dragoons, under the command of Monsieur de Rosen, who had orders to straiten those of Inniskilling, and to force them further towards Derry, as he should see occasion; doing therein what he should judge most proper for his Majesty's service and interest.

The marquis de Rosen, following his Majesty's orders, marched, the day of June, from Dublin to Trim, where he remained until he had received all the arms, that the King could send him for the arming of his troops, so as to put them in a condition to serve. He was advanced as far as Cavan, on his way to Inniskilling, when his Majesty had the news, that the English appeared in the lake before Derry, which obliged him to send him orders to march forthwith towards that place, that being near it, he might be able either to support general Hamilton, by sending him some part of his troops, or to go and take the command of the siege himself; that being left to his prudence to determine as he thought fit, and as the juncture of affairs should require.

June.

Having received his orders, he marched immediately from Cavan, and made such haste, that he came time enough to be at the camp at Derry, before the English had attempted either to land or relieve the town†.

In

† De Rosen, while he was on his march to Derry, wrote several letters to James. D. N. vol. ii. Dundagh, 11th June—He complains of bad roads, the want of arms, and the desertion of fol. No. 16. his troops. Legaurey, 13th June—He gives the King an account of the intelligence sent to him by Hamilton.—The English fleet had attempted, the preceding day, to enter the lake.—Both Hamilton's forces and his own were few in number, oppressed with fatigue, and wanted arms; whereas the English fleet had brought arms in abundance; and as the rebels in that district amounted to 20,000 men, besides the Inniskilliners, who were already

1689. In the mean time, his Majesty, not being willing to leave the post of Belturbatt unguarded, since it was of great consequence for straitening the rebels in Inniskilling, he sent thither two regiments of foot and one of dragoons, and two troops of horse, under the command of colonel Sutherland, brigadier of his forces, whom his Majesty commanded to keep correspondence with Sarsfield, who was, with three troops of horse, one of dragoons, and three battalions of foot, within twelve miles of Inniskilling, on the other side, in a place which covered all the country towards the South. Sutherland marched straight to Belturbatt, where he received orders from monsieur de Rosen to march towards Omi, to secure the troops employed in the siege of Derry on that side. He immediately obeyed his orders, and went for Omi; leaving only two hundred and fifty men at Belturbatt. The rebels of Inniskilling, seeing his march, endeavoured to possess themselves of a narrow pass to hinder it; but Sutherland having notice, marched all night, and got there before them; who seeing themselves prevented, and disappointed of their design, resolved to return and attack those men he left behind at Belturbatt, which they did, and had not much difficulty to succeed; they being neither numerous enough, nor having any fortification, which might enable them to make any great resistance, they were all taken prisoners, before the succours which his Majesty sent could arrive; tho', in the moment he heard of colonel Sutherland's march, he sent the regiment of Bophin, two troops of horse, and two troops of dragoons to that place.

already very well armed, a considerable army would soon appear in the North. He had foreseen this long ago, and therefore disapproved of forming the siege of Derry with such a small, ill-armed body of men; and now intreats his Majesty to assemble more troops, and march them towards Derry, according to the plan which he and the French ambassador had laid before him. Dungannon, 15 June—He gives the King extraordinary instances of the negligence and want of discipline in the troops.—He excepts only one officer, and proposes to break several.—He had entered, that morning, into Charlemont.—The governour, tho' he had been advised the day before of Rosen's coming, had slept in his country-house; all the officers and soldiers, except a few who were in the fields, watching the duke of Berwick and general Hamilton's horses, were in bed—He complains of the want of tents, forage, ammunition, and necessaries of every kind.—He was obliged to let loose the horses at night, to pasture in the fields; and had not a surgeon to take care of the sick and wounded.

His

His Majesty being advertised from several hands, that a great many horses and a great quantity of arms, belonging to the rebels, were concealed in Dublin, it was resolved in council, that search should be made for them; and it was referred to Mr. de Rosen to do it †. This order was ready to be put in execution, when his Majesty received advice by a spy, that the rebels had a design to send letters into England, which the spy himself was to carry. His Majesty thought it necessary to intercept those letters, and to secure the writers of them; and therefore it was resolved, by the advice of the French ambassador and the rest of his council, that the search for arms should be referred for two or three days; and, in that time, five of the conspirators were apprehended. But there appearing every day new accomplices of the treason, the examination of it took up time, and his Majesty being obliged, at that time, to send Monsieur de Rosen towards Inniskilling, the search of the arms was referred to lord Mount Cashell, who having represented the disorder it would cause, and the little probability there was of finding any arms by that means, and the duke of Tyrconnel being of the same opinion, his Majesty let that design alone for this time; resolving, however, to put it in execution upon the first favourable opportunity.

The camp designed near Dublin was marked out by his Majesty, the wood and straw for the barracks prepared; but the money falling short, it was not found expedient to have so many raw soldiers, with officers equally unexperienced, drawn together, without either money or arms to give them; and whilst arms were prepared, and ways contrived to find money, the news from the North quite broke the design of the camp, and other measures were taken; Mons. de Rosen being sent one way, Sutherland another, and three regiments straight to Derry by the way of Charlemont.

As for the camp nigh Cork, it was not to be thought of, there being scarce troops left in Munster for the garrisons, all the rest having been sent to Derry. At this time his Majesty hearing that the rebels began to raise taxes in England, found it necessary, to put forth his Declaration of the 28th of June, by which he forbids the raising or paying

† This justifies the answer which James gave to D'Avaux's memorial. It may be seen among the papers of this year.

1689. thereof, as also the imprisoning any of his good subjects, declaring such as should be guilty to be liable to be prosecuted for false imprisonment, and sued for five pound *per* hour, the penalty inflicted by the act, in such cases where any is restrained of his liberty against law.

The news from the camp before Derry gave, at this time, very good hopes of its being soon in the possession of his Majesty's forces. The short account of the progress of that siege is this:

Siege of Londonderry.

The great guns and mortars arrived not at the camp, till the thirtieth of May, and till then little was done against the town, except beating them back when they ventured to sally, and firing with what guns we had upon them, which, however, did considerable execution.

As soon as the guns and mortars were arrived, and more forces come up, the siege was carried on more closely, and on the fourth of June, it being judged necessary to take from the enemy a wind-mill, which they had secured with several intrenchments, general Bouchan was commanded to attack it with two battalions of foot, which he did with much bravery; but the rebels having drawn out almost their whole garrison for the defence of it, and some of the foot not going so heartily on as was expected, he was obliged to retire, having lost several officers in the action, and colonel Dorrington and several others being wounded. Some English ships began now to appear in the loch near the town, and it was known for certain, that they expected more, on board of which Kirk was, with three regiments, to try to relieve the town. Upon which a boom was laid across the river to prevent their coming up; and in the mean time the general endeavoured to carry on his works, so as to cut off from the rebels the springs from whence they had their fresh water.

The English, on the eight of June, sent a small frigate, the Grayhound, with two ketches, to endeavour to get some supply into the town; but the frigate was stranded near Killmore, and before she could get off, had several shots in her from the guns the general had sent for that purpose, which had certainly beat her to pieces, but that the gunners were none of the best.

On the 13th, the enemy's whole fleet appeared in the loch, and came to anchor near Killmore; but the general had so secured the river with

with booms, and so posted the forces on each side with cannon, that they could not attempt coming up the river, without being certainly destroyed.

1689.

In this state things continued; the fleet attempting nothing, and his Majesty's forces carrying on their works against the town, as fast as the ill weather, and the other inconveniencies, under which they laboured, would permit them: but the battalions growing very thin, as well by the soldiers deserting as falling sick, and the English being expected to land, Mr. de Rosen was ordered to march thither with what forces he had, which he did; and it being left in his choice to take the care of the siege upon him, he left it to Hamilton, posting himself so as to hinder any descent from the fleet*.

The duke of Berwick was now sent to Donnegall, where the rebels began to assemble, and he charged them with that courage and success, that he entirely routed them, taking a great booty of cattle and sheep, besides fourscore horses and much provisions.

Our works went still but slowly on, until the latter end of the month; nor could we beat down the enemy's defences, for want of cannon, which we were forced to employ at the river side in case the fleet should attempt any thing. But provisions began now to grow so scarce in the town†, that on the 29th they talked of surrendering, and proposed conditions;

* The mareschal de Rosen arrived in the camp before Londonderry the 17th, he wrote to the King on the 20th and on the 23d. He gave him an account of some military operations, and informs him that he allows Hamilton still to command the siege. It is not his fault, nor Hamilton's, that the town delays to surrender, "and as every minute of time is precious to us now, I wish we may not hereafter have reason to regret those we lose here, and that the succours which we expect from your Majesty, and which are absolutely necessary for us, may not arrive too late."

D. N. vol. i.
fol. No. 16.

† Walker in a letter to Kirk, dated the 26th June, mentions the terms of capitulation, which Hamilton offered to the citizens. "If we would surrender the town, and lay down our arms, we should have a free pardon; as many of us as had a mind to transport ourselves should have free liberty, and others might have convoys to their former habitations, and reprisals of their goods; all which we have absolutely refused: but if we have not a speedy supply, and that in a few days, not exceeding six, we must, we fear, accept of the worse that now is offered." He then represents their distress, and the facility of sending them a supply.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 20.

1689. conditions ; but it was thought their aim was, thereby to gain time, till expecting relief from the fleet. The day before, the King's forces beat them from two retrenchments, they had made without the gate ; but being there exposed to the continual fire of the enemies from the wall, they quitted them, some officers being killed and some wounded on that occasion, and particularly Monf. d'Angleuse.

Monfieur de Rosen, at this time, formed a project, which he had in part put in execution before he acquainted his Majesty with it ; which was to assemble all the people left in the country from Charlemont and a vast way round, men, women, and children, and drive them to the walls of the town, where they should be left to starve, except the town should either

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 21.

A letter of the same date, signed by three citizens, was sent to Kirk, inclosed in Walker's. They inform him, that they had fed for some time upon horse flesh, which began now to fail them. They complain of sickness, mortality, and desertion ; and pray to be relieved by a supply of provisions, and to have a governour if the siege is not raised.

Walker, Baker, and five of the citizens, wrote a letter of the same date, to the English fleet.—They mention the effect which the appearance of the fleet in the lake, and their delaying since that time to relieve the town, has had upon the enemy.—They are afraid of being undermined.—They have not provisions, including horse-flesh, for eight days. In the name of 20,000 distressed protestants, shut up in the city, on account of their loyalty and perseverance, they pray to be supplied with provisions, especially biscuit, cheese, and butter, as they have no fire to dress meat. “ We have sallied out and engaged the enemy, three several times, and put them to a dishonourable and shameful retreat, in which two French officers, Pusignian and Maumont, were killed, who were hugely lamented in their camp. Besides, several English and Irish officers of considerable note, viz. Brigadier general Ramsay killed last engagement, colonel Nugent; colonel Farrel, captain Watson, an English gentleman, taken prisoner, but since dead of his wounds ; brigadier Talbot, formerly called Wicked Will, and nephew to Tyrconnel, taken, and dead and buried this day of his wounds. We were offered five hundred guineas for his ransom, but in regard of your arrival would accept of no terms. We have now the lord viscount Neterville, Sir Garret Aylmer, major Rowcommon, and a great many others of lesser note, prisoners, taken first engagement : and at the last, we have captain Butler, son to the earl of Mount Garret ; one of the great Mac Donnells, a captain, and captain Mac Donnagh, and many others too long to name.—We killed and wounded last engagement 800 of their men, many of whom were officers ; colonel Dorrington, colonel Gordon, O Neile, lieutenant colonel Eustace, captain Plunket, and many others, were carried off by their horse.—We have got seven pair of colours from the enemy.—If you do not send us relief, we must surrender the garrison within six or seven days.—We understand that the boom is certainly broke, so that you may come up with ease.”

surrender

surrender or relieve them. But his Majesty being informed thereof was sensible this action could not but be every way prejudicial to his service, since most of these people living at home peaceably, and having either his particular protections, or relying on that general one of his declarations, promising safety to all that would return to their houses and live quiet: this was inevitably to depopulate and ruin the country, and besides would give his enemies occasion so to represent such a breach of faith in his other kingdoms, as to dishearten even his best friends. His Majesty therefore immediately dispatched away couriers to all the places where Mons. de Rosen had sent orders to assemble these poor people, commanding governours to forbear from doing it at their utmost peril; and at the same time commanded Mons. de Rosen to desist from any such attempt. He had, however, before his master's orders could reach him, assembled above four thousand men, women and children, which he caused to be driven to the walls; but so little effect had this proceeding towards persuading the town to surrender, that they fired upon them from the walls, which Mons. de Rosen perceiving, threw them off and sent them to their homes again. The enemy endeavoured to send away in this crowd many of their sick and weak men; which would have been of great advantage to them in saving their provisions*.

1689.

In

* Marechal de Rosen, in a letter to King James, dated at the camp before Londonderry, 27th June 1689,—begins to discover the impatience which betrayed him into the barbarity of which James complains in this part of his Journal.

Translation.

“S I R E,
“We have taken yesterday one of two spies who came together from the fleet in order to enter into Derry. The spy who carried the secrets swam cross the river, and got into the town. The spy who is our prisoner is a man of good sense, and speaks French perfectly well;—he is likewise of a good family, and possesses, it is said, an income of 500 guineas a year in this country. I have charged the chevalier de Vaudrey to frighten and interrogate him strictly. Your Majesty may see his deposition in the paper inclosed; it is probable he speaks sincerely, and therefore I doubt not but your Majesty, upon reflection, will give your orders, and take the proper precautions for diverting this new storm, which cannot be done but by sending an immediate reinforcement to your army;—what makes this the more necessary is, that it diminishes daily for want of pay, and that the river has cut off a communication with the division on the other side, which puts it out

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 17.

1689. In the mean time, the trenches were so filled with water by the flux of the sea, and rain, that it was impossible to continue in them, nor could they

of our power to sustain the attack of the enemy when they attempt to force the passage. We have fished this morning a drowned man, who floated on the river with bladders about his arms. When he was taken up, we discovered, that he had come out of Derry to swim to the fleet. We found in another bladder, fastened to his neck, the three letters inclosed; by which your Majesty may see in what state the town is now, and of what consequence it is to hinder the enemy from supplying it. I presume in these circumstances to take the liberty of representing to your Majesty, that you would have been master of the town long ago, if my advice had been followed; which was, not to grant protections, nor receive any person coming from them, by which means they would the sooner consume their provisions, and be obliged to surrender themselves with the halter about their necks."

Two days after the date of this letter, general Hamilton summoned the besieged to surrender, and sent them terms of capitulation. But the next day, before they could return an answer, mareschal Rosen issued the barbarous order, which hath drawn so much odium on his master, and acquainted him with it, in the following letter, in which he endeavours to justify the measure from necessity.

Mareschal de Rosen to King James.

Translation.

"SIRE,

Camp before Londonderry, 30th June, 1689.

D. N. vol. i.
fol. 23.

"My little hopes of success in the siege of Derry, from the impossibility of continuing in the trenches, which are filled both by the tide and by the continual rains, which must entirely destroy your Majesty's troops before this place, and my zeal and attachment for your Majesty's service, and for preserving your army, have induced me to-day to determine to exterminate all the rebels throughout this country, as your Majesty may see by the copy of the declaration which I have made to those who defend the town. I cannot do any thing that will more effectually secure the possession of this country, and prevent them from penetrating into the heart of the kingdom. These rebels have carried their resistance and obstinacy so far, that they are totally unworthy of your Majesty's clemency, and deserve to be starved to death. Besides, when the country is plundered and burnt, the English troops who may make a descent, finding neither subsistence nor shelter, must perish in a miserable manner: and we shall be in a better condition to maintain our superiority in the other parts of the kingdom. I am to begin instantly, Sire, to put my project in execution, and I shall continue the same plan, unless your Majesty forbids me expressly.—In that case I humbly beseech your Majesty may be pleased to clear me of the consequences, and to trust the entire management of affairs to Mr. Hamilton, or to some other general officer whom your Majesty may choose to employ."

they be drained without great loss of time, the enemy firing continually from their works, from whence the King's forces could not beat them, for

1689.

The very day the mareschal de Rosen wrote this letter to the King, he sent his barbarous declaration to the besieged *; and the next day he issued the following order to put his menaces in execution.

The order of the Mareschal de Rosen to governours and commanders, to put his declaration in execution.—Camp before Londonderry, the 1st of July 1689.

Translation.

“ The rebels of Londonderry augmenting every day their obstinacy, which can no longer be endured, I have resolved to gather together all the rebels of this country, and to conduct them to camp, and afterwards drive them under the walls of the town that they may starve. You are to give them no more subsistence than will be barely necessary to support them this length from the places where they shall be taken. And as I have certain information that a considerable number of the rebels of Londonderry and of this district, especially their wives and children, have retired to Belfast, and the neighbouring places; and as the hardness of their husbands deserves the severest chastisements, I write this letter to acquaint you, that you are instantly to make an exact research, in Belfast and its neighbourhood, after such subjects as are rebellious to the will of the King, whether men, women, boys or girls, without exception, and whether they are protected or unprotected, and to arrest them and collect them together, that they may be conducted by a detachment to this camp, and driven under the walls of Londonderry, where they shall be allowed to starve in sight of the rebels within the town, unless they chuse to open their ports to them, which they shall be at liberty to do, if they are disposed to pity them. Do not fail to exert yourself to the utmost in executing these orders punctually, and without delay, and at the risk of being personally answerable to me for your diligence; and you are to be particularly careful, that none of the rebels, whether men or boys, women or girls, or infants, of whatever age, shall pass the river and escape the way of Charlemont, to save themselves from the wretchedness to which they are to be reduced.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 25.

“ You are to intimate to the inhabitants of Port Patrick the orders you have received, and to declare to them, that they shall assuredly be treated with the same rigour unless they remain quiet. I recommend to you, to give the greatest attention to the execution of these orders. I am,

S I R,

Your most obedient humble servant,

The Mareschal de ROSEN.

“ I forgot to tell you that you must be more vigilant than ever during this commotion, lest they should attempt any thing against you.”

* There is a copy of the original declaration among Mr. Nairne's Papers, D, N. vol. i. fol. No. 24. See a translation of it in Ralph, vol. ii. p. 125. and in other writers.

The

1689. for want of their battering pieces, which were employed at the chain laid across the river. The town, however, was reduced to great extremities for

The answer of the inhabitants of Londonderry to a paper they had received from lieutenant general Hamilton, date the 29th of June, and to the declaration of mareschal de Rosen, dated the 30th of June, is in the following terms:

The answer of the governours, commanders, officers, and soldiers, in the city of Londonderry, the 2d of July 1689, to a paper of his excellency lieutenant general Hamilton, dated the 29th of June last.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 26. marked on the back, Paper xviii.

" That we having received and read the said paper, and considering of it, with other offers made to us by the said lieutenant general, in our council, and with others here, that we might the better give him a fitting answer; but before we could get the said matter fully considered and brought about, which was much hindered by the death of one of our governours, by disturbance given us from the camp, we had sent us a paper, sealed and signed by the mareschal de Rosen, dated 1st instant, by which he declares, that in case we do not, betwixt that time and Monday following by six of the clock in the afternoon, agree to surrender the city unto the King, upon such conditions as should be granted us, by lieutenant general Hamilton, according to his Majesty's instructions; that the said marshal would forthwith issue forth his order, from the barony of Innis Owen and the sea-coasts round about, as far as Charlemont, for gathering together those of our faction (as he calls them) whether protected or not, and cause them immediately to be brought to our walls, where we may receive them into the town, if we have any pity; otherwise we will be forced to see our friends and nearest relations all starved for want of food, he having resolved not to leave one of them at home, nor any thing to maintain them on: and, that all hopes of succours may be taken away, by landing of any troops in these ports from England, he further declares, that if we do not, by that time, submit, he will forthwith cause all the said country to be destroyed, by burning the houses, mills, &c.; and carry all provisions of the said country to such places as he shall think fit, and the rest he will destroy. So that our relations, country people, men, women and children must starve, though protected; with other cruel threatenings in the said paper held forth: which paper of the said mareschal, we had openly read in our families. It gave great offence to the people here; and caused many of them believe, that no articles or capitulation, that should be made with us, should ever be performed or kept; when they find and believe, that the said mareschal hath, or pretends to have, a power of command, in the army, above the said lieutenant general, and that he threatens to break the protections already given to the protestants, and use them in manner aforesaid; and that, though we should have sufficient articles from the said lieutenant general, to save our lives, religion, liberties, and estates, yet on landing of any army from England, to invade Ireland, our articles should be broken, ourselves imprisoned or driven from home, and our goods, chattels, and provisions taken from us, and we forced to starve. That, though we expect favour from his Majesty and the said lieutenant general,

for want of provisions ; for of those who came out and mixt with the people that were driven to the walls by Mons. de Rosen, several were known

1689.

neral, and others with them ; yet we expect no mercy, nor favour, or keeping of conditions with us, from the said mareschal or his countrymen with him ; (if he and they shall have power, they having cruel designs) as their countrymen have, against the laws, the liberty, and the religion of all men of our church and persuation.

“That, on viewing and considering the copy of the commission, granted by the King to the said lieutenant general, to treat with us, we find it bears date the first of May last ; since which time, to wit, on the fourteenth of the said month, there sat a parliament in Dublin, by act whereof our lives and estates were forfeited ; wherefore we conceive, that the said commission, granted to the said lieutenant general, hath not sufficient authority for him to treat with us, nor can we, by articles to be made with him, be safe. We, therefore, desire the said lieutenant general will (considering this matter is so dear and near to us, it being all the security we have for our lives, religion, liberty, and estates) not construe this any delay in our treaty ; but that he would be pleased to procure from his Majesty a new fuller commission to treat with us : and that his Majesty may assure us, that we shall have performances of what articles we make with the said lieutenant general ; so that it may not be in the power of the said mareschal, or the said Frenchmen with him, or any other, to break what articles shall be made for our advantage, or that we shall be oppressed by them.

GEO. WALKER.

JOHN MICHELBURNE.”

Upon receiving this answer, the mareschal de Rosen caused his orders to be put in execution. King James has been blamed for continuing him afterwards in employment, and for the *calmness* of his answer to the bishop of Meath, who came to complain to him of Rosen's cruelty. But it appears from the following letter and order, that he wrote upon the first notice to prevent it.

King James to the Mareschal de Rosen.

Translation.

JAMES, R.

“ Trusty and well-beloved. We have received your project, and we wished we had seen it, before you had issued any orders to put it in execution. We are thoroughly perswaded that you have seen none of the declarations, in which we have promised our protection, not only to those who chuse to submit to us and live peaceably at home, but also to all those who chuse to return to their habitations, and behave as good subjects for the future ; as we are convinced that in that case you would not have issued orders so contrary to our intentions and promises. It is positively our will, that you do not put your project

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 27.

1689. known by their wan and lean countenances, and nauseous smell, that made every one think they had the plague, and others fell down dead on

project in execution, as far as it regards the men, women, and children, of whom you speak; but, on the contrary, that you send them back to their habitations without any injury to their persons: but with regard to your project of pillaging and ravaging the neighbourhood of Londonderry, in case you are obliged to raise the siege, we approve of it as necessary to distress our enemies. We believe your presence so necessary for the success of our arms before Londonderry, that it is our pleasure you remain there till further orders; in the mean time, you are to inform us continually of your situation, that we may be able to give our orders concerning what you ought to do. We pray God may take you, trusty and well-beloved, under his protection. Given at our court, at Dublin Castle, this third day of July 1689, and in the 5th year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

MELFORT."

Circular letter from King James to ——— forbidding to put Rosen's proclamation in execution.

Ibid.
and also D N.
4to. vol. xi.
No. 9.

"Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we are informed, that our field marshal general the marquis de Rosen, hath sent orders to several places, requiring the relations of such as are now in rebellion against us in Derry, of what sex or age soever they be, to be delivered to him, and exposed by him, as he hath projected and declared in the said order: Our will and pleasure is, that if any such order hath been sent to you from the said marshal, you positively refuse obedience thereto; and make it known to all our people, that such orders have been given entirely without our knowledge, and are positive'y contrary to our inclinations, which have been always to reclaim even the worst of our subjects by mercy, and inviolably preserve the assurances we have given, either by our royal declarations in general, or by any particular protections to such as live peaceably under our government. We do therefore reiterate our order to you, that you assure all our loving subjects of our real intentions in this matter; and you shall assure them that such as live peaceably in their stations shall, without distinction, enjoy our protection; and so requiring your obedience to this our absolute will and pleasure, we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court at Dublin Castle, this 3d day of June 1689, and in the 5th year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

MELFORT."

Before Rosen received an answer to his last letter he wrote another to the King, from which it appears that the troops were but half armed, that they wanted necessaries of every kind, and that men and officers were ignorant of and inattentive to the service.

Mareschal

on the strand, for these being weak and sick people had been starved in the town, where the strongest fellows seized on the meal and other provisions, and let the others starve.

1689.

In

Mareschal de Rosen to King James.

Translation.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 17.

SIRE,

Camp before Londonderry, 5th July 1689.

"I am grieved to see so little attention given to the execution of your Majesty's orders, at a time, when matters are become troublesome and embarrassed. Kirk is always at his post, waiting the arrival of three regiments of cavalry and two of infantry, which are to join him under the command of Charles Count Schomberg. There is no doubt, but this expectation has kept him from making any attempt to throw provisions into Derry, as he might easily have done by hazarding some vessels for that end; yet your troops, which have been lately sent, have arrived almost in the same condition with the former, having been obliged to take such arms as were given them, the greatest part of which are damaged and broken, and accordingly useless, as you have not in all your army a single gun-smith to mend them.

The troops which are here with Hamilton, are in a still worse condition, and the regiments entirely lost and ruined; the strongest battalion having but two hundred men, and more than two thirds of them without swords, belts, or bandaliers. The cavalry and dragoons are not the better, that they are the more numerous, as the strongest company has but twelve or fourteen troopers able to serve. The river which divides your army and prevents a communication, diminishes it considerably. The detachment under the duke of Berwick's command, being more than thirty miles from this place, weakens it entirely, as he cannot leave the post which he has been obliged to take, without allowing the Inniskilliners to possess it and to shut us up behind. All this, Sire, together with the embarrassment of the artillery and carriages which are here, with very little means of conveying them in a country, where one is necessarily obliged to go by one road which is very bad, should induce your Majesty to adopt a measure, which is of the utmost consequence to the good of your service. It is for this reason, I humbly beseech you to consider this maturely, and to send me instantly your orders about what we should do; as I had already the honour to ask by my two last letters, to which I have yet received no answer.

I cannot comprehend how the regiment of Walter Butler could be sent away from Dublin without swords and without powder and ball. I am still more surprised, that Bagnel's regiment has been employed to escort the treasure, without giving them a single shot, although, as the officers told me, they frequently asked, without being able to obtain any; yet, Sire, they both of them marched two days quite close to the garrison of Inniskillin, in danger of falling a prey to them. The garrison of Belturbat is in the same

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situation;

1689.
Affairs of
Scotland.

In this state matters were before Derry the 5th of July, and whilst this was doing his Majesty received frequent advices from Scotland, informing him of the posture of affairs there. The clans in the Highlands were generally firm to his Majesty's interest, and were in arms, and ready to receive his orders. The viscount of Dundee had surpris'd one troop of the enemy at St. Johnstown, seized their arms and horses, and stripped the

situation; having had, as Sutherland told me, but a little powder, and not a single ball. My heart bleeds, Sire, when I reflect on the continuance of this negligence, since it appears to me, that no one is in any pain about the ruin of your affairs. I hope, that the return of this express will bring me your Majesty's ultimate orders; and I wish they may arrive in time enough for me to put them properly in execution; having no other object but to shew you my zeal and attachment for your service; because I am, with a very profound respect, submission and loyalty,

Sire,

Your Majesty's, &c."

It appears from another letter from de Rosen of the same date, that he had by that time received from the King an answer to his letter of June 30th, and his Majesty's order, forbidding him to put his project in execution. He presumes to blame James for his clemency, and attempts to justify his own conduct.

Translation.

SIRE,

I have received the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write to me the 3d instant, by which I see that your Majesty is always full of benevolence towards the rebels of this kingdom: their own conviction of this encourages them in insolence, to which they are carried every day, and in the hopes that your Majesty will have compassion upon them in the distresses to which they may be reduced; yet the troops are ruined, and the rebels will receive relief, which will oblige your Majesty to abandon every thing. I imagined that I might have induced them to surrender, by threatening them as I have done, but that has produced no effect. It is true, I have not put my project in execution, and that perhaps is the reason why we are not yet further advanced; for I have presented before their gates but a small number of their accomplices, to try if that would make any impressions on them; but they have had the cruelty to fire upon them, and to refuse them every kind of assistance, for which reason I sent them back to their habitations, after having made them comprehend the difference between your Majesty's clemency and the cruel treatment of their own party.

I shall conform to the orders your Majesty has done me the honour to send me, to stay in the army and to destroy the neighbourhood of Londonderry, in case Mr. Hamilton shall be obliged to raise the siege."

Rosen

the men: he marched from thence with a good body of men, and pursued Mackay 3 or 4 days; but not being able to overtake him, returned to the Highlands, and so dismissed his men as to have them ready upon a very short warning.

1689.

The chief of the family of the Mac Leans had a considerable body of men together, and had on two or three occasions beat the enemy; however, Edinburgh Castle was surrendered by the duke of Gordon upon conditions, though it does not appear that he was reduced to any extremity, but might have held out much longer, having provisions and every thing else necessary to have held out for four months*.

Rosen continued to represent to James, that the fleet of the enemy encreased, and his Majesty's forces diminished every day; he conveyed to him a letter from the governour of Charlemont, and recommended strongly to take care of that place; in one of his letters dated the 8th of July, he complains to the King of the want of arms, and blames him again for his clemency.

"Upon the death of a captain of dragoons, in Sir ——— Oneile's regiment, twenty-five dragoons of his company deserted with their horses, and those who remained, refused to serve, alledging, that they were not engaged but to their captain, they were forced to cast lots, and one of them was shot; but the regiment was obliged to borrow arms for that purpose from the lord Mayre's regiment.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 17.

"You see, Sire, the condition your troops are in. I leave your Majesty to judge, if an honest man, who has a high sense of honour, can continue to command them without great anxiety, when your enemies are particularly attentive to furnish your rebellious subjects with excellent arms. I doubt not but we shall see them march against us soon, with protections in their pockets and arms in their hands, which happened frequently already and happens every day."

The mareschal de Rosen appears to have been a diligent and active officer; but those who served under him were unacquainted with discipline, and either James himself was inattentive to the service, or his orders were never properly executed. On the 10th of July, de Rosen writes to him from the camp before Derry, that he had received a convoy of 80 waggons, five of them were loaded with swords without belts, and the soldiers would be obliged to carry them constantly in their hands; the other waggons were loaded with powder, ball, &c. and 20,000 l. in silver; this convoy was sent from Dublin to Londonderry, escorted only by a quarter master and 12 troopers, and they lay three nights in sight of Inniskilling. Ibid.

* As the accounts which James received from Scotland, and to which frequent references are made in this Journal, are too long to be comprehended in notes, they are placed in a series at the end of the papers of this year.

1689.

The rebels in Derry having sent a messenger to the fleet, he was found drowned with 2 letters about his neck, which were to have informed Kirk of the extremities the place was reduced to for want of provisions, and to have begged for relief *.

The day before another messenger endeavouring to get into the city, was taken; he discovered several things relating to Scotland, and said, a fresh succour was expected for the town from England, and that the Henrietta yacht was gone to meet them †. The town continued every day

* These letters are mentioned by de Rosen to the King.

† De Rosen writes to James about this spy, in his letter of the 27th of June. "I have charged the chevalier de Vaudrey to frighten and interrogate him strictly. Your Majesty may see his deposition, in the paper inclosed." This paper is among Mr. Nairne's Papers.

The deposition of Mr. Cromy, a spy from the fleet to the city of Derry, taken the day before yesterday, by the chevalier de Vaudrey.

"That he had left Scotland but ten days before, having joined the fleet since, at his arrival before Derry.

That he had left lord Dundee in a retreat, at a place called Bog of Geith, in a strong country of the North, with six thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry. That he had had a small rencounter with Mackay, in which he received a check, being himself slightly wounded. That Mackay was still not far from him, with three thousand infantry. That indeed some English cavalry had marched to Scotland: But, that he did not believe they had joined Mackay.

That Blantyre's and Glencairn's regiments of infantry and my lord Eglington's regiment of cavalry, with a regiment of dragoons, had gone from Dumbarton to the shire of Argyle; Burgenny's regiment of infantry remaining at Glasgow.

That there were two regiments on board the fleet; Kirke's and, as he believed, Cuninghams, commanded now by Stuart. That there were also great quantities of arms, ammunition and provisions; the vessels come from Scotland, having a great deal of meal; and those from England, quantities of cheese, pork, and salt-beef.

That of the two thousand men expected from England, there were two regiments of cavalry. That Schomberg was to have the chief command. That if two thousand men only had been sent to Scotland but two months ago, there would not remain now a single enemy in that country. That the fleet consists of the Dartmouth, the Deptford, the Swallow, and another frigate of fifty guns. The Greyhound, which had been a-ground near Culmore, had gone to refit.

That

day to make signs from the top of their steeple, which were duly answered from the fleet, though they never endeavoured to send in any succour.

1689.

The 2d of July, the chiefs of the town, sent to lieutenant general Hamilton, to desire him to renew the power he had to treat with them, and at his desire his Majesty sent him a new commission and full authority to treat †.

The

That the Henrietta yacht had failed from the lake, eight days before, and was to keep at sea until she discovered the English fleet. So that the return of the yacht to the lake will be a sure sign of the arrival of the fleet.

EDWARD VAUDREY."

The deposition of Cromey's spy from the English fleet before Derry,
26 June, received (by James)
2 July, 1689.

† The inhabitants of Londonderry in their answer to general Hamilton, on the 2d of July, objected to the date and extent of the commission, by which James had authorised him to treat with them, and desired him to procure ampler powers, and his Majesty's assurance for the performance of the articles to be stipulated between them, upon which James sent the following commission to general Hamilton.

His Majesty's commission, empowering lieutenant general Hamilton to treat with Derry,
July 5th, 1689.

JAMES R.

James the Second, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the Faith, &c. To our trusty and well-beloved Richard Hamilton, lieutenant general of our armies, greeting; Whereas we have, through the whole course of our reign, endeavoured to reduce our subjects to their duty, by clemency rather than force; we are, at this time, resolved to give an additional instance thereof, in regard of our subjects of the protestant religion, now in arms and in rebellion against us; we do therefore authorise and empower you to treat, with our said subjects now in arms against us, for the rendering up of our city of Derry into our hands, or that of Inniskilling, or any other town or castle, in this our kingdom now in their possession, upon such terms, as you shall think fit for our service, which shall be ratified by us without exception, whatever they may be, notwithstanding of any fault or treason committed, by any of the said persons or their adherents; and notwithstanding of any law or act of parliament made

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 29.

1689.

The 10th of July, the Scotch officers went on board with a regiment of Irish, in the 3 frigates, commanded by Monsieur du Quesne, at Carrickfergus, and the same day, meeting with two Scotch privateers, belonging to Galloway, one of 14 and the other of 20 guns, with betwixt 80 and 100 men on board each, the fight continued about an hour very obstinate, and some of our Scotch officers were killed; but the two captains of the privateers, Hamilton and Brown, being killed, Monsieur de Quisne became master of them, and putting some of his equipage on board, sent them to Dublin and pursued his course for Scotland, where he safely landed the forces he had on board; which succour, however

made or to be made. For all which, we hereby promise to protect and free them, in all times, after the concluding of such terms betwixt you and them, as you shall think fit for our service to grant. Given at our court at Dublin Castle, 5 July, 1689, and in the fifth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

MELFORT."

Along with this commission James sent the following instructions to Hamilton.

Ibid.

"A letter of instruction to lieutenant general Hamilton, from the King, July 5th, 1689."

JAMES R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well; you are immediately upon receipt of this our instructions, and the power we have granted to you by our commission of the same date, to inform the rebels, in our city of Londonderry, of the power we have sent you. You shall let them know, that, if they do not now yield to such propositions as you shall offer to them, we will hereafter exclude them from ever partaking of our mercy. You are to endeavour to give them as little as possible can be. But, rather than not get the town delivered to us, you shall give them their lives, fortunes, our royal pardon for all that is past, and protections, as others our subjects have, in time to come; and that none shall dare to trouble or molest them, in their houses, estates, persons, religions or professions whatever, they delivering the city into our possession; or if they include those of Inniskillin, that that place, or any other treated for, be in the same manner delivered to us. You are to send an immediate account of what answer they give you; and so, from time to time, till the affair shall be concluded. Given at our court, at Dublin Castle, the fifth day of July, 1689; and in the fifth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

MELFORT."

Ibid. No. 30.

The citizens of Londonderry, having probably seen Hamilton's new commission, sent him, on the eleventh of July, the terms on which they proposed to capitulate.

small,

small, will encourage my lord Dundee till more can be sent. The French officer who commanded the two prizes, made another in his way to Dublin; which was a small bark employed to carry letters from Schomberg to Kirk and several others; by which was discovered the prince of Orange's design to send hither 12,000 men, commanded by count Solmes. But effectual order will be taken, that this descent shall not find us unprovided; for Derry is vigorously attacked, and Kirk seeing that he could not get any succour into the place, has landed in a little island about three miles off, where he is intrenched, in expectation of succours from England. In the mean time, the rebels at Inniskillin are straitened on all sides, and the duke of Berwick, in a little encounter he had lately with them, has cut two companies of foot in pieces, and taken several prisoners*.

The 18th the King prorogued the parliament.

* The following letters relate to the operations of this period.

Derry, 15th July.—General Hamilton gives the earl of Melfort an account, "That a Whitehaven man had two of the prince of Orange's packets on board, directed, as he was informed, to Kirke: that colonel Maxwell had writ to him of a great power embarked at Liverpool and Chester."

July 16th.—"That the ships that were in the loch were all gone, and four of those of Inch also: but that the men that were put ashore still remained there."

July 17th.—Hamilton wrote to the King, "That the whole fleet, which was thought to have been sailed towards Scotland or England, was at anchor beyond Innishaven point: that the duke of Berwick having had notice, that about four hundred of the enemy were at Ramullin, was designed to march thither, in the beginning of the night, and to fall on them by break of day; his grace's camp being then within ten miles of Ramullin: that twenty of Clancarty's men, and the major, had attempted to lodge themselves in a house, within twenty yards of our advance; but in vain, the major having been wounded in the arm, and about twelve of the soldiers killed or wounded."

James, by this time, had particular intelligence of the preparations made in England for a descent in some part of Ireland. He informs de Rosen, in a letter, dated at Dublin, the 17th of July, that vessels for transporting cavalry were ready at Whitehaven, Chester, and Liverpool; that ladders and other implements for a siege were put on board ships in London; and that the count de Solmes was to command the expedition. He therefore thought it was necessary to execute the design against Inniskillin without delay, which he imagined might have been done before, if Rosen had recalled the duke of Berwick. He desires Rosen to press the siege of Derry, and to inform him in what time he thought it could be taken.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 38.

1689.
July.

A Journal of what passed in Ireland, from the 19th of July to the 10th of August, O. S. 1689, intituled, "Journal of what's past in Ireland since my lord Dover's departure †."

THE 19th of July, Mr. Massé, ingenier general, was killed by a cannon shot, in a battery he had himself ordered *.

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 39.

The 22d, lieut. general Hamilton having received his Majesty's orders for pressing the siege of Derry, held thereupon a council of war, where the opinions of all the general officers did unanimously conclude, that it was impossible to take the town, but by famine; which opinions

† This journal likewise is in Nairne's hand. It was sent by Melfort to lord Walgrave to France. He mentions it in a letter, dated the very day on which the journal ends. See the Stuart Papers for this year.

* The following extracts contain the intelligence which James received concerning the transactions of this period.

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 38.

July 19, 1689.—General Hamilton writes to the duke of Tyrconnel, "That the two battering pieces had been a bringing the two last nights from the chain: that, perhaps, they might ruin the defences of the town: that the enemy within were above three thousand strong, all good firemen; and that all the King's battalions there exceeded not the number of five thousand. That, if the duke of Berwick succeeded, as he had hopes he would, he doubted not but, being joined together, they would be able to deal with the succour that threatened out of England."

On the same day, Hamilton writes to the King, "That Mr. Massé was killed; one captain Bourke had his left hand shot off, and wounded by splinters through the shoulders; a gunner and two soldiers hurt; all by one shot: that colonel Wachope had escaped narrowly: that, within a moment thereafter, two soldiers had been killed by a second shot; whereof the wind had so burned major Geoghogan's face, that he was in danger of losing his left eye."

On the 20th, he writes to his Majesty, "That, when the trench was opened, they had fourteen battalions, consisting, at most, in six thousand men: that the besieged were then, by what they could learn, five thousand strong: that, as the town's forces were diminished by sickness and mortality, so his Majesty's forces were grown weaker, by the same reasons. Besides, by men killed, wounded, and desertions, that his Majesty's forces now about Derry, did not, by a great deal, amount to the number of five thousand men: that the most part of the fleet was betwixt Ramullan and the isle of Inch: that their design was to raise as many men as they could, and to join with the Inniskillin people: that the marshal kept his bed, and was much out of humour; and was resolved to meddle with nothing: that, if special care was not taken, they would shortly want provision for their men; every thing being extremely bare about Derry."

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were signed by the respective officers*, and sent to the King; upon which, his Majesty, by advice of his council, did send new orders to the

1689.
July.

* *The deposition of the general officers, anent the siege of Derry, July 20th, received 22d, 1689.*"

"The chevalier de Carny is of opinion, that the place cannot be taken by force, with so small a number of troops and cannon as are before it; because they are entirely diminished by sickness; and because, he believes, the besieged are, at least, two thousand. Signed, Charles Carny."

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 36.

"My opinion is, since our army is reduced by sickness and fatigues and desertion, not to the number of three thousand men able for service; judge that number's not in a condition to force the town in a certain time; but believe, that these of the town are far inferior to our number. Signed by John Wauchop."

By what I have observed, since the trenches were opened, I am of opinion it will be impossible for us, in the condition we are in, to force the town that way; and that the necessities of the besieged will sooner reduce them than we can, by beginning another attack. Signed by Dom. Sheldon."

"My opinion is, that we cannot force the town speedily, by reason of the want of cannon; and that the infantry is fallen very weak, by sickness and desertion; but to keep the blockade as long as his Majesty's service will permit. Signed, Tho. Buchan."

"My opinion, on the present situation of affairs, is, that, considering the forces which are before Derry, and those which are in the place, it is impossible to take it by force at all; much less to take it in a limited time. It might be reduced by famine, if we had time and a sufficient number of troops to hinder the ships from throwing in provisions; and at the same time to hinder, by a body of troops on the river Fin, the junction of the forces which Kirke hath landed in the isle of Inch, with those who have joined the rebels of Inniskillin, to whom it will be necessary to oppose the body of troops at Trelick; and all these projects will be ineffectual, if care is not taken that provisions shall not fail. Signed, Girardin."

"It is my opinion, that it is impossible to take the town of Derry by storm, with the little number of foot that is here, or without a considerable number of battering guns, much less to guess when it shall be taken: and I do certainly believe, that unless they want provisions, they will never surrender. Berwick."

"As I have not changed the opinion of which I have always been, it is not necessary now to commit it to writing: The most essential thing to be done is, to hinder the junction of the Inniskilliners with the troops from the ships which are in the isle of Inch and at Ramullin; where they assemble as many as they can of the country people. Their fleet, which left Loch Foyle, being now between Ramullin and Inch, the corps which the duke of Berwick commands for that purpose, cannot be more advantageously posted than towards Castle Fin, where he may have the best informations of the motions of the enemy,

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July.

the marshal de Rosen and Hamilton, commanding them to quit the siege, and only to continue the blockade, as long as they should think it fit for his service, or that they saw any appearance of the town's surrendering by

and take the most proper measures to oppose them. Care should be taken that the troops shall not want provisions, a thing that is most to be dreaded, and the danger of abandoning Belturbat entirely, in case (Anthony) Hamilton's corps advances towards Trelick, must be considered. Richard Hamilton."

Upon receiving these opinions of his general officers, James sent the following order to general Hamilton.

King James's order to lieutenant general Hamilton, to turn the siege of Londonderry into a blockade.

D. N. vol. i.
fol. No. 37.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we understand, by your letters of the 20th instant, that it is the opinion of all the general officers, that it is impossible to take the town of Derry, but by famine, we have thought fit not to wait major Nugent's return, but to send you our orders concerning the same. Seeing that Derry cannot be taken by force, with such a small number of men as it is besieged by, our will and pleasure is, that so soon as you receive this, you prepare for raising the siege, and then actually raise it, unless you be of opinion, that, in continuing the blockade, the town will be forced to surrender for want of provision, which, in all appearance, must happen very shortly; since, by their last proposals, they offered to surrender the twenty-sixth of this month; which, if you believe to be so, you are to continue the blockade, so long as you shall think is for the good of our service.

You are, before your departure from before Derry, to cause blow up the fort of Colmore, that it may not stand in our way another time.

You will see what our intentions are, by a duplicate of our letter to the marquis de Rosen, which we have ordered to be sent to you.

Seeing that engineers, in appearance, will be but of small use to you now, you are to order the engineer Burton to go to Charlemont; and to take an exact plan of that place and adjacent grounds, which, with all convenient speed, he is to bring to us, that we may give our farther orders thereupon.

We doubt not, but you will do what may be best for our service in all things; and so we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our court at Dublin castle, the twenty-second of July, in the year 1689, and in the fifth of our reign."

The King's letter to De Rosen, of which he inclosed a copy to Hamilton, contains further instructions to distress the enemy, by laying waste the country about Derry and Inishowen, in case he should be obliged to abandon it; and to reinforce the duke of Berwick, that he might attack the Inniskilliners, according to the plan which James had already formed.

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famine, leaving that to their prudence; but ordering, in the mean time, to destroy the country, to blow up the fort of Colmore, and dispose all things for retiring, in the manner that might be most prejudicial to the enemy.

1689.
July.

The 25th, the duke of Berwick was to march towards the Inniskillin rebels; where, in all probability, he was to fall on them successfully: and, as the design was laid to join with Sarsfield, he might have certainly done good service, if he had not been countermanded by monsieur de Rosen; who, altering his mind, did not think fit to have the duke's party so far from him. In the mean time, the blockade continuing, Derry was certainly starving, and the most part of the inhabitants reduced to eat starch. Seven ships appeared, as resolved to enter in to succour the town; upon which, the guns that were brought to batter the town, were sent back to the chain, to defend the passage*.

* On the twenty-fifth of July, general Hamilton writes to the King, "That the mareschal de Rosen would neither meddle with the blockade or raising the siege; saying, he always declared against the besieging of the town, and that his advice had been slighted: that, in a sally the besieged made that morning, nine of theirs were left behind, besides near thirty killed; their pockets found with starch in them, as a sign of their great wants; and that a dying man of their number declared, that he had fed on nothing else for five days: that they expected provision every moment: that seven ships were come into the loch, whereof three near Colmore are resolved to sink or get to the town by the first fair wind: that the mareschal de Rosen was resolved to march to Charlemont: and, in his way, to ruin all the country behind him, and to make an attempt on Donnegal, Ballishannon, and Inniskillin, which he would do, by reinforcing the duke of Berwick's party: that his Majesty will find, that a recruit of officers will be as useful as that of soldiers: that, when the sally was made, at eight that morning, Fitzgerald and Dick Butler's regiments were in the trenches: that Fitzgerald's regiment was beat out: that Butler's kept their post, until the lieutenant general's brother came up, with what men he could get ready; and so beat back the enemy: that the town's men cannot stand before the King's men in the field."

On the same day, he writes to the earl of Melfort, "That the mareschal de Rosen had altered his mind of condescending to the duke of Berwick's marching against the rebels of Inniskillin; not thinking it safe to have the duke so far from him: that recruits of officers, as well as soldiers, were of great importance: that there was not one captain in the battalion of guards, being all sick; as well as lieutenant colonel Burke's: that most part of the besieged were reduced to eat starch: that seven ships, come to the loch, were resolved to venture in; but that the wind was contrary: and that the guns were sent back to the chain."

1689.
July.

The 28th, a spy out of Derry gave account the rebels had killed all their dogs, horses, and cows; and that it was the last provision they expected; and all their hopes were in the four ships that were before Colmore. The serjeants and soldiers of Derry sent out a signed paper to major general Buchan, offering to surrender the town to lieutenant general Hamilton, the morrow after, if they could but obtain some favourable conditions for themselves. But the morrow after, being the 29th, the wind became fair for the ships; whereof two ventured up to the chain, broke through it, and succoured the town with provisions, which put an end to all hopes of taking it any more by famine*. So, considering the threatened invasion from England, the necessity of resting and recruiting the troops, and drawing a considerable body near Dublin, for the security of his Majesty's person, from that day forth, the resolution of raising the blockade was fully determined, and all preparations made for the same; the cannon, ammunition, and the sick sent away; parties sent to destroy the country, and officers to recruit their regiments. And whilst all this was doing at Derry, my lord Mount-Cashell, who had been sent down to Inniskillin the 20th, having assembled his troops at Belturbat, to the number of 3600 men, the 27th; the 30th he made an attempt upon Crumm castle. The party commanded, did immediately possess themselves of the first intrenchments; but the soldiers, contrary to the general's express commands not to go farther, were so animated with their first good success, that they went imprudently on to the very castle walls, and exposed themselves; so that several were killed, and a great many wounded. Mount-Cashell, hearing that there were 4000 men come out of Inniskillin, of design to relieve Crumm, retired himself to Newton, two miles from thence, to put himself in a condition, either to receive the enemy, if they came, or to renew, vigorously, the attack of the castle. But the morrow after, being the 31st of July, as O'brian's regiment of dragoons was marching in the morning to Lisneskeny, they discovered a party of the enemy,

* The 30th of July, major general Buchan writes: "There are two ships got into the town; the smallest of which is loaden with meal from Scotland; the bigger, with biscuit, cheese, pork, and pease. The captain of the first that came was shot dead, his lieutenant wounded, and five of his men killed, and several wounded. I think I can do the King more service in Scotland than here."

who

who immediately retired, as soon as they were pushed, till they came to a place where two foot companies and five troops of horse were drawn up, which put the dragoons into such a consternation, that, notwithstanding all major general Hamilton could say or do, to give them good example, they all ran away most basely: lord Mount-Cashell marching up with the horse put a stop to the pursuit. This, with the report that the whole force of the rebels were coming to fall upon Mount-Cashell, obliged him to retire towards Belturbat to be upon his guard; but he was prevented by the rebels, who following the good fortune they had in the morning, came up to him at Newton, where he did all a brave man could do, but was so ill seconded by the foldiers, all wearied and discouraged by the morning's defeat, and even by most of the officers, who fled with the horse and dragoons, without so much as waiting the first fire, that the whole army was routed, and some of the officers that did their duty killed, among whom was Sir Stephen Martin; others wounded, amongst whom was the lord Abercorn; and others very narrowly escaped with the loss of their horses and all their baggage; amongst whom were as volunteers my lord Drummond and Mr. Ployden, who behaved themselves most bravely; and my lord Mount-Cashell himself, who was wounded and taken prisoner, forsaken by all his regiment, which was with the most part of the foot cut off while they were flying.

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July.

A council of war was held to judge of the officers and others behaviour in this engagement and punish such as miscarried. In the mean time, his Majesty was giving out commissions for levying of new forces, and making all preparations for the defence of the kingdom in case of invasion. A camp is ordered and actually begun hard by Dublin; all the general officers are arrived from Derry; disaffected persons are seized every where up and down the country, and nothing is neglected for the security of his Majesty's person and the defence of this kingdom against the invasion it is daily threatened with, and by reason whereof, and of the late misfortune happened to my lord Mount-Cashell, the succours from France are here so impatiently waited for, and so absolutely necessary.

The news from Scotland bear, that my lord Dundee has defeated Mackay and 3000 men, and taken Inverness*.

* The following journal was printed at Dublin, on a loose sheet of paper, in the autumn of 1689. As it is a continuation of the detail given in the preceding journals, and

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Macpherson's
Extracts.

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E X T R A C T I.

The reasons which induced the King to hazard a battle, upon such inequality, was, that if he did it not there, he must lose all without a stroke;

and founded on the same authority, the editor has chosen to throw it here into a note, notwithstanding his resolution to reject throughout every thing that ever passed before through the press. He apprehends that this journal is not much, if at all known, as he has not met with it in any printed collection whatsoever.

"A journal of the most remarkable occurrences that happened between his Majesty's army, and the forces under the command of Marechal de Schomberg, in Ireland, from the 12th of August to the 23d of October, 1689. Faithfully collected, by James Nibell, Esq; under-secretary to the right honourable the earl of Melfort, his Majesty's prime secretary of state."

On the 12th of August, 1689, a numerous fleet appeared off the coast of Donaghadie, in the county of Downe; out of which 200 men made, that night, a descent on the land, and intrenched themselves.

On the 13th, Marechal de Schomberg, who commanded the forces on board, debarking his men, horses, and train of artillery, set foot on shore without opposition.

On the 14th, he ordered the 200 men that first landed, to march to Belfast; and the next day he followed in person with the gros of the army, and refreshed himself there till the 19th.

On the 19th, he invests Carrigfergus; and having summoned the garrison to surrender in vain, though with offers of fair and honourable conditions, he drew out his lines, and the next day, played upon the town with four batteries of cannon and three mortar-pieces, besides all the guns of the navy, to which the place stood exposed, within distance, while he made his approaches by land, where he found the works or walls most accessible. Yet, though he with bombs (of which he threw a thousand) had laid all the buildings in ashes; and, though the garrison could not reasonably hope for any succour, they kept it nine days, and were even then reduced to one barrel of powder, made foldier-like terms, marching out with their arms, colours flying, ball in mouth, and other ceremonies of war, to be attended by convoy, until they were within three miles of the Newry. Yet the articles (though signed by Schomberg himself) were nevertheless barbarously violated by the soldiers; who, without regard to age, sex, or quality, disarmed and stript the towns people, forcing even women to run the gauntlet stark naked.

On the 26th of August, the King came from Dublin to Tredath, attended with 200 of his guards and gentlemen volunteers on horseback, and found there no more than seven regiments of foot and some few troops of horse, a strong party of the cavalry being commanded out as far as the Newry, under the duke of Berwick.

The

stroke; and be obliged to quit Dublin and all Munster, and retire behind the Shannon, and so be reduced to the province of Connaught, where, 1690.

The 6th of September, his Grace, to hinder the enemy's advancement upon him and render his march to the Newry incommodious and difficult, broke up all the causeways and other defiles through which he must pass; and to make all secure, burnt even the town, and retired to Dundalk, where he found Monsieur d'Esco, with two companies of foot and a troop of horse sent out from the army to bring up his rear; for their forces united were very insufficient to make head against the enemy, who then pressed their march. So they all faced about and drew off together.

The King, now in Tredath, was informed, by some Irish and one French deserter, that Schomberg's troops were very much diseased and already in want of provisions.

The 13th, all his Majesty's forces were come down to the camp near Tredath.

On the 14th, the King marched the army from Tredath to Athardie, about eight Irish miles, and there met with intelligence, that about twelve sail of the enemy's fleet were the day before up with the Skerries and fired many guns, which drew the militia and such numbers down to the shore, that they durst not venture upon it, but bore away large to the southward, where they ply'd too and again, betwixt Hoath and Bullock, with a design, as it is thought, to animate the malignant party (if any such were in Dublin) to rise. But matters were so well secured there, by the conduct and vigilance of colonel Symon Lutterell, the governor, that, disappointed of all expectations, they vainly stood off to sea and were soon out of sight.

On the 16th, his Majesty, on the first appearance of day, marched the horse and dragoons from Athardie to Allardston, near Affyn-Bridge, about three miles short of Dundalk, of which he possessed himself about twelve. By midnight following, his foot guards came up to him; and the body of infantry by noon next day. Having fortified the bridge, he placed the guards on the further side of the river, and sent parties out to discover the enemy. Towards the evening six troops of the cavalry made up to a small advanced party of 50 horse and some few volunteers that attended his Majesty's army, who, nevertheless, receiving the enemy's fire, immediately charged and put them to flight.

On the 18th, the whole camp was formed with as much regularity and advantage as the ground would admit of. The King, in his person, having traversed it all over after viewing the entrenchments and posture of the enemy.

On the 19th, several persons were taken, and some deserters came with intelligence, that Schomberg had set all hands to work to secure himself, by fortifying Dundalk, and seemed rather to prepare against a siege than a battle.

On the 20th, the King drew out his army; and, marching in the head of the first and second line within less than cannon-shot of the enemy, he immediately put them in order of battle (according to a method agreed on) with wonderful expedition and silence. The lines extended themselves from South-east to North-west, along a ridge of hillocks that

1690. where, having no magazines, he could not subsist very long, being the worst corn country in all Ireland; besides his men seemed desirous to fight,

that front the town. The second line shewed itself between the intervals of the first. In this posture, they stood for three hours. The soldiers, transported with courage by the presence and great example of their King at the head of them, could not forbear, by shouting and other demonstrations of joy, to dare and challenge the invaders; who, nevertheless, could not be provoked nor invited by any means out of their fortifications: and, therefore, the King, disappointed in his hopes of deciding the war by a battle, commanded his troops, just under the Marechal's view, to march easily back to their camp again: His Majesty himself remaining in the rear of all his army, until he saw the last soldier drawn off. Seven prisoners were that night brought in by a detached party of dragoons from a village called Haggardstown, on the sea-side. The captains O'Neal and Murphy likewise with 50 foot surprizing a party of 80 dragoons behind a mountain that covered the enemy, killed two on the place (among whom some French Hugonots refused quarter), took six prisoners, the rest escaping by flight.

On the 21st, the King gave orders for the fortifying Athardie with ditches, ramparts, and other necessary works. A retrenchment was likewise cast up before the left wing of the first line.

On the 24th, the King viewed the country on all sides, resolving, when he found it necessary or convenient to dislodge from the ground he then stood incamped on, and to pitch his tents on the edges of small hillocks that arise between the rivers of Mapastoun and Athardie, and therefore gave general orders for preserving the forrage in all parts within command of his army. [These are the operations of the 29th day in the manuscript of the journal.]

On the 26th, a commanded party of horse dragoons with 35 companies of grenadeers, set fire to all the forrage and corn on the other side of the Lurgan river, for three miles along the sea coast, and under the enemy's nose, who, nevertheless, made a faint sally, but were easily forced back to their trenches again.

On the 28th, towards the evening, the discharge of the enemy's artillery three times, pursued with as many volleys of small shot and huzzas, amused the King's camp for some while, until disabused next day by a deserter, who said, all that noise was the celebration of a great victory obtained by those of Inniskillin against the King's party at Sligo; but this mighty action, upon better intelligence, proved only a skirmish between a small band of that county militia and a troop of rebels, wherein three of the royalists fell, and that number twice told of the enemy.

On the 30th, an ensign from Mac Carty More's regiment returned to his Majesty's camp with advice, that 3 ships, wherein were embarked colonel Villiers' troop of horse and men, were newly cast away: that 500 French officers and soldiers, suspected to be Catholics and well-wishers to his Majesty's cause, were sent a ship-board, their place of confinement: that seven Frenchmen and a captain were hanged upon suspicion of affecting the King's party: that fourscore a day at the least were sent from the enemy's camp

to

fight, and being new-raised would have been disheartened still to retire before the enemy, and see all the country taken from them without one blow

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to the hospital; and that all their horses were turned out to graze for want of hay and other necessary forage.

On the 31st, two regiments of foot were commanded to Sligo, and the parts on all sides adjacent to it, to preserve the inhabitants under his Majesty's obedience, and check the excursions from Inniskillin.

On the 2d of October, a party of 150 foot were detached, under the command of lieutenant colonel Stapylton and captain Hugh Macnamara, to relieve and bring off the 500 French that Schomberg had caused to be stript and carried by water to Carlingford, suspecting they had a design of changing their party. The march was difficult and hazardous, for they could not avoid the English camp but by a detour of at least 30 miles, and that through almost impassable mountains; nevertheless they marched cheerfully over them to a vale within six miles of Carlingford, where making a halt, to fix their arms and cover their priming against a shower of rain that hung over their heads, a party of the enemy came upon them; and being demanded, whom they were for, they answered, they were for King William; so are we, said Stapylton, with purpose of taking his opportunity of surprising them: but the zealous soldiers, ignorant of his meaning, declared loudly, they were for King James, and made good their words with a volley. Fourteen they killed on the spot, seized all their arms, and made eight prisoners, without receiving a wound. [*The MS. copy of the Journal concludes here.*]

On the 5th of October, forage becoming now scarce, the King thought fit to return to Athardie; and on the 6th, very betimes in the morning, the army was in a readiness to march. But the smoke of the soldiers huts, set on fire by command, made their first setting out a little incommodious and difficult, but that was soon over, for when they saw clear, they easily fell into their ranks and marched in great order; the right wing of the horse and dragoons, with two brigades of foot, the cannon, and all the King's equipage, by Mapastoun Bridge; the left wing, with the reserve of the foot, and all the baggage of the army, by the road that led to the Bridge of Tallanstown; and that afternoon the foot encamped in two lines near Athardie, having the river and a long morass before them. The horse and dragoons, for convenience of forage and shelter, were sent to three villages lying on the right of the infantry; and the brigade of foot, that made the *corps de reserve*, to another village beyond them. But the next day, his Majesty visiting that part of the army, thought the *corps de reserve* (as indeed it was) too far advanced, and therefore gave orders that they should return to the village where the duke of Tyrconnel's regiment lay; and sent the lord Dongan's dragoons, with three other battalions of foot from the camp, to reinforce that post. He then ordered a breastwork to be made at the end of a narrow causeway that passes through the bog, and a guard of 60 foot to defend it. Colonel Purcell's and Sir James Cotter's dragoons were posted on the left at Dowdstoun and Peppardstoun, to secure the two bridges. The earl of Abercorn's regiment of horse stood

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blow for it, and by consequence be apt to disperse and give all for lost, they would have reproached the King for distrusting their courage; and they would have assured him of wonders had he but tried them. These and other reasons determined the King to hazard a battle, and so prepared for it the best he could; though the ford at Old-bridge was not to be maintained.

June 30th. The enemy appeared on the other side the river, over-against the King's army, where the river was fordable almost every where. The King made some of his cannon advance; which so galled the right wing, that they retired out of sight, behind the eminence. It was there the prince of Orange was touched, on the shoulder, by one of the first two shots, which fetched off the skin, but did no further prejudice.

July 1st. The enemy were heard to beat the generale before day. As soon as the sun was up, their right wing marched toward Slane. The King ordered his left to march likewise; and sent off his baggage toward Dublin, with all the cannon but six. Sir Neal O'Neal's dragoons did their part well. They disputed the passage almost an hour, till their cannon came up; and then retired in good order. The enemy passed. They stretched their line to the right, as if they designed to take the flank, or to get between us and Dublin, which M. de Laufun seeing, marched with the left to keep up with them, and observe their motions. The King went to the right, to hasten up the troops to follow de Lau-

encamped at a small village between the two lines. But the horses of that and colonel John Parker's regiment being very much harassed, and no danger appearing from the enemy, his Majesty thought fit to send them to their winter quarters.

The King having reason to believe that mareschal Schomberg would not easily quit Dundalk, called a council of war, and proposed the fortifying of Athardie, to hinder his advance, and to facilitate the carrying on of the war earlier in the spring. Some of the chief officers were of opinion against it; yet the duke of Tyrconnel, who chiefly seconded the King's resolution of marching from Tredath with his army, in order to engage the enemy, to which (under God) we owe all the success we have met with, joining in opinion with his Majesty, the work was set on foot, and that place made so strong a frontier before the King left it, that though Schomberg stayed for almost ten days after at Dundalk, where he lost by distemper above 10,000 men, yet made no attempt upon the party left at Athardie under the command of major general Boiselot, but was glad to make a safe retreat with the surviving part of his army, leaving many sick behind, and a number of dead bodies unburied.

sun,

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fun, believing the main body of the enemy was following their right, which had passed the Boyne at Slane. He found the duke of Tyrconnel, with the horse and dragoons of the right and the two first brigades of the first line, drawn up before Old-bridge; from which post he did not think fit to draw them, the cannon and baggage being not far enough advanced on their way to Dublin. The rest of the foot, however, marched, by their flank, after de Lausun. The King himself took the reserve, consisting of Purcell and Brown's foot, with which he marched till he came up with the rear of the foot, that followed de Lausun. He found de Lausun and the enemy's right drawn up in battle order within half cannon shot, facing each other. The King did not think fit to charge just then, being in expectation of the troops he left at Old-bridge. But while he was discoursing this matter with de Lausun, an aid-de-camp came to give the King an account that the enemy had forced the pass at Old-bridge, and that the right wing was beaten. The King, whispering in Lausun's ear, told him, there was now nothing to be done, but to charge the enemy, forthwith, before his troops knew what had happened on the right, and, by that means, to try if they could recover the day. He placed M. Haguette at the head of the French foot. He ordered the dragoons to light, and placed them in the intervals between, and ordered Lausun to lead on. But as they were beginning to move, Sarsfield and Maxwell, who had been to view the ground between the two armies, said, it was impossible for the horse to charge the enemy by reason of two double ditches with high banks, and a little brook betwixt them, that run along the small valley which divided the armies, and at the same time, the enemy's dragoons got a horse-back, and their whole began to march, by their flank, to the right, and we soon lost sight of their van, by a village that interposed; only by a dust that rose behind it, they seemed to endeavour to gain the Dublin road; upon which the King thought fit to march also by the left to the Dublin road too, to pass the small brook at Duleek which was impracticable higher above, by reason of a bog. The King was no sooner on his march, but the right wing's being beat was no longer a mystery; for several of the scattered and wounded horsemen got in amongst them, before they reached Duleek. Whereupon M. de Lausun advised the King, to take his own regiment of horse, which had the van of that wing, and some dragoons,

1690. and to make the best of his way to Dublin; for fear the enemy, who were so strong in horse and dragoons, should make detachments and get thither before him, which he was confident they would endeavour to do. But that, if his Majesty arrived there first, he might, with the troops he had with him and the garrison he found there, prevent their possessing themselves of the town, till M. Laufun could make the retreat, which he prayed him to leave to his conduct; and advised him not to remain in Dublin neither; but to go with all expedition for France, to prevent his falling into the enemy's hands; which would be not only his, but the prince his son's utter ruin. That as long as there was life, there was hope; and that if he was once in France again, his cause was not so desperate, they being in all probability masters at sea. That he would give one of his hands that he could have the honour to accompany him. But he must make his retreat in the best manner he could; or die with the French, if they were beaten. The King demurred. But he at length yielded to de Laufun's advice. The whole army of the English had now passed the river. Those who were not beaten were forced to retreat; and, by consequence, it was necessary for him to do so too.

The seven battalions of foot behind the eminence advanced against the enemy at Old-bridge to within a pike's length of the English. But upon being flanked by the enemy's horse, they fled. Duke of Berwick wounded, and left among the enemy. He got off by the help of a trooper. Schomberg said to have been killed, by an exempt of the guards, Sir Charles Take or O'Tool. It was a great over-sight in the enemy, their army being so numerous, that, so soon as they had beat the right wing of the King's army at Old-bridge, they did not march after them; for had they done so, they might have got to Duleek before the King, who was with the left, and so have cut off his retreat to Dublin, and routed the whole army. But the king had no sooner passed the defile with the van of his left, and was marching towards Dublin, but Tyrconnel joined Laufun, as he was passing; at which time the enemy appeared and offered to attack their rear. But they turned upon them, with some horse and the French foot, and made so good a countenance, that they suffered them to pass quietly over the brook, and bring five of the six pieces of cannon which attended the left wing; the other being bogged was lost. From whence they made their retreat to the
Neale,

Neale, another great defile, in good order; the enemy waiting still on them, without pressing them. When night came, they followed no more. However, that panic fear, which had seized the Irish, pursued them still; for as soon as it began to be dark, the greatest part of the troops dispersed, many of them having thrown down their arms and deserted before. But the French retired in good order.

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The King having yielded to M. de Laufun's advice, got to Dublin that night, where he met with major Wilson with letters from the queen, and an account of the prince of Waldeck's being entirely routed at Fleurus. This good news encouraged his design of going for France. But before he would resolve upon it, he spoke singly with those of his privy council he trusted most; as the two chancellors, the duke of Powis, secretary Neagle, marquis of Albeville, the lord chief baron, and others, who were unanimous in their opinion he should lose no time. They believed the enemy would be at Dublin next morning. About midnight the duke of Berwick sent an aid-de-camp to acquaint the King, that he had rallied about 7000 foot at Braffil, and desired him to send some horse and dragoons. They, however, dispersed before day-light. The duke of Tyrconnel sent his chaplain to request the King to leave Dublin, and sail for France. The King ordered Simon Lutterel to march to Leship, with all the forces in town, except two troops of the King's own regiment of horse, which he kept to attend him, to join M. de Laufun. He resolved to go to France, to do something there more effectual, than he could do with such a disheartened body of men as he had in Ireland. The French general officers, when he was mounting his horse, arrived from M. de Laufun. They requested him to be gone. They told him, that even the French troops were dispersed to find provisions. That nothing could be done. That the enemy were fast approaching to Dublin. The King set out about five in the morning; he went leisurely to Bray, ten miles from Dublin. He left there his two troops of horse, till twelve o'clock, to defend the bridge, as long as they could, should any party of the enemy pursue. He took his journey through the hills of Wicklow, and from them pursued his way to Duncannon. Having baited his horses, at Mr. Hacket's house near Areto, he was overtaken as he left it by the French general officers, who requested him to make more haste, as they assured him, otherwise, that the enemy would overtake him.

1690. him. The King said he could not believe that any of the enemy had so far advanced. They were positive, and the King mended his pace. He left la Rue and a brigadier of the guards at a bridge, when it grew dark, in order to stop the enemy in case they advanced. They staid half an hour. They heard of no enemy. The King travelled all night, and arrived at Duncannon at sun-rise. They found there the *Laufun*, a Malouin of 28 guns, newly come with goods for Ireland. They prevailed with the captain to get under sail, and to fall down with the tide. He went round in her to Kinsale; where he found M. Forar a chef d'Escadre, with a squadron of seven small French ships, laden with corn and wine, together with M. du Quesne with three frigates.

The Queen had obtained these ships to attend the King's orders in Ireland*. She had so great an interest with M. Seignelay, the French minister

* The following letter, from King James the Second's Queen to the count de Tourville, commander of the French fleet, will throw light on this passage.

Translation.

St. Germain, 20th July, 1690.

Mr. Aftle's
Papers.

"It is with great pleasure I learnt, from the major general of the fleet, all the particulars of your late sea engagement. I waited for the end of it, in order to express to you my joy compleatly, and to join my rejoicings with your own, which I do very heartily; assuring you at the same time, that the glory you derive from this great success, gives me a very particular pleasure, which you would have no difficulty in believing, if you was as thoroughly persuaded of my esteem and friendship as you have reason to be. For a long time before, I did not know what joy was; but I own, that this victory has given me a great deal, on account of the interests of your master, as well as of my own. After what you have lately done, I consider the King as master of the sea, and in a condition to re-establish the king my husband in his kingdoms, and to free himself thereby, from a great part of his enemies. If we are lucky enough to return soon to our own country, I shall always consider that you was the first to open the way to it, for it was effectually shut against us, before the success of this engagement, to which your good conduct has contributed so much. But, if I do not deceive myself, it appears to me now to be completely open, providing the King could gain some little time in Ireland, which I hope he will. Yet I tremble with fear, lest the prince of Orange, who sees clearly that it is his interest to hinder him, should push the King, and oblige him to give battle. But whatever may happen in that respect, it is absolutely necessary for you to have large vessels, as well as frigates, in St. George's Channel. The King is so thoroughly persuaded of this, that he was pleased to tell me, the other day, that he had already given orders, that, as soon as the ships could be repaired after the fight, a squadron of them should

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minister for the marine, that he became extremely zealous for the King's service. It was he that procured the fitting out of a fleet able to dispute the dominion of the seas. This small squadron came opportunely for the King's safety. Had the King been able to have waved that decisive stroke at the Boyne a few weeks, he might have seen the French fleet masters of St. George's Channel, and in a condition either to have transported him and his army to England, or of hindering any succours from coming to the prince of Orange, which was what M. Seignelay designed. But the King's life was a chain of misfortunes and disappointments; so that what advantages the French got were no ways beneficial to him. His misfortunes were doubly such, by lessening his credit and interest with his friends as much as it did with his enemies. He wrote to Tyrconnel, that he was going to France. He said he hoped to send more succours, and, in the mean time, left them 50,000 pistoles; which was all the money he had. He arrived at Brest, on the 20th of July, N. S. He wrote to the Queen. He informed her of his misfortunes. He said, he was sensible that he would be blamed for hazarding a battle. But that he had no other post so advantageous to defend, unless he would abandon all without a stroke, and suffer himself to be at last driven into the sea. But as the unfortunate are censured always more ways than one, some blamed him for hazarding too much, and others for his quitting Ireland so soon. That counsel was, no doubt, too precipitate; and it is wonderful, why Tyrconnel pressed it with so much earnestness; unless it

should be sent to the channel. This being the case, I cannot hinder myself from entreating you earnestly, to hasten, as much as you can, the execution of this order; otherwise, neither Ireland nor the person of the King, my husband, can be safe.

"We see, by letters from England, that that wretched country is in the greatest consternation. Time should not be given them to resume courage; and I am persuaded, that, if the king was now among them, he would prevail. But I hope that will be the case very soon: for his Majesty is full of goodness towards us, and appears to me to have a great desire to render us happy. I think he will succeed. For it is an action worthy of him; and I am persuaded, that God destines the glory of it for him. Next to him, you have the greatest share of it; and I shall be happy to owe to you, rather than to any other, such an obligation, as I shall never forget, and as will induce me always to look for methods of testifying to you my gratitude.

MARIA, R."

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1690. was from the solicitations of the Queen, who, in a letter of June 27th to him, entreated him, in the most vehement terms, to save the King's person, at any rate. He, however, ought not to have advised such disheartening councils, as to make the King abandon a cause that had still so much hopes of life. It did him great detriment. It was not likely that either his own people or the King of France would eagerly maintain a cause, which he himself had deserted. But it may be said, also, that it was the unanimous advice of the council, the generals, and all persons about him; there was too an universal panic, as appears from the circumstance, that even the French officers, men of service, saw visions of troops, when none certainly could be within twenty miles. This is the only excuse for the wrong resolution of the King. He had also formed a scheme in his own mind, which he found, upon his arrival, had been actually laid by the court of France. The French, the King knew, were masters at sea, ever since the battle of Bantry Bay. They were also, since the victory at Flerus, confessedly masters at land. The King imagined the sooner he got into France, that he would the sooner convince his most Christian Majesty, that the only way to break the league was, to land him with a suitable body of troops, in England. He hoped also to send a squadron to St. George's Channel to prevent the prince of Orange's return, and to land some Irish troops in Scotland. This was the chief cause of his flight. The news of the victory off Beachy-head met him at Brest; and he applauded himself exceedingly in that resolution. The King knew of the design of fighting the combined fleets. He knew, that M. Seignelay designed at the same time to send 25 light frigates to St. George's Channel, and to burn all the ships on both sides, but such as were necessary to bring off the King and some troops; and, by that means, to have kept the Prince of Orange in Ireland. All this well-laid scheme he knew; and it was the main inducement to his retreat. But the business was over before his arrival, as was said; and neither he nor the French themselves reaped any advantage. The sickness of Seignelay hindered him from going on board as he intended; which forced him to give that commission to the chevalier de Tourville. His negligence in not destroying the combined fleets was vehemently repented by Seignelay. Tourville ascribed his want of success to the English having taken up the buoys. Seignelay said, in a passion,

passion, that it proceeded from his cowardice. Tourville took fire. 1690. Seignelay explained himself, by saying, that he meant only with regard to his conduct; for that there were many (of which number he took him to be) *qui estoient poltrons de teste, quoyqu'ils ne l'estoient point du coeur.*

The day after the King's arrival at St. Germain, the King of France came to see him, and promised him all imaginable kindness and support. But when he laid open his project, he received it coldly, and said, he could do nothing in it till he heard from Ireland. The King told him, that there was no occasion to hear from Ireland, to convince him that England was naked. But his most Christian Majesty was dissatisfied with the King's late conduct, either of himself or the insinuations of his minister. He was averse to another expedition, which might, he thought, be as hastily relinquished. He pretended an indisposition, and would not see the King, till in fact it was too late to do any thing. When the King observed this cause of delay, his patience never in his life underwent such another trial. The defection of his subjects, the loss of the battle, the desertion of his favourites, had never thrown him into such despair, as this not suffering him to open his heart to the prince, who was his only friend and support in the world. But he was destined to be a victim to patience by Providence; which his friends, as well as his enemies, exercised by turns. He even pressed to be permitted to go on board the fleet. This was denied, as nothing, they said, could be done, without land-forces. The threatened junction of the elector of Brandenburg with the prince of Waldeck was the excuse. But this was a poor pretence, when the prince of Orange, with 40,000 men, could be kept from acting, by the other expedient.

The retreat of the prince of Orange from Limeric was shameful; a place which scarce deserved the name of a fortress. Tyrconnel came immediately to France, to solicit succours. The French and de Lausun, being wearied of Ireland, wished Limeric had been taken. Boisleau, during the assault, ordered several battalions away from the breach. But he was disobeyed, and the place saved. There were factions between the French and the Irish, and between the Irish and themselves; when the enemy gave them respite, their whole business was to fight among themselves. A faction was formed against Tyrconnel, and they pre-

1690.

pared to send persons, as they afterwards did, to complain of his conduct. Tyrconnel took the opportunity of coming away with de Laufun. The King, in the mean time, represented to the court of France, how great a pity it was, not to support the successful valour of the Irish. The bishop of Cork, colonel Simon and H. Lutterel, and colonel Nic. Purcel, came to complain of Tyrconnel to St. Germain. Tyrconnel endeavoured to cross-bite them, and to induce the King to seize them, and keep them in France. The King, prepossessed against them, refused to see the deputies.

The earl of Anandale, lord Ross, and Sir James Montgomery correspond with the King. As interest was the prime motive to their return to their duty, the first made terms for themselves. The King knew it, but he resolved to encourage repentance. He appointed Anandale commissioner, Montgomery secretary of state. When the parliament met, they pursued their point with earnestness. The duke of Queensberry, marquis of Athol, and earl of Argyle, concurred with them. But the Presbyterians, whom they formerly governed, began to abandon these undertakers. They, discovering that they could not carry their point, were convinced, that they could change sides more easily than governments. They, therefore, made their peace, by discovering all they knew; and even suffered the very papers and commissions, which came from the King, to fall into Melvin the commissioner's hands. They, however, refused to be witnesses. Buchan was soon after unsuccessful at Cromdale. He was surprised in the night. The King's friends began to listen to the offers of the prince of Orange, who was extremely anxious to leave all quiet, before he passed into Ireland. He offered 5000*l.* and several other advantages to the earl of Breadalbin. Breadalbin went to meet the prince of Orange at Chester. But he was gone before he arrived: so nothing was then done. The King's friends solicited then a supply, and proposed the King's landing in Scotland, rather than in England. The King sent some present relief to the Highlanders, by a ship from Nantes. The Queen had, before his arrival in France, ordered 5000*l.* to be paid them from England. She had also ordered 10,000*l.* to follow it.

Mr. de Seignelay, the secretary for the marine, continued still zealous for the King. He resolved to go again on board the fleet, to see, in person,

person, his own schemes executed. But crosses and disappointments pursued the King, through all the labyrinths of his life. That able minister soon after died; and his designs, just on the point of being executed, fell with his life. Ireland, as well as Scotland, was anxious to have supplies. The enemy had made attempts to cross the Shannon. The duke of Berwick sent out parties, which prevented them; and endeavoured to do what he could to molest them in his turn.

1690.

 1691.

Tyrconnel returned from France, and arrived at Limeric in January, 1691. He found the troops there in a miserable condition. The King's task, with regard to Ireland, was difficult. The court of France was divided into factions. Lord Mountcashel, who had a great and beneficial command in France opposed Tyrconnel, and obstructed his measures. The King ordered Tyrconnel not to use people roughly, but to gain them by gentleness; which he promised to do, though he owned it was not agreeable to his temper. The King was in pain for the duke of Berwick. He had sent the commissioners against Tyrconnel to France, and he was a kind of hostage for them. He ordered, therefore, the duke of Berwick to leave Ireland, upon Tyrconnel's return. Notwithstanding the miseries of the Irish army, the English deserted to them in great numbers. Tyrconnel said, that had he a pistole a piece to give to the soldiers, and subsistence afterwards, he could assure himself of one third of the prince of Orange's troops. Monsieur Louvois, a haughty and a hardened minister, did little in assisting the King, or in removing the miseries of Ireland. He writ to Tyrconnel, that he was surprised at his complaining of the supplies; much more, that he would trouble him with complaints against Mountcashel. His son, who succeeded him, inherited his father's harsh and imperious spirit.

 1691.
 Macpher-
 son's Ex-
 tracts.

It was now the beginning of May. No news in Ireland of the fleet. The troops forced to eat horse-flesh. The king sent them 10,000 pistoles out of his own scanty allowance. He was, in the mean time, pressed and teased by all his friends. They quarrelled among themselves. They perplexed him with complaints. He gave all that he could; but that all was but little, and inadequate. The attempts made in England, for

1691. the King's restoration, prove unsuccessful. His friends, however, increase. They wished to restore him, without the assistance of France. But that was impracticable. They were afraid of a conquest. They sent, therefore, lord Preston, Ashton, and Eliot with proposals. They permitted him to live a catholic in devotion, but to reign as a protestant in government: that the utmost that could be expected for Papists, was a legal liberty of conscience: that the power must be placed in the hands of protestants, who were two hundred to one: that the King of France should engage his word to assist him only as a friend. They were taken in a ship, which they hired. They were tried. Preston and Ashton were condemned.

But, notwithstanding this discovery, others were not discouraged from owning their inclination to return to their duty. To the King's great surprize, my lord Churchill and my lord Godolphin themselves were of the number. It was supposed, that the intentions of these men were to save themselves, in case of a restoration, against the King's resentment. The success of France, and the aversion of the English to the prince of Orange, made a restoration appear an event not far distant. Their seeming repentance, especially that of Churchill, had all the appearance of sincerity. Lord Godolphin had, in consequence of a promise to the prince of Orange, as he said, accepted again of an office. When Buckley waited upon him, he inquired kindly concerning the court of St. Germain, but with a seeming despondency. Buckley asked him what he would do to serve the cause. He rose suddenly from his chair, and said he would quit his office. This was a coy beginning. Buckley went to Halifax. He received him with open arms. He promised to do every thing that lay in his power to serve the King. Halifax was never to be satisfied, if controuled in any thing. This had alienated him formerly from the King. The prince of Orange finding his politicks, though nice and subtle in speculation, yet seldom good in practice; they two did not hit it long. This free assurance of Halifax encouraged others. Godolphin was particularly encouraged, and made open assurances to the King. He promised to resign. But it went against his conscience to betray his trust from any man. It had been happy, had he been always so scrupulous. Mr. Buckley one day met Godolphin and Churchill in the Park. They seemed mighty glad to see him. He invited both

to dine at his lodgings. They came. They received him so frankly, and they made such advances, that he proposed to try them. But lord Churchill was so forward in the matter, that he prevented him, by sending, soon after, for colonel Sackville. The colonel waited upon him, though with reluctance. He was highly surprized to find Churchill the greatest penitent imaginable. He begged him to assure the King of his sincere repentance, and to intercede for mercy; that he was ready to redeem his apostacy with the hazard of his utter ruin, his crimes appearing so horrid to him: that he could neither sleep nor eat, in continual anguish, and a great deal to that purpose. They parted. Colonel Sackville acquainted his friends. They gave him (Churchill) all the encouragement imaginable; conceiving that a person of so great credit in the army, and of such a considerable post in the council, would be of mighty consequence to the King's affairs. But they resolved, at the same time, to search him to the quick; and try whether, by informing them readily what he knew, they might depend upon his sincerity. He gave them, without hesitation, both an account of all the forces, preparations and designs, both in England, Scotland, and Ireland. To which last kingdom, he said, the prince of Orange intended to go himself, if the French pressed too hard on the confederates in the Low Country, that very campaign. He laid open that prince's designs both by sea and land; which concurring with what the King had, from good hands, was a great argument of Churchill's sincerity. He brought daily intelligence of incidents in the secretary's office, in relation to the Jacobites, by which they avoided many inconveniencies and troubles. He desired instructions without being admitted into the King's secrets; owning, that the villanies which he had committed, did but too justly debar him from expecting any confidence. He doubted not, he said, but he could bring over many great men to the King's party; and desired to know, whether he should endeavour that, in reference to my lord Danby, who, he said, was the main stay to the present government; or join with the party in parliament, who were contriving his ruin. He proffered to bring over, if required, the troops in Flanders. But he rather proposed to act in concert with many who were, the next session, to endeavour to get all foreigners sent out of the kingdom. He advised the King not to bring with him too great a force:

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1691. a force: that a French power was too terrifying to the people: that 20,000 men would be sufficient.

Churchill desired the King to enjoin lord Godolphin not to lay down his place in the Treasury; as he must be made serviceable in that post. He said, for himself, it would be impossible for him to be at rest till he had, in some measure, made an atonement, by endeavouring, though at the utmost peril of his life, to restore his injured prince and beloved master. His comportment upon the whole seemed candid, and his penitence sincere. The King was always ready to forget the greatest injuries, upon the least shew of amendment. He confirmed what he had said in person, by a letter, Jan. 20th, 1691; and in May 30th, 1691, he assured the King, that upon the least command, he would abandon wife, children, and country, to regain and preserve his esteem. He, however, declined to bring over the troops in Flanders. The King wrote to him, April 20, 1691. He wrote him in the most good-natured manner in the world. The Queen inserted a few words with her own hand, to testify her being reconciled to him. He ordered Godolphin to keep his employments, to be more serviceable; he having forgot his former scruples about betraying his trust. Lord Dartmouth proposed to come over himself, provided he could have the command of a squadron of French men of war. But the court of France were not for trusting him; besides, he was soon after sent to the Tower.

The army in Ireland took the field. The French were slow in coming; but they at length arrived. Athlone made a good defence; yet was at last surprized. Tyrconnel leaving the army, retreated to Limerick. Animosities, as is usual in misfortunes, increased. The army, from 17,000, was reduced to 11,000. St. Ruth, being piqued at the disgrace at Athlone, resolved to wait for the enemy at Aghrim. He encamped himself, on a rising ground, in two lines. Two passes were before him; one at the old castle of Aghrim, on the left of the foot; the other 300 yards advanced from the right. On Sunday, July 12, the enemy advanced to the bog side, while their horse took a great round to flank the right. They had positive orders from Ginkle, not to come to a decisive action. But being once engaged, the affair was brought to a point. The Irish behaved with great spirit, to secure their liberties, as an oppressed people. They convinced the English they had to do with

1691.

with men, no less resolute than themselves. Never assault was made with greater fury, nor sustained with greater obstinacy. The Irish foot repulsed the enemy several times, particularly in the center. They even looked upon the victory as certain. St. Ruth was in a transport of joy, to see the foot, of whom he had a mean opinion, behave themselves so well. Fearing that the enemy should outflank his troops with their left, he ordered the second line of his left to march to the right. His orders were ill executed. The officer who commanded, supposing the bog in the front would prevent the enemy from advancing, ordered a battalion of the first line to file off also. Those who stood in awe of that battalion, took courage when it was gone. They passed the bog on hurdles. They formed themselves on the Irish side of the bog. St. Ruth advanced at the head of the cavalry. He would soon have dispersed them; as they were yet but a forming. He was unfortunately killed by a cannon-shot. Endeavours were used, in vain, to conceal his death. The life-guard squadron near him stopping, the rest did the same. The enemy profited by the accident. They advanced. A panic had seized the Irish. They fled, and left a compleat victory to the enemy. Night coming on, prevented a pursuit. The Irish, however, lost 4000 men. The loss of the English was not much inferior. Had they pursued their victory, and marched to Limerick, they would have finished the war at one blow.

Tyrconnel resumed his authority on St. Ruth's death. He proposed to defend Limerick. The enemy appeared before it, on the 25th of August. He sent an express to St. Germain. The King was, beyond measure, afflicted. He laid the case before the French court. Some succours were prepared. Some money was ordered. Colonel Lutterel treats with the enemy about the surrender of Limerick. Mighty inclinations were raised in the army to submit. Tyrconnel, though not apprized of the treachery, was sensible of the evil. One Balderic O'Donnell was long engaged in hidden and treasonable practices. It appeared afterwards, that there was a design of putting the kingdom into the hands of the ancient Irish, independent of, and on an equal foot with England. This it was that had rendered O'Donnell so popular, and raised him such a mighty crowd of followers, with which he lived, in a manner, at discretion, while the war lasted; and he then made his peace with

1691. with the enemy, without the King's privity or consent. Lord Lucan, though he opposed Tyrconnel, opposed also the treasonable practices, with regard to the independence of Ireland. Lutterel's secret correspondence was discovered by his means. Lutterel was seized. He was tried; but he had too many friends to be condemned. He was sentenced only to remain in prison during the King's pleasure. The fire was rather smothered than extinguished by this act of justice. Lucan's credit declined, when he sided with Tyrconnel. The latter, struck with a fit of an apoplexy, died in two days, when he was on the point of reconciling the Irish to themselves. The enemy, by Clifford's neglect, passed the river. The town was forced into terms. The Irish, however, had the courage to insist upon, and dexterity to obtain extraordinary articles. Thirty thousand men, first and last, were permitted to pass into France. Thus was Ireland, after three years obstinate resistance, reduced by the power and riches of England. But though the King lost the country, he preserved the hearts of a majority of the people.

In Scotland, the Highlanders were forced to lay down their arms, the King not being able to support them with money. They sent the earl of Dumfermling to the King. But before he received their information, he was sensible of their condition. Though his abilities and interest were exhausted by Ireland, he contrived to send some small relief to Scotland, in a ship from Nantes. He was too tender of their lives to propose to them any desperate action; and he, therefore, would not pretend to do more than he was really able. He gave them a true state of his affairs. He recommended to them a shew of submission to the rebels, to preserve their own quiet; being perfectly assured of their hearts at all times. He sent money to be distributed among their own protestant clergy. They accordingly made their submission. But, contrary to all faith, the prince of Orange, by an order which Nero himself would have a horror of, ordered the soldiers to massacre the Glenco-men in cold blood. It was hard to imagine, that the prince of Orange could apprehend danger from such a handful of men. But he either thought that severity necessary to make an example of, or he had a particular pique against that clan. Either of these reasons, according to his morality, was sufficient to do an inhuman thing. To obstruct his ambition, or to give him a personal offence, exposed men equally to his revenge. Yet this

this was the pretended assertion of the lives and liberties of the English nation, to whom all oaths of duty and religion were made a sacrifice of, rather than he should not reign over it. The Bass was the only foot of land, if it may be so called, that the King now remained in possession of, of all his dominions.

1691.

The war being ended in Scotland and Ireland, the King settled himself and his way of living suitable to his pension.

1692. E X T R A C T I.

Many begin to be dissatisfied with the prince of Orange's government. The violent current which had borne down every thing before it, abated. The hearts of many remained true, though their hands were tyed. Every day cleared up more and more the dark and hidden contrivances, which had produced the Revolution. The number of the King's friends increased daily. They proposed schemes for his restoration. The correspondence with Churchill was kept up. Though his pretensions were liable to suspicion, from his former conduct, his professions had the appearance of sincerity. There was some cause to believe him; as both he and his mistress, the princess of Denmark, were out of favour with the prince of Orange. Neither of them reaped any advantage from their past infidelity, but the infamy of having committed such great crimes. The most interested may be credited, when they can reasonably hope to mend their fortune, and better their condition, by returning to their duty.

1692.
Macpherson's
Extracts.

The princess of Denmark herself could not then be presumed to dissemble. She wrote to the King a most penitential and dutiful letter. This was a more than ordinary mark of the sincerity of Churchill, as he had such power with her. The King received not her letter till he was at La Hogue. Her letter was this:

"I have been very desirous of some safe opportunity to make you a sincere and humble offer of my duty and submission to you; and to beg you will be assured, that I am both truly concerned for the misfortune of your condition, and sensible, as I ought to be, of my own unhappiness, as to what you may think I have contributed to it. If wishes could recal what is past, I had long since redeemed my fault. I am

1692. sensible it would have been a great relief to me, if I could have found means, to have acquainted you earlier with my repenting thoughts. But I hope they may find the advantage by coming late of being less suspected of insincerity, than perhaps they would have been, at any time before. It will be a great addition to the ease I propose to my own mind, by this plain confession, if I am so happy as to find it brings any real satisfaction to yours; and that you are as indulgent and easy to receive my humble submissions as I am truly desirous to make them, in a free, disinterested acknowledgment of my fault, for no other end, but to deserve and receive your pardon.

“I had a great mind to beg of you to make one compliment for me. But fearing that the expressions which would be properest for me to make use of, might perhaps be the least convenient for a letter, I must content myself at present with hoping that the bearer will be able to supply it for me.
December 1st, 1691.”

Lloyd brought the above letter. Admiral Russel, who had the command of the English fleet, still pretended to be in the King's interest. He was dissatisfied with the King's declaration. There was a necessity of doing all that was possible to content a person, who held the crown of England so far in his hands. Lloyd was Russel's particular friend. Russel had several conferences before he came away with the princess of Denmark. He expressed his earnest desire to serve the King. He said the people were inclined enough to his side again, if the King would take a right line to continue them so. He advised him, if he wished to reign as a catholic King over a protestant people, he must forget the past and grant a general pardon: and that, as for him, he made no stipulations for himself; saying, it was the public good and no private advantage made him enter into this affair. He told him, therefore, that if he met the French fleet, he would fight it, were even the King himself on board. But that the method he proposed to serve the King, was by going out of the way with the English fleet. This was an odd way to restore the King by fighting him. He, however, meant nothing but advantage to himself; as the preparations of the French made a restoration probable. He was determined to raise his fortune, which ever way the balance inclined. Had the French passed, by accident, or prevailed, by force,

force, he would have made a merit of serving the King;—and should the contrary happen, he could easily keep his credit with the present government. But the King was forced to seem well contented, with what those men were pleased to promise. The design was so well laid, that had not fortune crossed him, (as it ever did,) so many different ways, there was no reason to apprehend a miscarriage.

The King arrived at Caen, in Normandy, on the 24th of April, N. S. Tourville had orders to seek out the English fleet, then supposed to be alone. The transports in coming round from Havre, were miserably battered in a storm. He came into the presence of the enemy. Piqued at De Seignelay's reflections on his conduct off Beachy-head, he thought fit to observe his orders to the letter. He maintained the fight with equality enough, till about four in the afternoon. There was some doubt of Carter. But his designs remained a secret, by his being killed at the beginning of the action. It was even in doubt, by what hand he died. The French suffered little. The calm ceased. The unseasonable behaviour of Tourville brought on a second engagement. He was ashamed of shewing his stern to an enemy. He trusted too much to the Royal Sun, a mighty ship of 120 guns. He could never disengage himself after. He was forced to the scurvy alternative of either running ashore or of being taken. When even they ran into La Hogue, they might be saved had they followed the King's advice; who recommended to man the ships with the land troops, to keep off the English frigates and boats. The admiral was obstinate. Yet his men abandoned the ships, upon the first approach of the English; though only in shalloops. The King was beyond measure afflicted. But he resolved to continue his endeavours for his restoration. He now began to wean himself from the world and all thoughts of present happiness. He saw that Providence designed to lead him, through the paths of affliction, to his grave. He, however, continued his correspondence with England, particularly with Churchill and Ruffel. Middleton, on whose management the King chiefly relied, to try to give strength and stability to these scattered reeds, began to treat with his friends again. Shrewsbury, Danby, Godolphin, Ruffel, and others, seemed desirous that the King should be restored; and so were many, from the dismal prospect of continual wars, till things should return to their old channel.

1692.
Carte's
Extracts.

EXTRACT II.

Soon after the French fleet was beat by Ruffel, captain Lloyd came to the King at La Hogue; having been dispatched by some of the King's friends in England, with a message of great consequence, two months before, but could find no means of getting over. The French fleet being beat, nothing could be then done. The correspondence, however, was kept up; though Lloyd, being seen accidentally by some of his acquaintances at La Hogue, durst not return to England. The King, therefore, came to St. Germain's, and sent Mr. Carryl to England, about August; who did not return till January, 1693. He brought the King eight proposals, which, if he agreed to, they would restore him immediately; and, upon notice of his consent, would send lord Middleton to him, fully instructed. The King, by the King of France's advice, agreed to them; and, on the twelfth of July, wrote so to lord Middleton.

1693.

1693. EXTRACT I.

On the fifteenth of June, Mr. ———, who had been very well with Sunderland and Tyrconnel, told the King, by their intrigues, soon after he came to the crown, that they with lord Dover and father Petre, had agreed, that Petre should be a bishop, then a cardinal, Sunderland treasurer, Tyrconnel lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and then get Sunderland 5000 l. a year of land inheritance in Ireland, or 50,000 l. in money out of the kingdom: H. Jermyn to be made a lord, a captain of the guards, and other good employments.

Mr. ——— was sent by Tyrconnel to expostulate with Sunderland, on delay of what was promised by him; and he threatened, if it was not done soon, to inform the King of all.

EXTRACT II.

Maepherfon's
Extracts.

The earl of Middleton returns from England. The lord Churchill wrote to the King, August 23, 1693. "If there be any thing," says he,

he, "proposed, you may think a little hard, you will please not to shew yourself much offended with it; and what you cannot comply with, let it appear it is from the impracticableness of it; for should you positively refuse to agree to what is proposed, you will lose some of the ablest of your council, which may endanger the losing all." He would not have taken this liberty, he said, if he was not resolved to go on in any measures that should be taken. The King perceived the fewer friends he had left, the harder it was to content them, some one or other always objecting to parts of declarations, written at their own desire. Nevertheless, had the French court been zealous, there never was a time more fit to terrify the English into their duty.

1693.

1694. EXTRACT I.

On the eighth of June, Dr. Taylor, newly come from England, told the King, that he had seen the bishops of Norwich, Bath, Ely, and Peterborough, the marquis of Worcester, Aylesbury, lord Fanshaw, Clarendon, who, with true church of England men, desired the King to make no further engagements with the republican party, &c.

1694.

Carte's Extracts.

EXTRACT II.

The King sends again to admiral Ruffel. Hearing that he was restored to the command of the fleet, he (the King) was resolved not to let slip the least glimmering of hopes. He sent Lloyd privately to him, in the beginning of March, to try, as he was in the same power, whether he was in the same mind. He declared that he had the same goodwill. But he refused to go out of the way. The lord Churchill wrote to the King in the preceding December. He advised him to bring with him 25,000 men and arms for 7,000 men. He wrote also a letter dated Feb. 28th, 1694. He told him, that lord Shrewsbury was so pressed to receive his former office of secretary, that he was afraid he could not resist. But though he altered his condition, he assured him that he would not alter his inclinations. Yet Churchill himself was the adviser of Shrewsbury, hoping he would do himself the same good turn. He told the King, that he himself was solicited to come into office; but that he would do nothing without the King's consent. On May the 4th, the lord Churchill gave notice to the King of the design upon Brest.

Macpherson's Extracts.

The

1694.

The princess of Orange dies December 28, O. S. The King made no efforts upon her death. Her proximity of blood was the prince of Orange's chief support. He hoped the government might shake and unhinge itself. The princess of Denmark, notwithstanding her professions and late repentance, appeared to be more satisfied with the prince of Orange, though he had used her ill and usurped upon her right, than that her father, who had always cherished her beyond expression, should be restored. So that all that the King got was an additional affliction to those he had already undergone, by seeing his child he loved so tenderly persevere, to her death, in such a signal state of disobedience and disloyalty; and to hear her extolled, for a crime as for the highest virtue, by the mercenary flatterers of the times; even archbishop Tennison reckoned, among her virtues, her contradictions; and that she had got the better of her duty to a parent, in consideration of her religion and her country. But his own children had lost all bowels of compassion and duty for the King. The King was much afflicted at her manner of dying.

1695.

1695.
Macpherson's
Extracts.

The King applies himself wholly to devotion, and makes a journey to La Trappe*.

Fatherly

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 7.

* "What here follows," says Nairne in an advertisement concerning James's papers, "is a collection of several pious meditations of our Holy King, left writ in his own hand on loose papers, which, after his death, have been put together, and are now preserved with that care which such precious remains deserve. The greater part of them seem designed only for his own private use, to imprint, more deeply in his memory, those great truths of Christianity, which had so fully possessed him: for though they are writ upon several subjects, all tending to policy and religion; yet none of them had any titles put to them, to distinguish the matters treated in each of them. But, for the ease and benefit of the reader, titles are now put to them, suitable to the matter they contain. Some three or four of them the reader will find occasionally inserted in the relation of his life, which are not, therefore, here inserted."

"It was the constant practice of this King, ever since he first appeared in the world, to write short notes, from time to time, of all that was remarkable in the affairs wherein he had any share. All these memoirs of passages, which occurred before his last escape out of England, have been happily preserved, though they were writ on several loose papers;

Fatherly advice to N. N.

1695.

I own to you, it is no easy matter for a young unexperienced man that has courage and ambition, and is in the vigour of his youth, to live in the world and not to be led away by its deceitful pleasures and promises of imaginary happiness, especially since there are so few of those, whose company he frequents, who live like good christians; and, when they find a young man who has good and virtuous inclinations, they endeavour to inspire him with lewd and atheistical principles, and to draw him into those vices to which they themselves are most inclined: and, if it happens, that the young man has a friend or relation, who gives him good advice and would hinder him from running headlong into these dangerous and pernicious courses, he is turned into ridicule, by these ministers of iniquity. If the adviser is a little advanced in years, they laugh at him, and call him a bigot, or they represent him as a man who has some prejudice against them, and who, when he was young, fatigated himself with those very pleasures, which he now condemns in others.

James II.'s
advice to his
son, the duke
of Berwick.

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 7 and 8.

This is the doctrine commonly preached to a young man by his companions, when he first comes into the world. They make it a point of honour to him to damn himself, saying that it will be time enough for him to be converted when he grows old; and that none, but such as are

pers; and they may possibly serve hereafter, as materials for making a complete and authentic history of his whole life; they being safely kept, by his Majesty's order, in the library of the Scotch college at Paris. But these writ by him since the Revolution, are of a quite different nature from the former. In the first, he sets down what passed abroad in the world and in the public affairs wherein he was concerned; in these, he describes what passed within his own soul, filled with the sentiments of repentance and devotion. It may be truly said, that his own picture is to be seen in them, drawn to the life, as he was in his latter days: for he practised himself all that he hath here writ; and his outward actions, no less than the thoughts and affections of his mind, were all conformable to the rules and actions he here sets down."

There are but few of these pieces found, among Mr. Nairne's manuscripts. Some of them are in English, in Nairne's hand, and some in French in an unknown hand, and others in Nairne's, interlined with corrections in James's own hand. A few only of such, as are thus authenticated, are inserted here, as a specimen. N. N. is his son, the duke of Berwick. Both the English and French copies of his father's advices to him are in Nairne's hand; but the corrections interlined, in the French copy, are in James's own hand.

1695. weak, stupid, and hypochondrical, deprive themselves of the pleasures of this world, or trouble themselves with frequenting churches, hearing sermons, or reading good books.

It is by these arguments suggested by the devil and by ill example, that young men like you are daily perverted. Do not, therefore, allow yourself to be deceived by such discourses; but let sound reason and the maxims of religion guide you. You have been in many dangers. You have often looked death in the face, and have seen many fall near you, where you have been preserved. Consider how much reason there is to fear, that the greatest number of these have been thrown headlong into hell, to endure an eternity of torments; and consider, at the same time, how unprepared you was to die at that time, what would have been your fate, if you had been carried off in such a state, and how much you owe to the bounty of the Almighty, who did not allow you to be of the number of these unhappy persons.

I know you may answer, and others may suggest to you, that I did not follow myself, when I was of your age nor for many years after, the good advice which I now give to you. I own, with confusion, that this is but too true. That I was led astray by the vanities and sinful pleasures of this world; and that I did not give myself time to consider what was the duty of a Christian. This, I say, I own, to my confusion; and, when I reflect on it now, I tremble at the remembrance of the danger, in which I was then: for if God had not mercifully touched my heart, by extraordinary ways; and, by the rebellion of my subjects, made me sensible how greatly I had myself rebelled against him; in all probability, I would have been eternally lost. But you ought to consider, that this was a miracle of the providence and goodness of God towards me; and, you know, that God does not always work miracles, and what happened to me is too singular an instance to serve as an example to you. Take, therefore, the warning which I give you, not to follow my example in sinning, but in repenting. I give you this advice, as a father, who is indeed under obligations to promote the temporal interests of his children; but under still greater to contribute to their eternal welfare."

That

That all Christians are bound to aim at perfection.*

Although I am a great admirer of La Trappe † and of the holy and exemplary lives of the monks in that convent, and am overjoyed, when I hear that any has left the world to retire thither; and, though I have great reason to praise the Divine Goodness, for having put it into my thoughts to visit that holy place, as I have derived so great advantages from it; yet I cannot be so partial as to think, that a man cannot work out his salvation in the world, without retiring to La Trappe or some other strict order; seeing that men of all ranks and conditions in life have been great saints and may be so still, providing they endeavour to improve their talents, and to make a right use of the grace of God, which will never be wanting to those who sincerely ask it: for, our obligations to live in the world and to discharge the duties of the station to which God has called us, do by no means hinder us from leading a Christian life.

We are all of us, as well as the monks of La Trappe, obliged to take up our cross and follow our Saviour; and, although the duty of our station does not permit us to practise so austere a silence as they do, yet we are not less obliged than they are, to govern our tongues in such a manner as not to offend our neighbour. Likewise, although we have not made vows to govern our eyes in the same manner as they have, we are as much obliged as they are, to set a watch on our eyes, so as that we may avoid to look on the dangerous objects which have caused the ruin of so many souls; and, though we are not under an obligation to practise so much abstinence, nor to apply to manual labour as they do, yet

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* Both the English and French copies of this paper are in Nairne's hand; but the half of the English copy is wanting; and there are some corrections in James's own hand, in the French copy, which is now translated.

† James's frequent pilgrimages to La Trappe are often mentioned in lord Middleton and secretary Caryll's letters. He kept up a constant correspondence with the famous Monsieur de Rancè, who was then abbot, and had introduced a still more austere discipline, among an order of Monks, who were already subjected to more strict and rigid rules than any of the other orders. His letters are probably preserved in the Scotch college, at Paris. Nairne, after marking, in the order of time, the dates of as many of the abbot's letters as were preserved in his time, adds, "there are six letters from the King to the abbot, before the date of the abbot's first letter to the King; so that the answers of these letters are wanting, besides letters that are wanting afterwards." The abbot's first letter to him is dated, the 18th of July, 1692; and James's last letter to him is dated, the 20th of September, 1700: "The abbot's letters, in all twenty-two, and there are thirty-

Vol. I.

K k

eight

1695.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 50.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 7. and D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 50. D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 128, 129. D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5. and 32.

1695. we are obliged to observe temperance and sobriety in our eating, and not to allow ourselves to go to any excess in that way; and, if we cannot work with our hands, we ought always to avoid idleness, to apply, with attention, to our own business, and to assist our neighbour as much as we can. Lastly, we should have the same Christian spirit with the monks of La Trappe, and allow ourselves to be guided by the same maxims; and each, in his station and manner, should endeavour to work out his own salvation, with the same care, and the same fear and trembling as they do. They are men like us, and we are under the same obligations with them. Jesus Christ died for us all; and we are all equally obliged to follow his steps and to obey his precepts; to be humble and patient, and always to remember, that, without these two Christian virtues, we cannot hope to persevere in our duty, nor to hinder our abandoning ourselves to the false and deceitful maxims of the world, to which we will be easily enticed, by the false example of those who follow them, and who, for the most part, discover their fallacy and deceitfulness but too late.

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 7.

"His Majesty's thanksgiving to God, for the particular benefits bestowed upon him."*

I ought daily to praise God, for the mercies he has shewn towards me, during the whole course of my life; and in particular,

For my making my escape out of the hands of those rebels, who, some months after, murdered the King, my father.

For his protecting me, in all the battles, sieges, and fights I have been in, both at land and at sea; and for delivering me from many other dangers I have been exposed to, on both these elements.

For giving me a healthful body and patience of mind to endure many and great injuries; and for preserving me hitherto from the snares and plots of my enemies.

And, above all, I ought to praise Almighty God, for his opening my eyes and making me a true convert to his holy church;

And for his having touched my heart, with a true sense of my past sins; humbly praying him, at the same time, to continue his grace to

eight of the King's to the abbot; so, if the abbot has but answered all his Majesty's letters, as probably he has, there are sixteen of the abbot's letters wanting."

* This paper is only in English and in Nairne's hand; but the words are evidently James's.
me,

me, and every day to increase in me a greater abhorrence of them; so that I may not fall into any of them again: and humbly acknowledging, that I have justly deserved, for my manifold and great sins, all the afflictions and mortifications he has been pleased to lay on me.

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Praying him also, that if, at any time hereafter, it shall be his holy will to lay any further punishments upon me, he will give me patience to bear them, and an entire resignation to all his decrees concerning me; and finally such a proportion of his holy spirit, as to keep me from falling into those sins which are more incident to my age and condition, that so, at last, I may obtain eternal life.

Another.

I thank thee, O God, for all the favours which thou hast done me; and particularly, for having saved me from the hands of the rebellious parricides, who put to death the King, my father.

Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 50.

For having protected me, in all the combats, sieges, and battles, in which I have been, by sea and by land; and for having delivered me from so many other dangers, to which I have been exposed.

For having re-established the King, my brother, in his kingdoms, and for having recovered me from the small-pox, which, some years before, had carried off some of the royal family.

For having given me such good health and patience to suffer so many injuries, and for having preserved me till now from all the snares of my enemies.

For having touched my heart, with a true sense of my past sins and a regret for them: a favour, which I beseech God to continue to me; and to augment in me, day by day, a detestation of my faults.

And above all, I thank God, for having opened my eyes and converted me to the true church.

I humbly acknowledge, that I have justly deserved all the afflictions and mortifications, which it hath pleased God to send upon me; and that I would deserve still greater, considering the magnitude and multitude of my sins. For which reason, when it shall please God to inflict upon me other punishments for my sins than those which I have already suffered, I most humbly beseech him to grant me patience to support them; and an

1696. entire resignation to his will, in all things: and, lastly, I ask of him a sufficient portion of his holy spirit, to preserve me from all the sins to which persons of my age and condition are liable, so as that I may obtain eternal life.

1696. E X T R A C T I.

Carte's
Extracts.

On the proposal, for a descent with ten or twelve thousand men, the duke of Berwick was sent to England to persuade the King's friends to rise first; only fourteen thousand troops, then in England. They could not assemble or rise, till his landing, else the English fleet would interpose; but would, the moment the King was ashore, in their several counties. Mr. Powel was sent over, in January or February, to persuade the King to come with that force and to give reasons for it. All things were ready at the end of February. On the twenty-fifth, the King of France sent to the King to go to Calais, where the King arrived on the second of March. A proposal had been made, at the end of 1693, for seizing and bringing off the prince of Orange; but the King rejected it. It was afterwards proposed by others; and again rejected. In the year 1695, one Clinch proposed it, and desired a warrant to empower him. The King rejected it, and charged him not to meddle in it, or speak more about it. Yet, when he came to England, he did to his own club, and to Porter and Parkins. Charnock doubted of Clinch*.

E X-

Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 5.

* Clinch, it would appear, was too precipitate. Lord Middleton writes to him, on the 30th April, 1695.—“ Last night, I received yours of the eleventh instant. I confess, I was surprized to find, that you reckon still on a thing, which was laid aside, for the present, when you was here; otherwise, you would have desired to carry with you, what you now so earnestly press for. You may remember, that the protesting of the bill was judged to be a total disappointment, for this season; because the market would be over, before the necessary commodities could be provided, without which, we shall not find our account. Mr. Benson [Fr. King] is gone to a farm of his, above fifty miles off, to see what condition his cattle are in; and is not to return, in three weeks, which would occasion a delay in this matter, were there no other cause to be assigned for it. This is too plain to want a proof. However, you may be assured, that no endeavours shall be wanting, in providing what is necessary for the first market.”

Ibid.

On the first of May, Middleton writes in the same strain to his correspondent Syson, either of Clinch or some other person, who was suspected, about this time.—“ Mr. Har-
rison.

EXTRACT II.

The King is pressed again to make another attempt. He was prevailed upon, by conceiving the kingdom to be much better disposed, and the conjuncture more favourable. Before the King entered upon his expedition, he found great difficulties about wording his declaration, for the Calais expedition. Melfort had been dismissed at the solicitations of his friends in England. Middleton, who succeeded him, was of opinion, that the King ought to adhere to his last declaration. The King left St. Germain, February 28th. The troops intended for the invasion began to draw near Dunkirk and Calais. He was hastened off too soon, by

Macpherson's
Extracts.

rison [K. James] bid me tell you, in answer to the last paragraph of yours, dated the twentieth of March, that he had an ironmonger here, whom you might employ, as occasion served. But, notwithstanding, if you had a mind to be rid of a couple of that trade, he approved of the proposal; and, in that case, they may be sent hither to receive further directions."

On the twenty-seventh of May, Middleton writes to Mr. Chapman.—"I received the favour of yours of the eighteenth of April, with the inclosed for Mr. Artley [K. James], as likewise that of the twenty-fourth, which came together. I should be sorry that our banker [Fr. King] wanted will or power. Many rich men have no money at home. At some times, unforeseen accidents may contribute to that, as in this case; but, therefore, you ought not to despair of payment. I have endeavoured to make this truth appear as plain to you and your partners, as was possible; and I am sorry to find, that you will not believe it. I am sure you cannot reproach me, that I ever went about to impose on you."

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 5.

On the 27th of May, 1695, he writes to his correspondent Syson. "I return you most humble thanks, for the favour of yours of the 24th of April. The contents of it were very seasonable to comfort us. I wish I could do you the like service. But things are here, in the posture they were, which I need not repeat; and Mr. Harrison [K. James] being to write to you, this trouble will be but short. Clinch is just come: but we have not had time yet to enquire concerning the condition of the factory. I am very desirous to know what credit he has on the exchange; and where he is judged to be most useful."

Ibid.

Upon the 21st of July, his lordship writes to Chapman.—"I cannot observe that men's malice has taken place against Clinch, though I am a living witness of their honest endeavours that way. There is nothing so plain to me, as that an election cannot be carried, but by gaining of votes. It is the only way friends can employ themselves in; and, when any freeholder signifies his promise, he shall not fail of an ample return from the gentleman himself."

the

1696. the court of France. The alarm was taken, before things were ripe; and the intended expedition fell to the ground. Besides the misfortunes common to this expedition with the rest of the King's attempts, it brought obloquy upon him, by its being thought that he was privy to, or approved of, the design on the person of the prince of Orange. Certain gentlemen, thinking to do the King good service by it, combined among themselves. Their first project was to surprize and seize the prince of Orange, and carry him into France. But finding that impracticable, if they scrupled his life, they were by degrees drawn into a resolution of attacking him as he came from Hampton Court, or from hunting; and if they found no possibility of carrying him off alive, to make no difficulty of killing him. There is no occasion to argue upon this point, the King was neither privy to this design, nor did he commission the persons; though he suffered most undeservedly, both in his reputation and interest: for those unfortunate gentlemen, by mistaking messages on the one hand, and their too forward zeal on the other, the most of them lost their own lives, and furnished an opportunity to the King's enemies of renewing their calumnies against him, and fix the people and parliament, who otherwise began to waver, in the prince of Orange's interest more than ever. Crosby, it is more than probable, was employed by the prince of Orange, to persuade the King to the measure. His earnestness in this, both in words and by his letter, requesting permission from England, made the King suspect him; and all the answer he made was, that he thought him mad.

The commission the King gave to Sir George Berkley and others was in order to a general insurrection of the Jacobites; which he understood they were to make as soon as he appeared on the French coast, with such a force as was agreed upon. The court of France was of the same opinion, and ordered their troops not to put to sea till they heard of it. The King's friends on the other hand, meant that the King should land first. The matter was like to come to nothing, when they waited thus for one another. The prince of Orange's affairs had not now a favourable aspect. The new-called parliament were resty and refractory. Sunderland, who had advised the dissolution of his old parliament, began now to be suspected by him. The King's party, called Jacobites by way of distinction, thought it proper to blow the coals, as much as possible.

possible. They pressed hard for men and ships, for the beginning of the spring. They now asked but 10 or 12 thousand men. Some of them even wrote to the King, that they were persuaded, that could the King but once come to London, or some other considerable town, without any force, that the greatest part of the nation would rise and restore him. The King communicated this news to his most Christian Majesty; and he was, at last, encouraged to give the men; together with things necessary for a descent for the beginning of February. He still pressed, that the King's friends should rise first.

1696.

The duke of Berwick was accordingly sent to England to head them. Many officers went to England and Scotland; particularly many gentlemen, who were wearied to serve as common men. The King's friends declared it impossible to rise till the King should land; but that as soon as he should come, they should all run to their arms. Their reply was so reasonable, that it could not be answered. A mistake in discourse with Mr. Powel, who had come to St. Germain, with an account of the state of England, was the thing that prevailed with the King to move them to it. Mr. Powel spoke with so much zeal, that the King thought, that the Jacobites proposed to rise, when they should hear of his design to pass into England; and, before Mr. Powel had put his request into writing, the King happened to meet with the most Christian King, and told him, his friends in England were ready to rise whenever he required them. The King perceived, when Mr. Powel committed his message to writing, that he had been mistaken. But for fear of alarming the French ministers, he did not think it proper to stop their preparations, by unsaying what he had said. The most Christian King's orders were so well obeyed, by Mr. Ponchartrain of the marine, and Barbesieux of the land department, that things were ready, at the time appointed, which was the end of February.

Though things were carried on with all imaginable secrecy, it could not be possible to assemble 3 or 400 sail of great and small vessels, from different ports, without making some noise. The Dutch believed, that the French had a design on Zealand, and sent thither troops. No design was suspected to be laid against England, till it was heard the King had gone for Calais, which the most Christian King thought fit he should do, as the transports were to rendezvous there on the 25th of February.

He

1696. He sent Pontchartrain to the King, on that day, and, as the secret could be kept no longer, he said, he advised him, if he thought fit, to go down to the sea-side; but not to let the men embark till he heard of the proposed insurrection in England. The most Christian King proposed to come the next day, to St. Germain, to settle the last measures with the King. He came accordingly. He repeated what his minister had said; and still taking it for granted, that the rising would begin before the King could reach Calais, he pressed, for that very reason, his setting out immediately. But though the King had no great mind to go, till he had a return from the duke of Berwick, who had not been gone a fortnight; yet, for certain reasons, he thought fit not to mention it; and acquiesced in going in two days. He arrived at Calais, on the 2d of March.

The King met at St. Dennis a servant, from the duke of Berwick, with a letter to Middleton. The duke himself, having his chaise broke, remained at Clermont, till it should be mended. The King understood from some hints, in the letter, that he had not succeeded. He acquainted the most Christian King of his doubts. But he resolved to proceed. He came to Clermont. He knew then the whole matter. He ordered Berwick to proceed to Calais. It was a great misfortune, that the most Christian King had not a right notion of the matter from the beginning, and that the King durst not disabuse him, for fear his ministers, who were ever averse to such expeditions, should quash all, without so much as a trial. He still hoped, that something might happen, upon which he could found a request to let the troops sail. He no sooner arrived at Calais, but according to his usual fortune, he found his expectations at an end. Several gentlemen had been seized for an attempt on the prince of Orange's person. England was in a ferment. There could be no expectations that the Jacobites should rise. It was a more than usual trouble to the King to see his project broke, his hopes blasted, his friends ruined, by their pursuing methods contrary to his judgment, and without his consent. Those who were executed declared, indeed, at their deaths, that the King was no ways privy to the design upon the prince of Orange's person. The proposal had been frequently made, for several years, but he always rejected it with vehemence.

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The prince of Orange had a personal pique against Sir John Fenwick, for some reflecting expressions, when he served in Holland; and, according to his wonted clemency, he was resolved to move heaven and earth to have his life. He could not get two witnesses, as the laws of treason require; and he, therefore, caused a bill of attainder to be brought against him, in the house of commons. Thus exerting the utmost extent of the legislative power to take away irregularly one man's life, which could not be of such mighty consequence to the public quiet. Sir John Fenwick's accusation of lord Godolphin, lord Churchill, and admiral Russel, and several others, did great prejudice to the King's affairs. This, instead of appeasing, heightened the prince of Orange's rage against him; and added the weight of these powerful men to the heavy hand of their master. Though Sir John was not believed, it convinced many, that their secrets were not so well kept, as they could wish; and they afterwards gave this, as a reason for discontinuing their correspondence. It was doubtful, whether this was a disadvantage, in respect of such men. It was a check, however, upon better men. The execution of his friends was more affecting to him, than his own misfortunes.

He, however, had still some glimmering views toward a restoration. The prince of Orange's ill state of health made people believe he could not live long. He was become so dropfical, that it became manifest he could be of no long continuance. Had he died, the King would return into England and throw himself on the good-nature of the English, though three men should not follow him. It could not enter into his breast, that the people of England could offer indignities to a heart that loved them so tenderly. But if it was God's will, that he should consummate his sufferings, without any mixture of prosperity, and end his days in banishment, in which so great a part of his life had been spent, he resigned himself to the will of providence. But the ill health of the prince of Orange raised a new obstacle. The princess of Denmark, though she had all along kept up a fair correspondence with the King, full of assurances of duty and repentance, began now to be allured, with the hopes of the crown. She wrote to the King to know, whether he would please to permit her to accept the crown, should the prince of Orange die, and it be offered to her, according to the act of settle-

1696. ment made in the convention. She accompanied this request, with a seeming sense of her duty, and a readiness to make restitution, when opportunity should serve; and that should she refuse it, considering the present disposition of the kingdom, it would only remove the King the further from the hopes of recovering his right, by putting the government into worse hands, out of which he would not so easily retrieve it. But this was no way suiting to the King's temper. He was not for permitting ill, that good might come of it. He could suffer injustice with patience; but he could never be brought to countenance it; besides he knew, that of all restitutions, none is harder to make than that of a crown. The King excused himself to his daughter; and his resolution of putting himself in the hands of his subjects, put an end to the proposal.

But these were views at a distance. The King turned his thoughts to reap a Christian fruit, from the seeds of affliction. But while he was turning his thoughts on a heavenly crown, an earthly one was offered to him; not indeed that which was his due, and which for that reason alone he desired, but that of Poland. His most Christian Majesty sent M. de Pomponne to the King; that the abbe Polignac, his ambassador in Poland, wrote, that the people of that country had thoughts of him in the election they were to make of a new King. That some particular diets had already named them. The King's friends were sanguine for it. But he made no other reply, than that he should ever retain a grateful remembrance of the esteem and kindness those persons had shewn him. That, however, he could not accept it if offered; much less would he use any endeavours to obtain it. That it would amount to an abdication indeed of what was really his due; and therefore was resolved to remain as he was, though he had less hopes of being restored than ever, rather than do the least act to prejudice his family. That there could not be a greater instance, that it was the public good and the interest of the prince his son, and not a thirst after rule and dominion, that made the King never lay aside the endeavours of regaining his right.

The King received intelligence of a treaty of peace being on foot prejudicial to his interest. He wrote thus, upon the occasion, to the abbe la Trappe: "Though his most Christian Majesty has the same affection and consideration for me he ever had; yet he may, perhaps, think his
condition

condition such as to oblige him to make a certain step, for the good and peace of his kingdom; which, I am confident, he will have a great reluctancy to, on my account; and, therefore, I believe it will give him full as much or more trouble, than it will to me, who have been inured to contradictions all my life*." The King was not mistaken. The winter passed in preparations for war; but a secret negociation was carried on in the mean time.

1696.

1697. EXTRACT I.

Plenipotenaries sent, in March, to Ryfwick, a house belonging to the prince of Orange. The King had no more doubt, that a peace would be made exclusive of his interest. He was much surpris'd, considering the character of his most Christian Majesty and the success of France. He never thought, that he would have been thus deserted. In December 1696, the King sent an agent to Vienna. But the Emperor was deaf to his reasons.

1697.
Macpherfon's
Extracts.

* Nairne, making a list of Monsieur de Rancè the famous abbot of La Trappe's letters to James, according to their dates, marked the subject of a letter that prince received from the abbot this year, "Answer to difficulties, 4th October 1696." There must have been something remarkable in these difficulties, and in the answer, as Nairne does not mention the subject of any other letter, and we have probably these very difficulties in the following paper, in Nairne's hand, entitled, "Questions propos'd by his Majesty to his confessor."

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 50.

Qu. 1. Whether, considering the life I have led, and that my age, as well as the station I am in, does hinder me from using those penances and mortifications, which would be requisite to shew the abhorrence and detestation I have of my past offences against so good and gracious a God, I ought not to be content, as a greater penance than can be inflicted on me in this world, not to make use of the usual prayers of the church, to endeavour, by them, to shorten my time of being in purgatory? And whether, what I have design'd for that use may not be better employed in charities and praying for all the faithful departed?

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. xi. fol.
No. 7.

2. Whether it is not more meritorious and better to lay aside, whilst one is alive, for such charities and other pious uses, as one designs, than to leave the burden on one's heirs and successors? And whether it be not deceiving one's self to expect any merit for such gifts, as one leaves to be paid by his heirs, after his decease, since it is a burden upon them, and that one does not feel the inconveniency of it one's self?

1697.

E X T R A C T II.

Though * no one could blame the King's conduct, in this total disclaiming all treaties and accommodations, when he found the confederate princes no ways disposed to do him justice; yet there was one article privately stipulated, which, had not the King too hastily rejected, might have rendered his posterity easy, and his people happy. His most Christian Majesty had underhand prevailed with the prince of Orange to consent that the prince of Wales should succeed to the throne of England after his death. That mercenary prince, it seems, had no great regard to the pretended ends of his coming, nor to the acts of parliament, which excluded the prince of Wales, and all of that persuasion, from the succession. He had, under the notion of preserving the church of England, usurped the kingdom; and, now, (that the work was done) those pangs of conscience were vanished, and he was very easy on that head, and ready to leave the church to Providence for the future, not caring under whose government it fell afterwards, so he was secure of the throne for his life. For this reason, he shewed no great averfeness to the prince of Wales's having the preference to those who were named by the pretended act of settlement. How he would have brought about in parliament this matter, does not appear; because it never came to a trial. But when this seeming advantage to the family was proposed to the King, he could not support the thoughts, he said, of making his own child an accomplice to his unjust dethronement; so immediately he told his most Christian Majesty, (who had first made the overture to him) that though he could suffer with Christian patience the prince of Orange's usurpation upon *him*, he could never consent that his own son should do it too. This was a point too nice to be pressed, in case of the least reluctance; so nothing more was said upon it. But had the King taken leisure to weigh more maturely the matter, he might have found means, perhaps, of reconciling that apparent incongruity, and for the sake of his son and posterity have overlooked the injustice done to himself. But

* This is a continuation of the Life of James, written by another hand. But as it was done under his own inspection, and corrected by himself, it possesses as much authority, as if written by him in his own hand.

the King was better at suffering injuries, than at conniving at them; and the least shadow of an injustice was enough to damp, in his acceptance, the best laid project in the world.

1697.

The King arrived at Fountainbleau, the very day the news of the peace of Ryswick came. The King having long foreseen the blow, was the less surpris'd; and so far from bursting out into expostulations and complaints, that, forgetting himself, he seem'd only to compassionate his most Christian Majesty, as if he had been the great and only sufferer in the point.

The bill of banishment was a new source of trouble and expence to the King.

E X T R A C T III.

When the news of the conclusion of the treaty arriv'd, the King was at Fountainbleau. He arriv'd there the very day of its coming. The prince of Orange, soon after the peace, sent his great favourite, Bentinck, in quality of ambassador, to Paris; and press'd for the King's removal from St. Germain's. In the first conference, between that minister and the mareschal de Boufflers, he insist'd on the same thing. But he was cut short, by the most Christian King; who said, that if the prince of Orange stood upon that article, he would banish all thoughts of treating with him. This discouraged not the prince of Orange. He still insist'd upon that point. But the most Christian King was immovable. The conditions of removal were the payment of the Queen's jointure. The most Christian King chose rather to leave that money in his hands, than exasperate him by demanding it, according to agreement. Bentinck said, that Boufflers promis'd, secretly, to remove the King. Boufflers denied the fact. But the most Christian King was not dispos'd to argue matters with the prince of Orange.

 1698.

The prince of Orange ill-treated by his parliament. They tore his laurels from his brows, and placed them on their own. They made him account, like a steward, for all the money they put in his hands. They gave him no settled revenue; but from year to year. They forced him

1698.

to

1698. to send away his Dutch troops; though he truckled so far, as to send a letter, by way of petition, to the house of commons. They were deaf to his intreaties, and despised his servile suit, as much as they laughed at the underhand threats of his creatures. They justly put him in mind of his origin, and the hands that made him; and gave him to understand, that they called him to be their servant, and not to domineer over them: and that, in case they discovered the least bad aspect towards their liberties and properties, they knew how to make a sacrifice of their own workmanship to a fresh establishment, if their rights seemed to require it. This was a mighty humiliation to that prince, whose aims and conduct smelt so rank of conquest, that pamphlets, which seemed to support that notion, had not only been common, but allowed of by his authority. The treatment which doctor Burnet's treatise on that subject met with, checked others; and tended to teach the prince of Orange, that as he owed his creation to the parliament, so he must also derive from them his subsistence. But the King looked upon him, more as the instrument of God's justice against himself, than as his enemy. He never said any [p. 660.] harsh things of him himself, nor would he permit it in others; nor could any make their court worse, than by reflecting, in his presence, upon his worst enemies. He even never failed to pray for them. [p. 670.]

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1688.

THOUGH the Memoirs of James the Second throw the newest and best light on the transactions of the important year 1688, some other original papers concerning that period, equally unknown to the public, have fallen into the hands of the Editor from various quarters. They are printed, in the order of their dates, with such remarks as are necessary to make them understood. Though the papers published under this year are not, perhaps, of such consequence as those that follow them, they contain some anecdotes that ought not to be concealed from the world. Those who know best the history of this country will relish them the most.

1688.

Skelton, Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of France, to the Earl of Sunderland.*

My Lord, Paris, $\frac{1}{2}$ June, 1688.

ON Thorfday morning, about fix of the clock, the courier which came to the cardinal nuncio, brought me the happy news of the birth of a prince; for which greatest of blessings, Heaven be praised!

June.
Mr. Astle's
Collection,
vol. ii. fol.

* Sir Bevill Skelton had been envoy from England to the States of Holland in the year 1685. His vigilance in that office, prevailed with James to send him, in the same capacity, to Paris. His attachment to his master induced him, without any instructions from his court, to procure, that the count D'Avaux should present a threatening memorial to the States, upon the armament preparing in their ports, in the month of August in the present year. James, offended at his officiousness, recalled him from France, and committed him to the Tower. But he was soon after set at liberty, and made governor of the fortress in which he had been confined.

I imme-

1688.
June.

I immediately thereupon went to Versailles, where monsieur de Barillon's courier had brought the news at twelve the night before. I found soe generall a joy in all people there, as I never yet saw upon any occasion. His most Xtian Majesty, at coming from councill to go to masse, called me to him, and, with a satisfaction in his face not to be exprest, told me, that next to the King my master, noe man had a greater joy than he, for the news of a prince being born; and, says he, I am the more pleased, that Barillon writes 'tis a strong and healthful child. And the dukes de la Tremuville and Rochfaucau, with monsieur de Croissy, whoe were at his waking, at which time the news was brought him by the latter, told me, they never saw any man soe joyfull.

His most Xtian Majesty was also pleased to take notice to me of the imprisonment of the bishops; which, till then, I was ignorant of. He very much applauds the King's resolution in that affair; and said, he was ready to give his Majesty all manner of assistance that was in his power; which he spoke in such a cordial manner, that the sincerity thereof is not to be doubted. Madame la Dauphine is indisposed, and in bed; yet sent for me, and said, though she saw no man, yet she could not forbear rejoicing with me, upon account of the great news, and exprest great joy: and the little duke of Burgundy, whilst I was talking to madame la mareschalle de la Motte, of his own accord, told me, that he would that night, for joy, order threescore fuses to be fired. Madame la mareschalle intends, in October next, to give me something to send to the Queen, to be hung about the prince's neck, which prevents the inconveniencys that commonly attend the breeding of teeth. The same has been used to these three yong princes, with good successe. We had noe letters yesterday from England; soe that I know not as yet, in what manner to make publick rejoycings, and must wayte your lordship's directions about it; which, I hope, will come this day, something extraordinary being expected upon this occasion. In the meane time, I have adventured to give orders for the preparing fire-works. The cheapest, together with the modell of such as are propper, will amount to above 200 pistolls; the device of which I will send your lordship. Count Gramont begins his journey to England on Monday. Many persons of quality intend to accompagny him.

Orders

Orders are already sent down to the intendent to confiscate the estates of the Spanish subjects, in the French territories in Flanders, which amount to two millions, yearly revenue.

1688.
June.

A very odd medall is come from Holland hither. I doubt not but your lordship has seen it. The impudence of it is matter enough for discourse at this court.

The ten ships that are commanded back from mareschal d'Etrée, cannot be at Brest in three weeks yet, at soonest. The elections of the bishops of Munster and Paderborne is deferred till the 25th of the next. It is believed, monsieur Plettenberg will carry it for Munster. He will have the interest of this court on his side, being thought a man for their purpose; and the elector of Brandenburg, whose has a considerable interest there, and opposes the bishop of Breslaw's election, will make it the more easy for this gentleman.—There is a report here, that the deposed sultan and his son are both strangled.

I was misinformed in marquis de Preulis's will; he having left his whole estate, as madame d'Isenguier told me herself, to mademoiselle d'Humiers; and not so much as a legacy to his or her relations.

The enclosed is to give cover to a letter of the cardinal nuncio's to his Majesty. Upon which occasion I have presumed to express my joy also. I am, my Lord, &c.

B. SKELTON.

Monsieur made all the ladies at St. Clou drink the prince of Wales's health on Thursday last.

The following letter having been written by a lawyer, contains the best state of the arguments used at the trial of the seven bishops. No apology is necessary for inserting here a paper, which throws a new light on so important a case.

1688.

June.

Mr. Robert Price, to the Duke of Beaufort.—An Account of the Trial of the seven Bishops.*

SIR,

Lincoln's Inn, June 30th, 1688.

Nairne's
Papers, A. L.
fol.

YESTERDAY, being St. Peter's day, the seven bishops were brought to their trial, upon the information of publishing a libel, about their refusal to read, or to cause to be read, the King's declaration. Their trial held from nine in the morning till near seven in the evening. The King's evidence, to the number of twelve, laboured to prove the bishops hands to the petition; which was done obscurely. Lord Sunderland was sent for, to prove the publication of the libel. His evidence was, that, at the request of the bishops, he brought them to the King, to whom they delivered a paper; but could not say that it was the same for which the information was there exhibited. The council for the bishops insisted upon their not proving, that the bishops wrote these hands; next, that not publishing was proved; and if so, that it was no libel. There Pollexfen and Mr. Finch took no small pains to inveigh against the King's dispensing power. Serjeant Pemberton said, that what the bishops did, was that which became them as peers; and, if the dispensing power was against law, how came they to be criminals, for not doing that which was against law? and said farther, that he could shew several judgments in parliament, and in cases in law, where the dispensing power was denied. The council for the King waved the point, though Mr. Solicitor was fiercely earnest against the bishops, and took the management upon himself; Mr. Attorney's province being to put in a smoothe question now and then. Mr. justice Powel declared himself very freely, that he could not find the petition to be a libel; for then it must be false, scandalous, and malicious. False it was not; because he took the law to be, that the King had not a dispensing power; for, if he had, most part of the statute-books might be dispensed with, and

* Price was afterwards one of the barons of the Exchequer. He rendered himself remarkable, by a spirited speech in the house of commons, in the year 1696, against some grants of the demesnes of the prince of Wales, made by King William, to his favourite, the earl of Portland. Many of his original letters to the duke of Beaufort are in the hands of the Editor.

there

there would be no need of parliaments. Scandalous or malicious it was not; because drawn with all privacy, and presented with all humility. Mr. justice Holloway had a mind to say somewhat to the purpose; but did declare against the dispensing power. The chief justice doubted, as to the proof of the publishing; but took the petition to be a libel. Justice Allybon believed throughout, and doubted nothing. The jury withdrew. The hall being full, and the Palace-yard, they made three huzzas that were heard at the Temple. The jury staid till nine this morning, Arnold a brewer till then dissenting, when they brought in the bishops Not guilty; which was followed by so many shouts in the hall, that it was with much difficulty they could be quieted. This is the result of the long expected cause. The court of King's Bench was yesterday and to-day very full of the nobility and gentry of the best quality. I doubt this day's work will give justice Powel a remove; and, it is thought, Holloway also; there being candidates enough for the vacancies. Mr. serjeant Lehunt had his train carried through Westminster-hall, which is not usual; but whether ominous of promotion, I know not. It is, however, a plain demonstration of his trainbearer's ignorance.

1688.

June.

The Bishop of Winchester to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Farnham-castle, Aug. 22d, 1688.

Yesterday, the King having appointed to hunt near this place, I went out in my coach to wayt on him, at the place where he had ordered his horses to meet him, when (the weather proving very wet) he made a short stay, and returned towards Windsor. He discoursed with me very kindly, without any the least reflection; and, at parting, promised to take a repast with me in his way when he went to Portsmouth; which, how suddenly it may be I cannot tell: but I shall take the first opportunity personally to pay my duty to you.

August.
Tanner's
Collection,
Oxon.
vol. xxviii.

I am your Grace's

In all obedience,

P. WINCHESTER.

1688.

September.
Carte's
Memoran-
dum Book,
in green
parchment,
p. 6.

"Anecdote about the intelligence given by Lewis the 14th, to King James the 2d, of the Dutch armament, and their design of invading England, with another of investing Maestricht with 30,000 men, and enjoining secrecy.—But he discovered it to lord Sunderland, who told it to the Dutch."

March 5th, **T**HE duke of Chandos said, that Lewis the 14th, King 1733. of France, having certain intelligence of the design of the Dutch armament, wrote a letter with his own hand to King James the 2d; and told him, it was designed against England; offering, at the same time, to prevent the invasion, to invest Maestricht with 30,000 men, and enjoining him secrecy in the affair. King James wrote him word, in answer, that the King of France was mistaken; for he was sure the Dutch armament was intended to assist the Hugonots of France. Lewis the 14th wrote back, in his own hand, that he was but too sure of his intelligence; and repeated his offer, in pressing terms, of investing Maestricht. But King James could not be persuaded of it; and, by the return of this 2d express, the King of France had intelligence, that the Dutch had thrown 6000 men into Maestricht. Seeing his secret discovered, he expostulated with King James about it; assuring him, that he had spoke of it to no body but Louvois; and if that minister had blabbed the secret, he would disgrace him immediately, and punish him severely; but desired King James to deal truly, and tell him, upon honour, whether he had imparted it to any body. Upon which, he owned, that he had spoke of it to lord Sunderland; but to no body else. The King of France saw, thereby, who had betrayed the secret.

October.

Mem. d'A-
vaux.

ONE White, an Irish papist, who had obtained from the emperor the title of marquis of Albeville, was James's envoy at the Hague, in the year 1688. He had been placed in that station by Sunderland, on account of his profligacy, as a fit person to be tampered with by the prince of Orange. Albeville made the most of his situation. He had, at once, a pension from the prince, and another from the French King. He betrayed James to the prince of Orange, and the prince of Orange to Lewis the Fourteenth. Had he been honest, he was a man of no abilities;

abilities; and his loose and contradictory accounts of the preparations in Holland might have proceeded from his weakness, had they not even been the result of his knavery. The following are extracts from his letters upon that occasion.

1688.
October.

Albeville's letter from the Hague, Oct. 7th, to the King.—An account of the Dutch armament.

“HERBERT went yesterday to the fleet, with some English volunteers, to embark and sail, with most of the men of war, towards England, and fight the English fleet; and to be masters of the sea before they land. The men of war sailed yesterday from the Texel to join the fleet. The prince of Orange's baggage was put on board; he not to go on board till the middle of next month. Their fleet are more numerous than the English; and they are confident of beating it, unless it retires to Chatham. They propose to land at Ramsgate and Margate, where they have already magazines of provisions.”

Extracts from
Mr. Pepys's
MSS. in
Carte's Me-
morandum
book, mark-
ed vol. xi.
Quarto.

Mr. Pepys, in answer, says, the King had, many days before, suggested, that he apprehended they might not land in those parts; but elsewhere, in Kent, to make themselves masters of Chatham, and the ships there. Removing, shifting, or misplacing the buoys at the mouth of the river, as far as the Staveing, may be of use. *Qu.* About hawling the ships at Chatham to the off-side of the river, by which they would be under security of the pass at Rochester-bridge?

Albeville to the King and Lord Sunderland, Oct. 30th.—Intelligence of the embarkation continued.

ALL his expresses, sent by divers ways, were detained on the frontiers, the public boats stopped, and all passages whatever by sea or land, by a very strict order from the prince of Orange, who sailed yesterday.

Extracts from
Mr. Pepys's
MSS. in
Carte's Me-
morandum
Book, mark-
ed vol. xi.
4to.

Burnet is embarked. Stuart, Ferguson, and Wildman are embarked, with lord Macclesfield. All the rebels of the old and new stamp go along.

The princess will not be seen, till she hears out of England from the prince of Orange. Fagel assures, that they have a paper signed by five hundred

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hundred and seventy of the chiefest bishops, nobility, and gentry of England, desiring the prince's coming over, and, that they would take other measures if he did not. Lord Lorn, the earl of Argyle's eldest son, arrived here lately and is embarked.

If men come in apace, as they doubt not but they will, it is resolved to form two armies, one the prince's and the other Schomberg's. They make no question, but all Scotland will declare presently. It is certain that the Spanish envoy had prayers said in his chapel for the success of the prince's design. If your Majesty take notice of it, they will fly in my face. The prince of Orange twice refused me audience before his departure, whereof all the Hague took notice. So unsatisfied he seemed to be with your Majesty's late proclamation, that he begins his expedition with affronting your Majesty. If her royal highness was to be seen, I doubt whether she would see me, since the prince would not. She would not see me when I brought the last letters to her, but sent to me to send them to her. There is not in hell a wickeder crew of men, than most of the English and Scots that go over.

This inclosed memorial, which I sent some days past to lord Middleton, by being sent by my express, I believe is detained, was penned by Burnet. The devils in hell could not invent more for the supposition of the prince of Wales than he does. By what he says of Witnesses, your Majesty may judge what he aimed at.

Albeville to Lord Sunderland, 31st October.

THE Dutch fleet of fifty-two men of war, four hundred sail in all, failed yesterday, about two or three o'clock in the afternoon, from the flats near the Brill, with the wind S. W. and by S. By the time they had been two or three hours at sea, the wind became more westerly, and has blown all night and morning hard at West, which may probably have done them some damage.

The prince of Orange went to sea, on board a ship of thirty-two guns, and Marechal Schomberg with him. Admiral Battinent and vice admiral Allemonde are with the fleet, and command two capital men of war. They pretend to land in Scotland; but Burlington-bay is the more probable

bable place. If the wind comes southerly again, they go to the North; if it is North or N. E. they will be for the West of England. They say they are equally provided for both. Above twenty English pilots are with them; and they give sixty pounds to a master pilot of Hull, when they get to shore. One man of war was stranded and another disabled, in going out from the coasts of Holland.

1688.
October.

The state of the manner of restoring Magdalene College, at Oxford, has been much misrepresented by party writers. The following account of that affair was written by one of the expelled fellows. As he was not from interest partial to James, credit may be given to whatever he advances in favour of that prince. The original is well known and deposited in the university at Oxford.

Case of Magdalene College.

The King sent for the bishop of Winchester, visitor of Magdalene College, and ordered him to settle the society regularly and statutably. This the bishop, upon my meeting with him, acquainted me with, and ordered me to meet him at Whitehall next morning, which I did accordingly, just coming with some other bishops from the King. He took me down with him from the room adjoining to my lord Sunderland's office; hoping to have had the warrant under the King's hand and seal ready. After about an hour's attendance, Mr. Bridgeman came to the office, and told him, that he should certainly have it in the afternoon. The bishop then desired me to go with him to the Cockpit, where he was going to wait upon the princess Anne; telling me by the way, that he would not stir from court till he had obtained the warrant. Upon his going into the princess's chamber, he bid me come to him at his lodgings in Old Palace-Yard, at five o'clock in the afternoon, and bring doctor Younger along with me. We both came and he shewed us the King's order, which was very full; but of which I thought it no way becoming to desire him to give me leave to take a copy. I asked him, when his lordship would restore us. He said, that he would not pitch at that time upon a certain day; that he would make haste to Farnham, and that we should hear thence; but advising me, that I would go down, in the mean while, to secure the college plate and gold in the Tower, the Registers, and the like, lest they might be embazzeled and taken away. I told him, that in the circum-

Carte's Ex-
tracts from
Dr. Smith's
loose papers,
marked
No. 12.
Oct. 12.

stances

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stances I was then in, being actually dispossessed of my fellowship, I could not, but under his lordship's authority, ratified by his Episcopal seal. Besides, upon leaving the college, I had made a vow to God, that I would not enter in again, but when I was restored. Why, says he, this is in order to your restoration. So the discourse fell; and he went soon after, I think the next day, for I did not see him afterwards, to Farnham.

A letter from the bishop of Winchester, visitor of Magdalene College, throws further light on a subject, for which James has been, without reason, much blamed. But though that prince was guilty of an act of folly, in depriving the fellows, he appears to have known nothing of the delay in their being restored.

The Bishop of Winchester to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Tanner's collection in the Bodleian library, Oxon.

May it please your Grace,

I Intended to morrow to set forward for Oxon, and ordered several of the fellows of Magdalene to meet me there, on Tuesday and Wednesday at the farthest; though I have not seen or heard of the president. But, about two of the clock, I received the inclosed order, which stops my journey for the present; and I shall accordingly issue forth my citation. All people's mouths are now full of praises for our order, to whom they say, they shall ever owe the preservation of our religion. I beg the favour of your Grace's commands, which shall always be obeyed, by

Farnham Castle,

Your Grace's obedient son and servant,

Oct. 14, 1688.

P. WINCHESTER."

The truth of the following anecdote is established by collateral evidence. The delay in restoring the fellows, however, has been invariably brought as an irrefragable proof of James's design of retracting his concessions, upon hearing that the prince of Orange had been brought back by a storm. This storm certainly happened not till a day or two after Sunderland wrote the official letter, which brought the bishop of Winchester so precipitately to London. Though the folly of James merits no favour, his misfortunes ought to command justice.

An

An anecdote concerning the same subject, from Mr. G. Clark, at Oxford.

"He (Mr. G. Clark) shewed me too Mr. Finch, warden of Allsouls's letter to him of the twenty-first of October, 1688, giving an account of a messenger coming to bishop Mew, at nine the night before, after the bishop was in bed, with an order from Sunderland to the bishop to be at the council on the twenty-second, at ten in the morning*. Upon which the bishop set out on the twenty-first, without restoring the fellows of Magdalene College, though he was come down on purpose for it. No cause was mentioned in the order; but it was a general one to all the council, to be present at the enrolling the depositions of the birth of the prince of Wales. The messenger had gone to Farnham and thence followed the bishop to Oxford. The King, when he saw the bishop at London, asked him if he had restored the fellows; and finding he had not, was very angry and sent him down to do it on the twenty-fifth. The prince of Orange's fleet was drove back by a storm, on the twenty-first of October, O. S. He came that evening into Helveotfluys, with eighty transports; and sent orders next day to Admiral Herbert, to send the transports with the cavalry to him, and told him his resolution to fail the first fair wind. I read several of the prince's letters and lord admiral Herbert's letters proving this fact. So King James could have no notice of it to recall, as is pretended, the order he had given bishop Mew to restore the fellows.

T. CARTE."

Another anecdote concerning the same subject, from Dr. Smith's manuscripts.

The A. B. of Canterbury and several bishops addressed the King; and, among other advices, recommended restoring the president and fellows of Magdalene College.

Carte's Extracts from Dr. Smith's manuscripts, Oxon. Loose papers, No. 12. Oct. 3.

* The following is probably a copy of the circular letters which Sunderland wrote to the bishops at this time.

"The earl of Sunderland to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

My Lord,

Whitehall, 20th of October, 1688.

The King commands me to acquaint your Grace, that he desires you and such others of my lords the bishops as are in town, should attend him upon Monday next, at ten in the morning.

I am, &c.

SUNDERLAND P."

Tanner's collection, vol. xxviii. Oxon.

VOL. I.

N n

On

1688.
October.

On the twelfth, the King sent for the bishop of Winton, the visitor, and ordered him to settle the society regularly.

Oct. 16th.

Citation put on the college gate, ordering the president, fellows, and all persons concerned to meet the visitor on November the second. This was needless. The archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops, uneasy at the delay, signifying it to Winton, he came to Oxford on the twentieth of October. The fellows, expecting to be restored, had been some time waiting him. The King knew nothing of the delay; and, being minded to have a great assembly of lords, bishops, &c. on the twenty-second of October, to satisfy them about the prince of Wales's legitimacy, Winton was sent for among others. An express was sent to Farnham, which followed the bishop to Oxford and delivered to him the letter. The bishop not knowing the meaning of it, and receiving the King's letter on Saturday night, set out next morning without restoring the fellows, who had desired him to do it that morning before he went, it not requiring above an hour's time; and on his refusal, they used rude expressions and behaviour, which put him in a passion and he bid his coachman drive away. The bishop was sent down on Wednesday, and on the twenty-fifth, resettled the college*.

The

* Prefixed to this extract there is an account of the beginning of this affair.

Doctor Thomas Smith's account of the proceedings at Magdalene College.

Carte's Ex-
tracts from
Dr. Smith's
MSS. Oxon.
Loose papers,
No. 12.

On the twenty-sixth of March, Easter-eve, at ten at night, doctor Younger came to doctor Smith, with accounts of an express from lady Shattleworth of her father, doctor Clarke's death, at his house in Lancashire, recommending to him to apply to the chancellor for recommendations to the presidentship, declining it himself.

On Sunday, the tenth of April, in the afternoon, Francis Bagshaw, fellow of Magdalene college, by order of the vice-president and fellows, came to the doctor's lodgings with a petition to the King: "We have been credibly informed, that Mr. Anthony Farmer, who was never of our foundation, has obtained your Majesty's recommendation to be president of this your Majesty's college, in the room of Dr. H. Clarke, lately deceased. We do therefore, with all submission, as becomes your most dutiful and loyal subjects, most humbly represent to your sacred Majesty, that the said Mr. Anthony Farmer is a person, in several respects, incapable of that character, according to our founder's statutes; and do most humbly beseech your Majesty, as your Majesty shall judge fittest in your princely wisdom, either to leave us to the discharge of our duty and consciences, according to your Majesty's late most gracious declaration and our founder's statute;

The prince of Orange set forth in his declaration, that he had been invited over "by divers lords both spiritual and temporal." James desired

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statute; or to recommend such a person as may be most serviceable to your Majesty and this your Majesty's college; and your Majesty's petitioners shall ever pray."

This petition had no date, but was written and subscribed the day before; Mr. Bagshaw and the servant sent up with him, having rode a great part of the night to reach London the next day in good time.

Dr. Smith signed it, and advised to present it to the King that evening as he went or came from the cabinet council. On which he produced an order from the vice-president and fellows, for delivering it to the earl of Sunderland, the lord president, with a letter from the bishop of Winton to him, at which Smith expressed an hearty sorrow. They went immediately to lord Sunderland's lodgings, who had just dined. They were admitted. They told him their business, and gave him the petition and visitor's letter. As they were to wait on him again, he appointed Tuesday morning. Sir Theodore de Vaux told him next day, that no petition had been presented to the King or mentioned in council the night before, which made him fear Sunderland had suppressed the petition.

Tuesday morning, April the twelfth, Smith and Bagshaw went to lord Sunderland's lodgings, and Smith sending in their names, word was brought them, that they must come the next day. They accordingly did so, in the morning. Sunderland, said "Sir, I have delivered bishop Winton's letter and your petition to the King. The King has sent his letter to the college, and he expects to be obeyed; adding, he had nothing more to say." Smith advised Bagshaw to set out that afternoon and carry back the answer to the college. He promised. But Smith having heard, the fellows had resolved to proceed to election, on Friday the fifteenth, he went himself next day, Thursday the fourteenth, in a flying coach to Oxford, where he arrived at nine. Bagshaw either came not or was concealed till next morning. Smith proposed to address the King again. The vice-president agreed to it and the next two seniors, Fairfax and Pudsey; but all the rest rejected it, and went to a present election. They chose Doctor Hough. Dr. Clarke had been recommended by Charles the Second. Mr. Charnock, and Mr. R. had been so chosen a little before. Smith would have gone away, but was not suffered. Charnock and Thompson went away. Hough and Meynard were returned by all the fellows, only two to thirteen. Hough was chosen. Meynard was sent with Hough to the bishop of Winton to be admitted and sworn, which was done immediately. Petition to the duke of Ormonde to desire his interest in favour of the election. His name was published, though he did not subscribe it.

Smith had named two others better qualified. Hough's submission was signed by all the fellows except doctor Fairfax and doctor Smith, who had no occasion, and owned by all the college except the under porter. Obadiah Walker and others were now upbraided for not daring to stand out. This made them evacuate their submission by an equivocal interpretation. The King talking with Dr.

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desired the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, and other prelates then in London, to publish a denial of this declaration. They had all several objections against a publick disavowal, and it has been hitherto a question, whether they were at any pains to vindicate themselves to him in private. But it appears from the following papers, that even the bishop of London, though one of the nine persons who signed the invitation to the prince of Orange, did not scruple to deny this, in the strongest manner to the King.

The Bishop of London to the Archbishop of Canterbury,—wants to know why the Bishops are summoned to attend the King.

Original.
Tanner's collection, vol.
xxviii. Oxon.

“ My Lord, Fulham, October 31, 1688.
I Returned home so late this evening that I could not hope of waiting upon the King this afternoon according to his commands. But, understanding that the rest of your lordships were likewise sent for, I beg to know, only by word of mouth, what the matter is, that I may attend accordingly. My Lord,
Your Grace's most dutiful servant,
H. LONDON.”

Original.

Lord Middleton to the Archbishop of Canterbury.—Summons to attend the King.

“ My Lord, Whitehall, November 1st, 1688.
THE King commands me to acquaint your Grace, that he desires to speak with you at ten, to morrow morning; and that your Grace would bring with you such others of my lords, the bishops, as are in town. I am, My Lord,
Your Grace's most humble servant,
MIDDLETON.”

fellows had not petitioned him before the election; and the vice chancellor saying they had petitioned, “ yes,” said the King, “ after the election.” The visitor inquired of doctor Smith about the exact time.

Great collections were made for the expelled fellows. The princess of Orange sent two hundred pounds from Holland.

Bishop Parker dying, doctor Giffard, titular bishop of Madura, was made president.

The Bishop of London to the King that they invited over the Prince of Orange, as he asserted in his declaration. — *The Bishops deny*

1688.
November.
Original.
Tanner's collection, vol.
xxviii. Oxon.

"My Lord,

November, 1688.

HAVING some necessary business in Essex which calls me away tomorrow for two or three days, I thought it my duty to give you this account.

When I waited upon the King, by his command, on Wednesday morning, the first of November, he told me that he had sent for me, when he had nothing but the declaration of the states of Holland. But that the declaration of the prince of Orange was now come to his hands, out of which he read to me that short paragraph, of the lords temporal and spiritual inviting his highness over; upon which I told him, I was confident the rest of the bishops would as readily answer in the negative as myself; and his Majesty was pleased then to say, he did believe us all innocent. Next he told me, he thought it requisite we should make some public declaration of our innocence in this matter, and likewise an abhorrence. I then desired to see the declaration. But he refused. I told this matter ought to be considered. "Every one," says he, "is to answer for himself. But I will send for my lord of Canterbury, who shall call you together."

On Friday, the second of November, I waited upon the King with my lord of Canterbury and others; when his Majesty told him of the prince's declaration, and made the lord Preston read it. Then he put the question round, which was answered in the negative. The King desired some such denial should be published, saying it would be for his service. But he would not allow time to send for the bishops at a distance. So his Grace told him, he would send for those in and about town to consult about it. Upon which, the King repeated twice, that we should add our dislike; which would be very much for his service."

Reasons

1688.
November.
Original.
Ibid.

Reasons why the Bishops refused to vindicate themselves in a public manner.

“**F**IRST, We humbly beseech your Majesty to receive what we offer in a favourable sense, since we have done nothing that can justly deserve misconstruction.

Secondly, We humbly conceive, that a general clause in a declaration not avowed nor published, is not a sufficient ground for a man or number of men to vindicate themselves, as if they were concerned in it. And further, if this declaration should be owned and published by the prince of Orange, we beg leave to offer it, as our opinion to your Majesty, that it would be a new thing and no good precedent, to put it in the power of a foreign and general accusation to bring your Majesty's subjects in particular, to a vindication of themselves, as if they were regularly accused and legally tried, for a criminal correspondence.

Thirdly, If your Majesty should think fit to make it punishable to read or communicate the declaration; then, by making such an address as is required, we should do an act grounded upon a thing which must not be produced; and consequently we shall not be at liberty to allege the reason of our doing it, which must unavoidably expose us, not only to censure, but suspicion.

Fourthly, As we have in all times adhered to our duty and allegiance, we are the less willing to do any thing now, which may distinguish us as men marked with a particular character of suspicion, since we think our loyalty less blemished by not being called in question, than it would be by the clearest vindication that can be made of it upon this occasion.

Fifthly, We beg leave to observe to your Majesty, that by an address from a few of us, who are now in town, without the concurrence of the greater number who are absent, it would look to the world, as if the bishops (who we hope are very well united) were of different opinions; or that we, who are now here, had more particular reasons of a vindication than the rest; which makes it reasonable for us to be unwilling to come within the danger of such an interpretation.

Sixthly, We consider that the clause in the declaration joineth the lords spiritual and temporal, so that, if it has any meaning, it must intend, that there is a concurrence of many of both orders to invite them to this attempt, which would make it more imperfect for us, even though

all

all the bishops were here to make a separate vindication, where the accusation is joined and comprehends the temporal lords in it. So that, if any notice is to be taken of it, it can be done no where so naturally or with so good effect as in parliament; which, whenever your Majesty shall think fit to call, we resolve to do our duty, and to employ our utmost endeavours for the good of the church and state, and for preventing the miseries which now seem to threaten these distracted kingdoms, and to acquit ourselves in all things which shall be there transacted, as becomes, &c."

1688.
Nov.

George (probably Sir George) Mackenzie to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
—*Hopes his Grace will disavow the Prince of Orange's Declaration.*

Original!
Tanner's
Coll. vol
xxviii, Oxon.

May it please your Grace,

WE are strangely surpris'd with the prince of Orange's declaration, which seems, upon the misinformation of fanaticks, fled to Holland for to have accused all such as have served in the government of church and state here as criminal. We hope the worthy and pious prelates of the church of England will own the true interest of government and their friends; especially such as have never exposed themselves nor their religion to sale, and whom neither fear nor flattery has influenced. I refer the state of our affairs to this bearer, who can make your Grace understand them as well as if you had been in employment here; nor will there be any thing to be added, when you shall shortly see,

Your Grace's most humble servant,

GEO. MACKENZIE.

The Archbishop of Canterbury disavows his ever inviting over the Prince of Orange.

WHEREAS there hath been of late a general apprehension, that his highness the prince of Orange hath an intention to invade this kingdom, in hostile manner; and, as 'tis said, makes this one reason of his attempt, that he hath been thereunto invited, by several English lords, both spiritual and temporal; I William, bishop of Canterbury, do, for

Original!
Tanner's
Collection,
vol. xxviii.
Oxon.

1688.
Nov.

for my own discharge, profess and declare, that I never gave him any such invitation, by word, writing, or otherwise. Nor, do I know, nor can believe, that any of my reverend brethren, the bishops, have in any such way invited him. And all this I aver, upon my word; and, in attestation thereof, have subscribed my name here, at Lambeth, the 3d day of November, 1688.

W. C.*

The truth of the following anecdotes must rest on the credit of those by whom they are related. It is but justice to Churchill to observe, that James himself mentions nothing of that Lord's design to assassinate him, though he was convinced of his project of placing him in the hands of his rival.

Lord Churchill suspected of a design to assassinate James II.

Carte's MS.
loose papers,
marked No.
12.

1. "Sir George Hewett's death-bed confession of lord Churchill's intention to kill James II. communicated to Mr. Carte, in a letter from Alexander Malet of Combe Flory, dated 3d Sept. 1745;—with James's opinion of lord Churchill and the earl of Danby, and Sir Phelim O'Neal's confession, about his appending an old seal to a forged commission from Charles I."

Extracts of a letter from Mr. Malet to Mr. Carte.

Original.

"— I Have inclosed the thing you mentioned about bishop Sheridan. You'll see two accounts, of different dates, which I found in different pocket books; but what relates to Sir George Hewit's confession is just the same, only in the first I took the person to be stabb'd or pistoled to be Maine, but the latter account fixes it on the King."

Ibid.

Sir George Hewit's confession, extracted by Mr. Malet from his uncle's pocket-book.

"November 19th, 1709, Dr. Sheridan, the deprived bishop of Kilmore, in Ireland, told me, at his house in Sackville-street, in Piccadilly,

Carte's Ex-
tracts from
Dr. Smith's
MS. loose pa-
pers, No. 12.

* Archbishop Sancroft in his last minutes, Mr. Nichols, his gentleman, being by, "I pray God Almighty for the poor and suffering church, which is almost destroyed by this new revolution, and I beseech God to bless the King, Queen, and Prince, and in his due time to restore them to their just and undoubted rights."

that

1688.

that he saw, several years ago, at the old earl of Peterburgh's house, the death-bed confession of Sir George Hewit, (made lord Hewit by King William) who died at Chester, of a sickness he had contracted at Dundalk camp, in Ireland. In this confession he declared, that nothing troubled his conscience more than the treacherous part he had acted against King James; and particularly, among other things, he mentioned a meeting at Mr. Hatton Compton's lodgings, in St. Alban's-street, at the landing of the prince of Orange; where were present himself, the lord Churchill, the bishop of London, colonel Kirk, and others, whose names the bishop could not call to mind. Sir George affirmed, that, at the meeting, it was debated, how they should best further the designs of the prince of Orange; and defeat those of King James, whose success they were sensible would be the ruin of themselves and their religion. It was, therefore, then resolved, that King James should be secured and delivered up to the prince of Orange, which they thought might best be done when William Maine was staff-officer in waiting. But if Maine should oppose it, then my Lord Churchill *was to pistol him or stab him*; and it was also thought adviseable, that my lord Rochester should attend the King, in his march towards the prince, who was thought a fit person to betray his councils to the prince of Orange. This confession of Sir George Hewit was signed by his own hand and seal; and transmitted to the old earl of Peterburgh, that he might send it to King James, which he did accordingly, as the bishop assured me.

" At another time, the bishop told me, he saw an original letter of King James to the aforesaid earl of Peterburgh; in which he wrote, that (being solicited to pardon his son and daughter, the prince and princess of Denmark, with others) he could never have a good opinion of them, or put any confidence in them. The marquis of Halifax, he said, he could easily forgive. But as for the earl of Danby (who was called in the letter the old midwife) he declared, he could never deserve his pardon, being so treacherous in his nature, and one that loved only himself; and so likewise for lord Churchill, he said, his crimes were so black they could never be forgiven.

" This account I found written in a pocket-book, with my uncle's own hand; and, till I found the following account in another pocket-

1688. book, I thought the person *to be pistoled or stabbed* was Maine. But the following account, which you will observe was dated two years after the above, makes it quite clear."

The same account extracted by Mr. Malet from another pocket-book, with Sir Phelim O'Neale's confession of his appending an old seal to a forged commission from Charles I.

" Dr. Sheridan, the deprived bishop of Kilmore, told me, (May 20th 1711) that he was present at the execution of Sir Phelim O'Neale, in Ireland, for being the chief actor in the Irish massacre; and that colonel Hewson coming toward the ladder, Sir Phelim made his publick acknowledgments to him, in a grateful manner, for the civil treatment he had met with, during the whole course of his imprisonment; and only wished, that his life had been taken from him in a more honourable manner. To this colonel Hewson answered, that he might save his life, if he pleased, only by declaring, at that present, to the people, that his first taking arms was by virtue of a commission, under the broad seal of King Charles the First. But Sir Phelim replied, he would not save his life by so base a lie, by doing so great an injury to that prince.—'Tis true, he said, that he might the better persuade the people to come unto him, he took off an old seal from an old deed, and clapt it to a commission he had forged; and so persuaded the people that what he did was by the King's authority. But he never really had any commission from the King. This the Bishop told me, he heard him say. The said bishop likewise assured me, that, being well acquainted with the old earl of Peterburgh, and often with him, he shewed him, at one of his visits, Sir George Hewitt's original confession, with his hand and seal to it (which was afterwards sent to King James in France). In the confession, the said Sir George Hewitt (who had been made a lord by King William) begged pardon of God and King James, for his disloyalty and rebellion; and declared in it, that the night before King James went to Salisbury, the earl of Rochester and lord Churchill (now duke of Marlborough), the bishop of London, (Stewart, also, who is now a general officer) (as he remembers) and himself, with others, met at Mr. Hatton Compton's house, in St. Alban's-street; and there it was debated among them, how they should do the best service to the prince of Orange; and, at length,

it was resolved, that the earl of Rochester should attend the King at Salisbury; but in order to betray all his councils to the prince of Orange. And the lord Churchill should endeavour to seize King James's person, and carry him off to the Prince. But if he could not do that, he should pistol him, or stab him, when he was in the coach with him. This the bishop has protested to me (more than once or twice) he saw written in the confession of Sir George Hewitt.

1688.

2. "*Lord Churchill's intention to stab King James II. from an account given by colonel Ambrose Norton of a conversation with Sir George Hewitt.*"

Carte's Memorandum-book, marked
vol. xii.
4to.

"Soon after the coronation of the prince of Orange, having some discourse with Sir George Hewitt (then newly made a lord) about the late revolution, he told me, when King James was at Salisbury, if he had gone to Warminster, as he had promised, his business had been done there. He and captain Cornelius Wood, who was then present, said Sir George, he and I had done his business; for that Wood was to be exempt of the guard, and I should have commanded it, and the lord Churchill would have gone in the King's coach, being in waiting, with the gold-headed stick. Kirk, Lanier, said Sir George, and many others of our party being there, and most of the guards, and army, that were posted there, right for our purpose; we were resolved to carry him a prisoner to the prince of Orange: but if Dumbarton, Sarsfield, or any other of the papist officers should endeavour to rescue him, then, said Sir George, little Wood and I, that were on horseback, were to have shot him; and if that had missed, then lord Churchill, that was provided with a pocket-pistol and a dagger, would have shot or stabbed him in the coach; for there was no other way of saving themselves after attempting the King. But, as it pleased God, said the informant, his Majesty's nose very happily fell a bleeding, by which his going to Warminster was prevented."

3. "*Extract from Mr. Carte's account of a conversation with Mr. Erasmus Lewis, concerning a design of assassinating King James at Warminster.*"

Mr. Carte's Memorandum-book, vol. viii. 4to. marked 4

1688.

“ Erasmus Lewis * told me at the same time, (this very day, April 10th, 1749) that Lord de la Mere, and E. Warrington, had been in the secret of the design of assassinating King James the 2d at Warminster, at the review; and told it frequently, that when at the consult among them, about executing it, several methods were proposed, the duke of Marlborough said,—I see plainly these will not do;—I must stab him myself in the chariot, as I go with him.”

Carte's Memorandum-book, vol. xi. 4to. p. 34.

4. “ Mr. Dillon † said, at the same time, that old prince Vaudemont ‡, who had the entire confidence and friendship of the prince of Orange, and was with him, in the secret of the Revolution, has told him, that, in talking of the English affairs and generals, the prince of Orange told him, the duke of Marlborough had the best talents for a general of any man in England. But that he was a vile man, and he hated him; for though he could profit of treasons, he could not bear the traitor.”

King William's treatment of the Earl of Marlborough.

Carte's Memorandum-book, marked vol. xi. 4to. p. 35.

April 22d, 1724, Mr. Dillon told me, as he had done several times before, that he had lived in the duke's house, and was put under his care, for near a year before the Revolution. That, for three months after it, he used to be every day at St. James's (being sent for up to town, by the duke, from the regiment Mr. Dillon was in, which was quartered at Lewes, in Sussex) being very intimate with Mr. Keppel, and going often with the duke. That he never saw any English nobleman dine with the prince of Orange, but only the duke of Schomberg, who was always placed at his right hand, and his Dutch general officers. That the English noblemen, that were there, stood behind the prince of Orange's chair; but never were admitted to eat and sit. He particularly mentioned the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Clarendon; but they went away, when the dinner was half over. That the prince of Orange would not look at the duke of Marlborough; and that he

* He was under secretary to the earl of Oxford, and is frequently mentioned in Dr. Swift's letters.

† He was a general in the French service, and an active agent for the Chevalier de St. George.

‡ He was a natural son of the duke of Lorraine's.

never saw a man so neglected, as the duke was. That, when they came home, the duchess would ask Mr. Dillon, what treatment the duke had met with; and, on hearing the account, said to the duke, it was what he deserved. He ought to have considered how good his settlement was, some months before. A reproach, which the c——s of S——ch said then, was not so proper for her grace to make; since to her knowledge, it was the duchess that debauched the princess Anne, and persuaded her to that defection, from the King, which ruined him. Mr. Dillon said, that he was there several days together, before he ever heard the prince of Orange speak a word; and, asking Keppel, whether he never spoke, he said, that he talked enough, at night, over his bottle, when he was got with his friends.

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Albeville to Lord Sunderland.

Nov. 16th, 1688.

BY the several advertisements sent to the prince of Orange, by express boats and by men sent to him, that the sea-ports in the North were well provided, and good orders given in all those parts, he was advised from England to land in the West, where he might be assured, towns and men sufficiently would declare for him, and surprize the court; not being expected to land there. Letters from both the courts of England and France, assuring he would land at Yarmoth, or somewhere in the North; and, finding no man of war at Calais and Dunkirk, and having some assurance that the King's fleet would not engage, divers captains having declared they would not fight against their religion, as they have been informed, made them resolve to sail towards the West; and, it is said, to land some men in the isle of Wight, to keep Portsmouth blocked up; and, by the manner they will dispose of their fleet, and reinforce it constantly with fresh ships, they will interrupt all communication with France, and be ready there to invade it, jointly with England, in the spring. This is their language, as exorbitant as your lordship may think it, and as impracticable.

Extracts from
Mr. Pepys's
MS. in
Carte's Pa-
pers, vol. xi.
quarto.

Brackel, whose ship of seventy guns was leaky, two men of war more fitted, and one fitting, near ready, with seven victuallers not ready, hav-
ing

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ing been left behind; it was thought the prince stayed a while for them beyond the banks. But he waited there for the return of one he sent to England, who came that very night. The people of Rotterdam, and in all the sea-ports, began to exclaim and murmur against the prince, for losing so much time, since the wind and weather proved so favourable; for they think they will be received with open arms every where.

On Friday the tenth, vice admiral Allemonde returned to Helvoetsluys, from the fleet, to take care of the ships remaining; and one captain Ilag to take the command of the ship that is fitting. On Wednesday, November the third, two vessels were dispatched, with above fifty thousand of the manifestoes of the prince of Orange; one into the West, another into the North, I believe into Scotland; and one Robinson in a ketch, and another, employed for scouts.

A yaucht of Mr. Hugh Owen, in Wales, came from Milford-haven to Rotterdam, about two months since, pretending to be laden with coals; but brought eight chests of silver, and has lain at the Brill, ever since the fleet has been ready; and so soon as it sailed, went to Wales to carry advice.

Sir W. Waller was expressly sent for, by the prince of Orange, to Cassel, and embarked with the fleet; to make use of him, in his free parliament, I believe. Eighteen boats, with above seven hundred men, arrived at Rotterdam, on Saturday, the thirteenth of November. Two regiments more are expected; and the ships are ready to take them on board. Marechal Homieres is returned to Lisle, with some companies of the King of France's guards, which will facilitate the parting of these men.

The prince's manifesto is now sold publicly, and in all languages, as well as this inclosed fine picture; which infamous liberty they may as well take, as the prince of Orange to speak, in his manifesto, so basely and falsely, of the great belly of the Queen, and of the supposed prince of Wales.

The packet boats are now suffered to go freely from hence.

1688.
Nov.*The same to the same.*

Hague, Nov. 26th.

THE prince of Orange's friends, not satisfied with the States resolve, for nine frigates to clear the channel of privateers, insisted with the admiralty to let out immediately all the men of war they could, to secure a communication with the prince and fleet; and a passage for four or five thousand men more, three hundred horse, provisions for the fleet, and a ship of ammunition and arms. So all the ships ready were ordered to sail to the Maese. The States General consented to it. Two regiments are to embark at Helvoetsluys. The States wanted the fleet back; but could not tell how to send succours to the prince; the King's fleet lying on the way.

Van Citters writes to the States, that Dartmouth had but seven or eight ships that would fight against the prince of Orange; the rest would stand neuter. That the Queen and the prince of Wales were to go to Portsmouth, where seventy thousand pounds were already sent. That the King could not march with his artillery, within ten miles of the prince of Orange. All false.

Some of the States are in great perplexity, for the prince of Orange. Others wish he may never return; and would speak resolutely, if the French appeared powerful on the frontiers, or he had met a defeat at sea. I have not received the King's sense, on the resolution of the States to assist the prince; notwithstanding the reiterated assurances they gave his Majesty, by their ambassador, of maintaining the peace. Strange perfidy!

A letter from Colonel Ambrose Norton.

He gives a very copious and particular account of the desertion of the troops to the prince of Orange, as well as of the means which had been used to seduce them from their allegiance to James. He was major to the duke of St. Albans' regiment of dragoons, and was made lieutenant colonel by James, for having refused to serve the prince, when he had been a prisoner in his camp.

Carte's Memorandum-book, marked ϕ vol. xii. 4to.

S I R,

1688.
Nov.

SIR,

AT the last camp which King James had at Hounslow-heath, which was in part of July and August, 1688, the earl of Dumbarton, one of his Majesty's lieutenant generals, sent for one of the field officers of every regiment, that were Roman Catholics; and the majors of the regiments, where neither the colonels nor lieutenant colonels were Roman Catholics; and his lordship told me, and as I presume, and heard, he did all the rest, that his Majesty had commanded him to send for me, to give him a list of all the officers and soldiers in the regiment that were Roman Catholics; which I was ordered forthwith to do, because his Majesty expected an account of it from his lordship. The number of Roman Catholics was then very inconsiderable in our regiment; being but one lieutenant, a quarter-master, and thirteen troopers.

This order proved of fatal consequence; and was a very great furtherance of the business of our associating officers, who, daily and openly, in the camp, aggravated it, with all the rancour and malice imaginable; affirming, with volleys of oaths, that it was in order to turn out all the protestant officers and soldiers in the army, and to have none but Roman Catholics in military employments. That, in order thereto, the Irish regiments were sent for hither, and the English would be exchanged, at several times, and be reformed in Ireland, that not a protestant would be left in them.

This was so credited, that it brought over many to their party, as I have often heard. But being confined by you, in this relation, to send you nothing but mere matter of fact, to my own knowledge, I must confine myself more narrowly to what related to the duke of St. Albans' regiment, in which I served.

His Grace, both before and at the time of the late great revolution, being in France, his lieutenant colonel, Thomas Langston, having the command of the regiment, and being deeply concerned in the association, was very diligent to aggravate the aforesaid order, with all the spleen and rancour that malice could invent, to most of the officers and soldiers of the regiment; and seldom failed expressing it, under several heads; the truth of which, he affirmed, with volleys of oaths, to be to his own knowledge.

First,

First, That, in a very short time, the King would not have one protestant officer or soldier in his whole army; and that he had entered into a close league with France, to have all the protestants throats cut, in England and Scotland.

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Secondly, That the prince of Orange had his own taylor, that was a papist, and his boy, in custody, that were hired by King James and the earl of Sunderland, father Petre and Sir Nicholas Butler, to poison the prince of Orange's waistcoat, which was discovered by the boy, the very morning the prince was to have worn it; and, also, that his master had confessed the same.

Thirdly, That the prince of Orange had also in his custody, the true mother of the prince of Wales, who had sufficiently proved the same in Holland, and would do the like here.

Fourthly, That King James, so soon as his army was modelled to his purpose, would set up a mass in every church in England and Scotland; and he that was not a thorough papist would be hanged, quartered, or burnt.

With these discourses, he frightened and wheedled several officers and soldiers to undertake with him, in his design of deserting his Majesty, who had made him lieutenant colonel; and, if I have not been misinformed, gave him twice money to pay his debts, under which he was very uneasy. The further to confirm his officers to effect what was designed, he introduced some of them into the company of the Treason-club, as it was commonly called, at the Rose Tavern, in Covent-Garden, where they frequently met to consult with the lord Colchester, Mr. Thomas Wharton, colonel Talmash, colonel Godfrey, Mr. William Jephson, and many others of their party; and there it was resolved, that the regiment under the foresaid lieutenant colonel Langston's command, should desert entire, as they did, on Sunday,—November, 1688. The which was the better effected, because the lord Churchill, one of the lieutenant generals, had ordered those regiments to go on the advanced post nearest the enemy. The day before we deserted, a private cabal was held at Salisbury, to agree on the time and manner of doing it. Of which cabal was the lord Cornbury, colonel of the Royal regiment of dragoons, Sir Francis Compton, lieutenant colonel to the duke of Berwick's,

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formerly the earl of Oxford's regiment, lieutenant colonel Langston, commandant of the duke of St. Albans's regiment, and some few others of their trusty associating officers; and, among the rest, it was agreed, to put their design in execution very early next morning; and not to intrust it to lieutenant-colonel Sutherland, who commanded Sir John Fenwick's regiment; but to deceive him and all the rest of the officers that were not in their interest.

Orders were given, at the setting of the watch, being at ten at night, that the quartermasters and adjutants of the foresaid three regiments should wait for the coming of the post; by which, they gave out, they expected marching orders. They, accordingly, did so. About twelve, the post came in, and colonel Langston also, who had, according to the agreement of their late consult, the counterfeit sham marching orders, from Mr. Blathwayt, secretary of war. He called for the bag, before the officers, and broke it open; and conveyed the orders so cunningly amongst the letters, that none of those discovered it, whom he had employed to help him to look for them. He immediately carried them to lord Cornbury, the commandant; and, thereupon, orders were presently given out for the regiments to be ready to march, at five o'clock the next morning, towards the enemy; and, the better to disguise the matter, it was given out, that several other regiments were to come immediately into our quarters, and refresh themselves and follow us. Two days and a night we marched very hard, not keeping the direct road, and had very little time allowed us for rest; so fearful were they of being pursued. In the march, they were very apprehensive that the earl of Feversham, the duke of Berwick, or Sir John Fenwick, might overtake them, and countermand their march; which, if any of them had, or any other general officer, that was not of their party, they were resolved to have shot them, as both lieutenant-colonel Langston and others told me, when they were got into the prince of Orange's quarters; and in order to it, Francis Langston, captain-lieutenant to lord Cornbury's troop of dragoons, and brother to lieutenant-colonel Langston, commanded an advanced party of dragoons in the front, and lieutenant-colonel Thomas Langston another in the rear, of the three regiments that he drew out of his own troop, which he pretended were to keep the men up together; but were, in truth, to have executed the aforesaid design.

In

In our march, the earl of Abingdon, Sir Walter Clerges, and several others, came in to Sir Francis Compton, under pretence of being volunteers with him, and marched with him to Axminster, within six miles of the enemy's quarters, where we halted the most part of that day; and, in the evening, it was given out, that they had discovered a design of the enemy's beating up our quarters. In order to prevent it, orders were given out for our being in readiness, in the evening, to beat up theirs; and, accordingly, at the time, the trumpet sounded, and the dragoon drums beat to horse. After which, having sat three or four hours on horseback, which was chiefly occasioned by major Littleton of the duke of Berwick's regiment, and major Clifford of lord Cornbury's regiment, who had information given them by some of their soldiers, that the pretence of beating up the enemy's quarters was but a sham; and that it was a design to desert the King; assuring them, that some of their fellow-soldiers had been persuading them to go in along with them. Upon which the two majors so threatened Sir Francis Compton and the lord Cornbury, that though they were the two forwardest officers, for deserting with the regiments at Salisbury, yet Sir Francis Compton hung an arse, and sneaked away back to Salisbury, with almost his whole regiment; and lord Cornbury stole away with his. Lieutenant-colonel Heyford, who was more resolute, staid, with most of his own troop and some few others, not exceeding fifty in the whole. The regiment marched back to Salisbury, under major Clifford, to whom his Majesty gave the regiment. The whole time of being on horseback at Axminster, the duke of St. Albans's regiment was drawn up in a yard and back street; and, at such a distance from the other two regiments, and being very dark, that they knew nothing of what happened to the other two regiments.

About ten at night, being the twelfth of November, colonel Langston came to the head of the regiment, and commanded them to march, which accordingly they did; and, about twelve, we marched into Honiton, the enemy's quarters; where, instead of beating them up, we were received as friends, to the great surprize of those that were not intrusted with the business. Brigadier-general Talmaish commanded in chief, where his regiment of Scots were drawn up; as also small parties of horse of the prince of Orange's garde du corps, Mr. Bentinck's re-

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giment, and a party of Gray's dragoons. There were no regular quarters assigned for the deserters that night, but were all ordered to shift for themselves, and to be on horseback, near the market-cross, at eight next morning. Every officer had time given him, till then, to give his answer, whether he was willing to stay with the prince of Orange or not; and those that would, had all manner of encouragement, and promise of preferment. Those that were not willing, were promised leave to return, with their horses, arms, and baggage. But, before the time was expired, their answer was demanded; and major Ambrose Norton, lord John Metham, cornet Archibald Clincard, cornet Dennis Ashburnham, and quartermaster David Brady, upon their refusal to embrace the service, were all made close prisoners.

At the time appointed, the regiment was on horseback; and the confined officers window being just against them, they could see what past; which was colonel Langston riding through the ranks bareheaded, haranguing and persuading the soldiers to stay with him. But about thirty-three refusing to serve, were immediately sent prisoners to the main guard, which was kept in the market-house. So that the number of soldiers that embraced the service, besides officers, were, of the duke of Berwick's regiment, twenty-five mounted and two on foot; of the duke of St. Albans's regiment, one hundred and one mounted, and fifty dragoons; in all, one hundred and seventy-eight: a very inconsiderable number to make so much noise as it did through the kingdom, of three regiments deserting in a clap. But they, being the first that broke the ice, valued themselves extremely upon it, and reviled the King their master, whose money and commissions they went off with in their pockets, with such base and opprobrious language, as is too indecent to be repeated. They were so far from keeping their promise, of letting the officers and soldiers return, with their horses, arms, and baggage, that they plundered them of all they had, that only excepted which was on their backs; and with such inhumanity to their fellow-officers, that they would not suffer them to change their foul linen for clean, nor let them have their papers and money, or any thing else, that was in their portmanteaus. The forementioned time, that the officers had given them to consider, whether they would embrace the service or not, gave them opportunity to inform themselves in what condition the enemy was; and

and the account given them, by several officers that came over with the prince, was, that they were between thirteen and fourteen thousand. But that they were in a very ill condition with their horses, by reason of the great storms at sea; and that the prince of Orange had long expected his friends in the army, not setting a value upon the country's coming in to him. That this would be extreme welcome news to his highness at Exeter; and that we had exactly nicked the time: for, had we not come when we did, he was resolved to embark at eight next morning, and go back, which had been the result of three councils of war. But just at the breaking up, it was carried to stay twenty-four hours longer, to try if any of the army would come in; and so little hopes had they, till this party came in, that the prince had not so much as brought his cannon ashore.

The Scotch soldiers of colonel Talmash's regiment, that had the guard of the duke of St. Albans's regiment, treated them very civilly, and gave them drink, and drank King James's health to them, on their knees; and they declared to them their great dislike of the service they were engaged in. They said they were all one King's subjects, and were very sorry it was their fortune to be in the service against their own King. They complained of their hardships and smallness of their pay; and they wished they were so happy as to be in the King's service; and, if he would but pardon them, it should not be long before they should be with us: that they knew a great many more that were of their minds, if they were sure of their pardon and of being employed.

Many persuasive arguments, with great promises of favour and advancement, were often repeated to the officers, in the time of their confinement, to induce them to embrace the prince of Orange's service; and, among many others, they assured them, that the prince's coming into England was upon the earnest request and invitation of the lords spiritual and temporal, the army, navy, and most considerable body of the nation, to redeem them from slavery and popery. They also, with many oaths and vows, assured major Norton, that a lieutenant-general, under whom he had served, was the deepest in the association, and was the first who proposed to them the undertaking, and had faithfully promised them, and sent the prince word, that he would be there that night or to-morrow morning at farthest; and not he only, but many others also, the most

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most considerable officers in the army, and with the better part, if not all, their regiments. The duke of Grafton's foot guards and the old regiment were certain to come in to them; and that, in a few days, we should see the King the most deserted prince that ever lived. Some of the deserting officers wrote to their friends what progress they had made, to encourage them to come in to them; and with these letters and a pass, after three days confinement, they dismissed the officers, and, soon after, the soldiers. But, within an hour or two, they sent a party of twenty dragoons after them; upon what design the late prisoners know not. But they followed them a day's journey, and lay but three miles short of the officers; only cornet Ashburnham and two troopers, going a-foot, lay short, and fell into their hands. They took from them their money and the cornet's cloak, which was all that was left them before, but just the clothes on their backs. They told them their business was with monsieur, their major, and were very inquisitive after him. But, hearing no account of him, they returned back.

These officers and soldiers thus coming away, so much discouraged many of them, that they sneaked away again. His Majesty and the earl of Feverham, his lieutenant-general, received the officers and soldiers, that were so trepanned into the enemy's quarters, and returned to their duty, most extraordinary kindly, at Salisbury; and, after the major had acquainted his Majesty with all the discoveries he had made, by being in the enemy's quarters, which were further confirmed by several letters which fell into his majesty's hands, he was graciously pleased to make the major lieutenant-colonel of the duke of St. Albans's regiment, and advanced all the rest of the officers, and gave to each two hundred days pay to equip themselves, and also five pounds to each trooper; and orders were given, that the corporals should be made quarter-masters; and as many of the troopers as were fit, and vacancies, to be made corporals; and each to have twenty pounds more to remount him, and the regiment recruited. The officers and soldiers received all this money at Salisbury, without any deduction of poundage: so affectionately kind was the King to those of his army as did their duty; which, together with many of the regiment that were not able to get up, by reason of the hardness of the march, made up above eighty soldiers, who were afterwards at Highgate. But, by reason of his

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his Majesty's going away, that regiment was not recruited; lieutenant-colonel Norton paying constant attendance on his Majesty, even to his last departure from Rochester. A corporal or two, and several trumpeters, that had marched a-foot from Honiton to Salisbury, followed him to Rochester, to tender their service there. But, it being then too late, they returned home to their own country, which was Derbyshire, where they had been raised by the earl of Scarisdale. Several of the loyal soldiers were of the Peak. Had not these things gone on so fast, these soldiers had discovered a spy or decoy, in their march from Honiton to Salisbury, which might have been of service to his Majesty.

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The spy treated them very kindly with all that the place afforded, and insinuated himself very much into them, under pretence of desiring to be a trooper with them; and, after having drunk very hard with them, desired to know what pay they had. When he was told two shillings and sixpence a day, he said it was very small; and that he had been at Exeter, and was there pressed five shillings a day to be a trooper, with two leather pouches full of money, to buy him a better horse. By this discourse, they believed he designed to decoy them back again; after which, he slipped from them. But they, acquainting their officers with it, were ordered by them to make inquiry after him, which they were very diligent in doing; and, after some short time, found him attempting the same thing on the foot guards, where, by order, he was confined on the main guard in the sessions-house at Salisbury. Notice whereof being given to lieutenant-colonel Langston, he went and examined him there; and, reflecting on what he had said to the troopers, and by some papers found in his pocket, it appeared that he was a captain or master of ship, a Taunton man, and undoubtedly what he was suspected to be. Lieutenant-colonel Norton acquainting the King with it, he ordered one of the secretaries of state to go and examine him again, and commanded the lieutenant-colonel to attend him; which being accordingly done, he was convinced that he was one of the prince of Orange's decoys or spies; and gave him till next morning, about eight, to confess or die. But that night, the lord Churchill, who had been till near twelve in his Majesty's bedchamber at a council of war, deserting, with some others, his Majesty altering all his measures, and retiring from Salisbury, our spy was lost; or, at least, I never heard of.

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of him. These are all the remarkable passages that I can remember to have been acted, by the duke of St. Albans's regiment, relating to the late great REVOLUTION.

James II. to Lord Dartmouth.—Bad condition of his affairs.—Orders concerning the fleet.

"A copy of the King's letter, in his own hand, to Lord Dartmouth."

Pepys's
Collection,
Bodleian Li-
brary, Oxon,
vol. xii.

Whitehall, Nov. 29th, 1688.

YOU will have an account from Mr. Pepys of what passes here, and the ill condition my affairs are in on shore; so I shall say nothing concerning them. I am sorry you have been so roughly used by the winds at sea. This is a bad time of year for any action on that inconstant element. The preservation of the squadron under your command, is of the last consequence. Therefore, pray consider well which is the best way to do it; and where you think it is fit the greatest part of our fleet should be; it being fit to leave some ships at Portsmouth, either at Spithead or the harbour, as you shall think best; and let me have your opinion speedily upon it, that I may see if I approve it.

JAMES R."

The King seems to have had thoughts of making his escape, or, at least, of sending away the Queen and the prince of Wales, as early as the thirtieth of November. The following is addressed to Mr. Pepys, secretary of the admiralty. He had served Charles and James in that capacity, with ability and fidelity; and was very much attached to them and their family. His papers, deposited by Rawlinson in the Bodleian library, are the best collection extant, on the naval affairs of this kingdom. He retired from business soon after King William's accession to the throne, and died at Clapham, in the beginning of this century.

In the King's hand.

Pepys's
Collection,
Bodleian Li-
brary, Oxon.

Nov. 30, **O**RDER the Isabella and Anne yachts to fall down to Erith
1688. to-morrow.

To Mr. Pepys.

J. R.

The

The King to lord Dartmouth.—He sent away the Queen and the prince of Wales, and gives an account of his distress.

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“ A copy of the King’s letter to the lord Dartmouth, the night before his withdrawing himself. It was brought by a Frenchman, next morning, to Mr. Pepys, and by him dispatched by express.”

Pepys’s
Collection,
Oxon.

Whitehall, December 10th, 1688.

“ **T**HINGS having so very bad an aspect, I would no longer defer securing the Queen and my son, which I hope I have done; and that by to-morrow by noon they will be out of the reach of my enemies. I am at ease now I have sent them away. I have not heard, this day, as I expected, from my commissioners with the prince of Orange; who, I believe, will hardly be prevailed with to stop his march: so that I am in no good condition; nay, in as bad a one as it is possible. I am sending the duke of Berwick down to Portsmouth, by whom you will know my resolution concerning the fleet under your command, and what resolutions I have taken. Till when, I would not have you stir from the place where you are, for several reasons.

JAMES R.”

The lord Dartmouth to Mr. Pepys.—Rejoices that the King is still in the kingdom.

Dec. 15, 1688.

“ **A**FTER the writing this, last night, with intention of sending it away early this morning, I received from some private hands the good news of the King’s being still among us; which gives me new life again, and hopes that all past occurrences will terminate in a happy agreement with the prince of Orange (who, I am told, is at London by this time, being so earnestly invited thereunto by the lords) and a good understanding among all his Majesty’s subjects; none whereof, I hope, can be so villanous as to entertain a prejudicial thought to his Majesty’s person; which that it may be always in safety and honour, is and shall be the endeavours and prayers of, Sir,

Pepys’s
Collection,
Oxon.

Your affectionate humble Servant,

DARTMOUTH.

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Though Dartmouth was sincerely attached to James, he wrote the following answer to a letter he received from the prince of Orange.

The lord Dartmouth to the Prince of Orange.——An answer to a letter he had received from the Prince.—He gives his advice, and sends his secretary with an account of the fleet.

May it please your Highness, Spithead, Dec. 20th, 1688.

Pepys's
Collection,
Oxon.

“ I Have received and obeyed your Highness's letter and order of the 16th instant from Windsor, so far as I have been hitherto able; and, with the first slack of wind, will make the best of my way to the buoy of the Nore. My only fear is, that the wind should hang easterly. If so, there must be necessary care taken to send me provisions; for this place hath been in that disorder, that it cannot presently supply me. I had gone from hence some time since, but that I thought it my duty to preserve the navy in harbour, the dock and stores from the folly and rage of the Irish; and keeping them upon terms of quietly submitting to your Highness, which is now done. Pardon me, for hinting one thing to your Highness which I think no time ought to be lost in; which is, speedily to send some of the lesser ships off the bank of Guernsey, and put good garrisons in Jersey and Guernsey; the latter of which, if it should be possessed by the French, will be a thorn in England's side for ever. If your Highness will please to call for the survey of that place, from the officers of the Ordnance, you will please to judge better of it, than I am here able to express. Mr. Musgrave will attend with it, upon your Highness's first commands. I fear that office is, at this time, in great disorder. But, as soon as I am able to wait of your Highness, I will examine it, and give you a perfect account. I will not give your Highness any further trouble now; but, upon my being under sail, I will send my secretary, Mr. Bowles, to wait on your Highness, with a full account of all things relating to the fleet and otherwise. I humbly submit myself to your Highness, as becomes your Highness's most obedient humble servant,

DARTMOUTH.”

The following letter to Mr. Pepys, is an apology for writing the above letter, and sending Mr. Bowles to the prince of Orange.

The Lord Dartmouth to Mr. Pepys.

1688.

December.
Pepys's
Collection,
Oxon.

S I R,

Spithead, Dec. 28, 1688.

" I Have received yours, and have answered them as fully as I could at present. But I beg leave to write you this, with my own hand, to assure you the only reason I sent up Mr. Bowles, proceeded wholly from my not hearing from you; and no dispatch, or any design of mine in it. For I should be very ungrateful, if I were capable of making any unkind return to you; and I doubt not, but utility will help us both; though in this miserable distraction, and the grief I am in for my master, with being at such distance from affairs, and kept so much in the dark by my friends, who all write that they think I have better accounts from other hands; and, in the mean time, I am the most in the dark of any body. Pray deign me your private and friendly advice, which I shall be glad to govern myself by; and I hope we may yet be helpful to one another. I am sure all things shall be done, on my part, as becomes your obliged and affectionate friend and humble servant,

DARTMOUTH."

The credit to be given to the following anecdote, concerning James when at Rochester, must depend on the persons by whom it is related. It must, however, be observed, that the language ascribed to the lords Middleton and Dundee, is extremely suitable to their characters. Middleton was cool, moderate, and sensible; Dundee active, bold, and full of fire. James himself owns that Middleton argued, for some time, against his intended flight. The earl of Balcarras mentions, in his Memoirs, an anecdote not dissimilar to the following, given by Carte.

An anecdote from Lord Middleton concerning K. James 2d, when at Rochester.

January 5th, 1739-40. THE earl of Middleton told me, that, when King James the 2d was at Rochester, his father, the earl of Dunbarton and lord Dundee were with him, and the fire wanting to be put to rights and renewed, the King was so deserted, there was not a servant of his in the way. The earl of Middleton, who had gone into the outward room to see for one, told the King there was none in the way but a servant of his own, (David Middleton, afterwards steward to the duke of Bedford, whom I

Carte's
Memoran-
dum Book,
vol. xi. 4to.
p. 132.

1688.
December.

knew well) and if his Majesty pleased, he would call him in to mend the fire. The King desired it, and David came in. Whilst he was adjusting the fire, he heard them continue an earnest discourse, wherein they were engaged; and lord Dundee said, Sir, the question is, whether you shall stay in England or go to France? My opinion is, you should stay in England. Make your stand here and summon your subjects to your allegiance. 'Tis true, your army is disbanded by your own authority. But though disbanded, not so dispersed, but, if you will give me your commission, I will undertake to get 10,000 of them together; and march through all England with your standard at their head, and drive all the Dutch before you.

The King said, he believed it might be done; but it would cause a civil war; and he would not do so much mischief to the English nation, which he loved, and would come soon to their senses again. The earl of Middleton, thereupon, said, that since his Majesty rejected the party of force, he should stay in the kingdom at any rate, though the remotest quarter. For though his going abroad might put them into a confusion for some time, it would not be more than a six weeks affair; by which time a new government would be settled, and he would be ruined. The King, soon after, stole away for France.

This, David Middleton told the present earl he heard, but went away without hearing the rest of the discourse.

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1689.

Innocent the Eleventh possessed the See of Rome, when the Revolution happened in Great Britain. His aversion to France threw him into the arms of the Emperor; and he supported, in some degree, the cause of the allies, with the money of the church. He followed the example of some of his predecessors, in endeavouring to unite the Christian princes against the Turks; and it was, in some measure, through his persuasion, that John Sobieski, King of Poland, came to the relief of Vienna; while he prevailed with the Venetians to join in the alliance, and furnished them with considerable subsidies for carrying on the war.

1689.
January.

Notwithstanding his zeal for the catholic religion, Innocent was, by no means, a friend to King James. His aversion to Lewis XIV. had joined him to the allies, and even connected him with the prince of Orange. Many catholic princes followed the example of the father of the church. The Spanish ambassador at the Hague ordered masses to be said publicly in his chapel for the success of the prince's expedition. The emperor espoused his cause with all his influence, at Rome; and he himself had the address to persuade the Pope, that the interest of the Roman Catholics, and the restoration of their religion in Britain, were connected with the success of his enterprize.

The following anecdote may be joined to other known proofs of this circumstance.

"An anecdote from Prince Vaudemont, concerning the Prince of Orange's engagement with the Pope."

Carte's Memorandum
book, marked
vol. xi.
4to. p. 33.

P. Vaudemont was an intimate friend of the prince of Orange, and had all his confidence; when the league of Augsburg was on foot, and P. O. entertained thoughts of mounting the throne of England, he thought.

1689.
January.

thought it necessary to pre-engage the Pope, Emperor, and King of Spain to favour his enterprize upon England. He, therefore, told P. Vaudemont, that the Pope and the Roman Catholic princes were in the wrong to expect any thing from K. James, in favour of the Romish faith: that his being declared of that religion, made every body jealous of the least and most indifferent step he took; and it was, therefore, impracticable for him to do them any service; for the whole nation would oppose it, as tending to destroy the church of England; whereas himself, being a protestant, might take any step whatever, and serve them effectually, without the least suspicion; and, in case they would favour and promote his attempt upon England, he would undertake to procure a toleration for the Roman Catholics. P. Vaudemont went to Rome; and with this argument, engaged the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain, to come into the P. of Orange's scheme, and favour his attempt. The first thing, therefore, attempted by the P. of Orange, after the Revolution, was a toleration which he carried for the dissenters; and, though not for the Roman Catholics, yet all his reign he gave them a connivance equivalent to a toleration.

This P. Vaudemont told general Dillon, who told it to me, and to many others, as the chevalier Glascock, abbé Dunne, &c."

February.

James was a stranger to the intrigues formed against him at the court of Rome. He was too devout a son of the church, to suppose that the holy father would conspire with his enemies, to deprive him of his throne. His ignorance continued, after his flight from England; and when he was preparing for his expedition into Ireland, he sent colonel Porter, a gentleman of his bedchamber, as his envoy extraordinary to Innocent the Eleventh. The substance of his instructions, which were dated at St. Germans, the 4th of February, 1689, is here subjoined.

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 5.

"PORTER was required to testify to the Pope, James's profession of, and attachment to, the catholic faith: to represent that the protestant princes were alarmed at its progress upon his accession: that they are united in a league to stop that progress, and had engaged catholic princes to join them. He was desired to beseech his Holiness to bring about a peace between the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty: to represent

represent the advantages of their reconciliation to James, and to the catholic religion: that James was dethroned on account of his religion: that the present war is a religious war; witness the persecution of R. Catholics, and the profanation and destruction of their churches in England. Porter was directed to cultivate the friendship of certain cardinals."

1689.
February.

Sir Thomas Waldgrave was created lord Waldgrave by James 2d on the 20th January, 1686. He married the lady Henrietta, natural daughter of that prince, by Mrs. Arabella Churchill, Sister to John duke of Marlborough. He retired into France, on the accession of William III.; and until his death, which happened in the latter end of this year, was firmly attached to the fortune of his father-in-law. He lived with the Queen at St. Germain, and carried on the negociations of James's ministers with Versailles and Rome.

The Earl of Melfort to Lord Waldgrave.——An account of the state of affairs in Ireland.—James's troops were hitherto victorious.

May.
Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 15.

Dublin, 8 May, 1689.

"THERE is only Derry holds out, which I hope shall now soon be reduced, though they are very obstinate, expecting aids from England, which we hope they are not in a condition to send. However it is most certain, that since all the nobility at that mock-court have taken the names of regiments, they will get men enough, and if they be not prevented they will come hither."

Melfort refers lord Waldgrave to a memorial he had presented to the French ambassador on this subject. He desires him to communicate the state of James's affairs to his foreign ministers, especially the cardinal duke, that he might let the Pope know the truth of all, and convince him, that he is imposed on by the faction of Spain.

"The parliament," he continues, "sat down yesterday, and will do all the King asks of them; and he will do for them what is fit for them. I am sorry to hear from ———, that there are clouds arising against me. I never deserved them. They are none of the King's friends. I knew there

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June.

there were some who called themselves so who are my enemies. But at the long run, I doubt that will hardly be thought for his service. I must not press you to tell me any thing of this matter. But, if you could, you would much oblige me."

Lewis the XIVth is supposed to have behaved with generosity to James in his distress, and though he only meant in the beginning to foment divisions in Britain and make Charles and James the instruments of his ambitious designs, it is probable, that towards the end of his life, he was sincerely attached to the exiled family, and desirous of replacing them again on the throne. It does not even appear that he ever stipulated with James, for any return for the great expences which he incurred in the cause of that prince, unwilling perhaps, to add to his misfortunes by doubting his gratitude.

But frequent mortifications are unavoidable in every state of dependence. Though James was not forced to purchase the friendship of his benefactor with a cession of any part of his dominions, as has been groundlessly supposed, he was obliged to grant extraordinary privileges to the French subjects, and to distinguish them by peculiar marks of his favour. The count D'Avaux, who followed him to Ireland as ambassador from Lewis, took the lead in all his councils. He seemed rather to dictate than to advise; and James, scrupulously attentive to his commands, endeavoured, in the most submissive manner, to justify his conduct, as appears from his answer to a memorial presented to him by that minister.

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. i.
fol. No. 9.

"*The answer made by the King's order to a memorial presented by Count D'Avaux, Ambassador extraordinary from France, the 4th of June, 1689.*"

Translation.

"**H**IS Majesty being very sensible of the friendly and generous offices of the most Christian King, thinks he cannot give too strong proofs of the gratitude he endeavours to shew on all occasions, and particularly in treating his ambassador extraordinary in a more distinguished manner than any ambassador ever was, giving him cheerfully such a reception,

as

as may sufficiently convince the world of his esteem for the King his master, careſſing him always as his intimate friend, and conſidering him as his moſt faithful counſellor in his moſt ſecret affairs, which he generally communicated to him before he ſpoke of them to the duke of Tyrconnel or to the earl of Melfort.

1689.
June.

“ His Maſteſty, upon his arrival in his kingdom of Ireland, communicated to the ſaid ambaffador extraordinary, the pain that the diſorder in which he found the kingdom gave him; and in order to redreſs them, having choſen a cabinet council, the ſaid ambaffador was the firſt member of it, and was preſent at all the meetings. So that to this moment he has had opportunities of giving his advice, which has been almoſt generally followed. His Maſteſty, therefore, cannot comprehend what reaſon the ſaid ambaffador had to preſent his memorial of the fourth of June: in which he complains chiefly, that he hath made many preſſing inſtances for applying a ſpeedy remedy to the dangers which threatened, &c. not doubting but his Maſteſty conſidered the remedies which might be applied againſt theſe threatening calamities, in his ſecret cabinet-council; and as he is a ſtranger to what paſſes there, he cannot ſee but with ſurprize, that nothing is done which might contribute to the re-eſtabliſhment of his Maſteſty’s affairs, and that even the ſecurity of his perſon is neglected.

“ In answer to this, James replied, that he was the firſt to diſcover theſe diſorders. That ſince he came to the kingdom, he conſidered by himſelf, and in his cabinet-council, the moſt effectual means of preventing them. That the ambaffador was always preſent in council, where he either adviſed or conſented to whatever paſſed, and could atteſt, that all the orders which were given were as punctually executed as the preſent circumſtances would permit, the King having always placed them in the hands of thoſe who were nominated by the ambaffador.

“ The ſaid ambaffador alledges in his memorial, that it is unneceſſary to ſpeak of what is paſt, as there is no time to apply a remedy. But, as there is ſtill time to puniſh thoſe who are guilty of the faults or neglects that have been committed, his Maſteſty not being able to gueſs what the ambaffador complains of, thinks it proper that he ſhould explain himſelf more clearly.

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"D'Avaux said in his memorial, that there were clear and circumstantial accounts from different quarters, that there were 10,000 protestants in Dublin, who had arms, and who had written to the prince of Orange for assistance, &c. James answers, that he was the first who gave this intelligence, and that d'Avaux would never have heard of it unless he (James) had told it to him when he asked his advice, which he did repeatedly, not only in council, but also at a private meeting, at which the marquis de Rosen was present. It was then determined to disarm the protestants, and to deliver up their arms and horses to the marquis de Rosen in the presence of the ambassador. But on the evening before this design was to be put in execution, James had certain intelligence, that the presbyterians had sent letters to the prince of Orange. The intended bearer of these letters, who was his informer, knew their ring-leaders, who might be all seized in a little time. James, who would never change what was once determined in council without the consent of the ambassador, consulted him on the subject of this information, in the presence of the marquis de Rosen. They were both of opinion it was proper to delay the execution of their design, until as many as possible of the guilty could be seized. James, seeing that it would take up too much time to discover them all, seized at the end of five or six days as many as were known to be guilty; and as necessity obliged him to send the troops employed in the search against the rebels of Inniskillin, he consulted the ambassador about the means of continuing the search in de Rosen's absence; it was agreed to employ a lieutenant-general, the viscount de Mont-Cassel, on that service, and the necessary orders were then given to him, though to little purpose.

"The said ambassador complains that his Majesty was informed, that the protestants had carried already, and continued to carry away the effects of the rebels, &c. which should have been confiscated for his Majesty's use, and knew that the sheriffs and others employed to search for these effects, had allowed them to be conveyed away, for the sake of some presents made to themselves. He alledges that this is a thing of so much consequence to his Majesty's interests, that he humbly entreated him more than once, to arrange it in a proper manner, and had even proposed the means of doing so, but that nothing had been done as yet to prevent this robbery.

"It

"It is true, his Majesty has heard, that the effects, not of rebels, but of such protestants as endeavoured to go over to England, had been transported to that country, and that that happened by the connivance of some officers of the revenue, who are protestants, and are settled in sea-port towns. His Majesty ordered them instantly to be discharged from their employments, although there had been nothing proved against them, nor any formal accusation given in of their crime; and his orders had been executed so punctually by the commissioners of his revenue, on whom these officers depend, that when the ambassador gave in his memorial there remained but two or three of them in the kingdom. These three were men of fidelity well known to the commissioners. All this considered, his Majesty cannot conceive what the ambassador means by this article in his memorial.

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"As the ambassador mentions the estates of rebels, from which his Majesty might draw, by legal means, considerable sums, which he might employ in paying his troops; and as he observes, with pain, that the most Christian King will be dissatisfied when he learns, that his Majesty does not avail himself of the succours which he has in his hands, and which are as considerable as they are necessary in the present pressing exigencies of his affairs; his Majesty would have the ambassador know, that according to the laws of the country, these confiscations cannot be lawfully touched by him or by his officers, but after a sentence passed by the ordinary judges, or an act of parliament." James gives reasons why neither the one nor the other could be done at this time, and thence concludes, "that the ambassador has been ill informed, when he believed that his Majesty could have, before now, taken these confiscations in a lawful manner." James then acquaints D'Avaux, with the orders which he had given to the sheriffs and to the commissioners of the customs, whom he had appointed as commissaries in the different counties in the kingdom, to make up an exact inventory of the estates, not only of rebels, but also of absentees; "and that it was not in his power to do more until he could take these estates in a lawful manner; being naturally averse to do any thing contrary to the established laws of his kingdom, that would give handle to his enemies to justify their accusations of his arbitrary con-

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duct, about which they made so much noise in his other kingdoms; and he does not think it consistent with ordinary prudence in the present state of his affairs.

“It is clearly proved by what hath been said above, that his Majesty hath neglected nothing which he could lawfully do for preserving these estates, and he does not recollect to have received any advice from the ambassador on this subject, unless it was to appoint the Sieur Tuffereau, commissary general for these estates; as if he alone, being a stranger to the language and customs of the country, had been sufficient for an office, which so many hundreds find a difficulty in executing.” James assures D’Avaux, that the value of these estates had been exaggerated. That they consisted entirely of cows, sheep, and some corn, for which there were no purchasers. “These things being considered, his Majesty imagines, that the most Christian King, who has too good a judgment not to know what should be done on these occasions, will be persuaded that he avails himself of all the means in his hands, and will not blame his actions, when he has considered them with that friendship and benevolence which he has so generously shown upon all occasions.

The rest of this memorial regards military operations, which D’Avaux had condemned, and James endeavours to justify.”

James’s troops in Ireland had neither arms nor pay*. He sent lord Dover to France, to ask a supply of both, and a reinforcement of men and officers. His original instructions to him, in Melfort’s hand, but with his own signature and signet, are among Mr. Nairne’s papers.

Instructions

Nairne’s Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 64.

* There is a return of arms, &c. as early as the first of April, which shows how much James must have stood in need of these things at this time. The pay of the officers of the ordnance amounted to 3165 l. 7 s. 6 d. a year.

Ibid. No. 56.
Ibid. No. 62.

There is a list of the forces then employed in different parts of the kingdom. It differs from that which James himself gives in the journal of his operations, when he new-modelled his army, in the month of April; because Tyrconnel, whom he had sent to review the troops over all the kingdom, had kept up some regiments which James had intended to disband.

Their

*Instructions to our right trusty and well beloved Cousin and Chancellor,
Henry Earl of Dover, going by our Order to France.*

JAMES R.

SINCE the invasion of this our kingdom by the prince of Orange and his adherents, has made us change the design we had of going immediately into England for that of preserving Ireland, you are to press our dearest brother, the most Christian King, to send us immediately twelve or fifteen thousand muskets or firelocks. The more firelocks the better for our service.

You must press him for one thousand barrels of powder, with match and musket ball in proportion, with handgranads and other things fitt for the service, this kingdome being perfectly destitute of all things of that kinde.

Thes, with a present supply of money, you must press for, as of immediate necessity; and that no time be lost, you must hav the armes lying at Brest for our service dispatched without delay.

You must hav a considerable number of swords sent over, ther being extream want of them amongst the forces; shabres, if you can get them, are preferable; ther must be belts sent in proportion to them, and bandaliers in proportion to the muskets and firelocks.

Their pay was as follows:

FOOT.	per diem.	HORSE.	per diem.	DRAGOONS.	per diem.	Ibid. No. 57.
	s. d.		s. d.		s. d.	
Captain - - -	6 0	Captain - - -	9 0	Captain - - -	7 0	
Lieutenant - - -	2 0	Lieutenant - - -	4 4	Lieutenant - - -	4 0	
Ensign - - -	1 8	Cornet - - -	3 4	Cornet - - -	3 0	
Serjeant - - -	0 8	Quarter-master - - -	2 6	Quarter-master - - -	1 8	
Corporal - - -	0 6	Corporal - - -	1 0	Corporal - - -	0 10	
Drummers and private men - - -	0 4	Private men - - -	0 6½	Private man - - -	0 5½	
FIELD OFFICERS.			FIELD OFFICERS.			
Colonel - - -	4 0	Colonel - - -	4 0	Colonel - - -	4 0	
Lieut. Colonel - - -	2 0	Lieut. Colonel - - -	3 0	Lieut. Colonel - - -	3 0	
Major - - -	6 0	Major - - -	9 0	Major - - -	7 0	
Adjutant - - -	3 0	Adjutant - - -	4 4	Adjutant - - -	4 0	
Quarter-master - - -	1 8	Chaplain - - -	1 3	Chaplain - - -	1 3	
Chaplain - - -	1 3	Surgeon - - -	1 3	Surgeon - - -	1 3	
Surgeon - - -	1 3					

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Nairne's
Papers, D.N.

vol. i. fol.

No. 34.

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You must endeavour with all speed to procure to us six thousand foot of the old troops of our dearest brother, without which our affairs here will be in great danger. For though we have a great number of men, yet they are for the most part new and undisciplined, as well the officers as the souldiours, and consequently will be unequally matched with the old troops designed against us. But if that body of old men come, we have no reason to fear the event; and you must hold forth the advantages this will be off to the most Christian King, doing it seasonably; and the danger there may be in the delay. That these very troops will serve as part of what we expect at our going to England. Lett our dearest brother know, that all our interest depends upon this one step and the suddenness of it, for all these reasons you yourself can lay out, being so fully informed of this kingdom and all our affairs.

These men must have their officers, arms, tools, and train of artillery with its officers, boats for a bridge, and all other things necessary for the service.

You are not to use our former instructions, only to shew them to our dearest consort the queen, by whose orders and directions you are to proceed in all things in our service.

You shall likewise shew them to our trusty and well-beloved Henry lord Waldgrave our envoy extraordinary, by whom you shall be informed of what may be fit for our service, and with whom you are to consult concerning the best means speedily to obtain our desires, that being almost of as great importance as the supplies in demand itself.

You are to insist on the recalling the marquis de Rosen, for the reasons contained in our other instructions of the date of the 15th of July, instant.

If you shall be certainly informed that the affair of Derry and Inniskilling is over, or that we have some other considerable advantage; in that case, without other orders, you shall proceed upon our other instructions with all the application imaginable.

That you send hither three courvoles or other packet boats immediately after your arrival, that we may have boats on this side to send with expresses in case of need. That you remember to inform fully of the matter of the wine, the wool, and the other customs, according to the

memoir herewith given with you of this state: in all which, you are to doe what shall be best for you to obtaine our desires.

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July.

Given at our court of Dublin Castle, the 16th of July, 1689,
and of our reign the fifth year.

J. R.

The instructions to which the King refers in the preceding paper, contain very particular directions. Lord Dover was to embark at Kinsale, to wait on the Queen immediately upon his arrival, and to obey her instructions. He was to inform Lewis of the state of Ireland, and of the difficulties which James had to overcome. "The reasons of delay you have in the journal of this date, of which you are to make use, as being the matter of fact which has passed since our arrival here*.

Nairne's papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 33,

"The condition and nature of the arms come last from France, you are to inform of, but so, that no offence may be taken by Mr. de Louvois if he sent them, nor by any others of the ministers concerned."

James proceeds to mention the reasons, with which lord Dover was to endeavour to persuade Lewis to send him a fleet and troops, in order to invade England and make a diversion in Scotland. He marks the quantity of arms, stores, amunition, &c. which he wanted; sets forth his need of money and the advantage of sending him an immediate supply, and the necessity of sending it, on account of the loss which his Majesty must unavoidably sustain from the circulation of copper-tickets, which was only a temporary expedient to satisfy his creditors, by some acknowledgment of the debt he owed them.

He desires lord Dover "to make his principal application to the marquis de Louvois, and to answer every thing that may be objected against us or any thing we have done, especially in our behaviour to the French officers our dearest brother the most Christian King sent us, and all others of that nature, of which you have memorials and lists given you herewith, by which you will see how much we have preferred them on all occasions to our own subjects."

* See above, page 216.

He

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He then desires lord Dover to inform Lewis of his indulgence to the French subjects in the articles of trade, particularly in exporting wool and importing wine.

“ You are to endeavour with all the softness imaginable to have our dearest brother recall the marquis de Rosen, as one, after having done what he did at Londonderry, incapable to serve us usefully; you are to inform, if need be, of his contemning our protections, by ordering to drive in and starve not only those who lived peaceably at home, but likewise those who were protected by us; so that no promises will be believed from him, nor indeed from our officers, till the truth of this affair be known by the rebels. At Inniskillin they are become more numerous by much, every body running there for shelter from so unjust a violence. You shall shew how he required to be recalled, if this his project was not followed, and how he offered himself garant of the treaty with the town, and that if any violation of it happened he would put himself on their side; the which procedure of his there was nothing but the consideration of his most Christian Majesty could have made us suffer from him; and therefore, since we will not vindicate our justice by punishing of him, we must show our dislike of his procedure by having him recalled.”

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 40.

The Earl of Melfort to Lord Waldgrave.—Complaints against D'Avaux and Rosen,—sends to Lord Waldgrave a journal of the operations in Ireland, and desires him to solicit the King of France for assistance.

My Lord,

Dublin-Castle, August 10, 1689.

HIS Majesty has laid the affairs this express comes for so fully before you, that it is but little I have to add to it. Some time ago the French ambassador gave a memorial to the King, of things that the King his master advised the King to do; and amongst other things this was one, to cease the siege of Derry if there was no likelihood of taking it. These things the King was still inclined to, and therefore, did still deliberate how to execute them, and so, thought all were of opinion the siege was to be ceased, yet none was so much of that mind, as that it was fit to be done then, nor indeed before we had news that the English were just landing,

landing, and then all with one consent were of the same mind. You must know that I told you this, because the French ambassador and monsieur de Rosen are still laying all the blame on the King, for not following their advice as they say, whilst nothing in the world is more true, than that he still followed all that was practicable of it; and that for Rosen he never would give any, though the King has asked it many and many a time from him. Nor had the King the power to make him take the command of Derry on him, nor the ordering of any thing of that siege by no order he could send to him, as you will see by the King's letters to him and his in return, which I send you the copies of for your information.

He has done the King much harm. For if he had let the Protestants alone who were protected, their party at Inniskillin had not been so strong as it now is. But for what's past it is in vain to talk to you of it, nor to tell you the blame thrown on the two Hamiltons, or the diffidence the natives have of them. All we must look to now, is what's to come, and that depends on what the King of France will do. Let him send us quickly what he has to send us, especially men and arms, for those two would serve us. Send as many arms as possibly you can, and believe there is no want of raw men to be found here, if we had but some old troops to show them how to do well. Haste is all, and the King is so pressing to dispatch this, that I have not time to say the thousandth part of what I would say if I had time. The journal as it is I have sent to you, and by the next you shall have it more perfect.

I have time to add no more, but wonder we hear nothing from you since Porter came. We think there is some fault. But when we consider that the ways may be stopt, we must have patience. The King was never better in his health. God send him to be long so. I am, with all my heart,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

MELFORT."

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September.

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Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 42.

King James to Lord Waldgrave.

It is signed by himself at the top. It is indorsed by another hand thus, "sans date, possibly writ in September, 1689." It is again indorsed in Nairne's hand, "The King to Lord Waldgrave. September, 1689. Dublin."

He gives an account of affairs in Ireland, and shews the necessity of immediate succours from France.

WE have yours of the 31st of August, and another to my lord Melfort, with a full account of the audiences of my lord Dover, whom we hope shortly to see here, and by him be informed of the succours we expect thence, which for their own interest as well as ours ought to be hastened, that we may soon quench the flame which Schomberg's landing in this kingdom hath kindled here. For although God has blessed our councils and endeavours already beyond our expectation, and we find them so well seconded by our loyal subjects here, that we are persuaded we shall hinder its spreading out of that corner of the North where it is now fixed; yet time is precious, and it may be conjectured out of Schomberg's conduct, that his instructions were either to take a present possession of the kingdom, (of which he had some hopes at his arrival,) or to protract the war in it, and keep it out of England by that means, which must in the sequel be the ruin of this kingdom too; for it being already impoverished, it will by a lasting war with two armies in the bowels of it be quite consumed. Wherefore it is of great consequence that this war be speedily ended, as well for the preservation of this kingdom as the transportation of it into England, whilst our friends there are in heart. With that intention having gathered together as good an army as ever was seen here, and as well provided as possible, finding in both officers and soldiers a resolution for God, ourselves, and their country, and an earnest desire to be brought to the enemy; on the 6th of September, we came with them within three miles of Dundalk, where Schomberg lies encamped. Since which time we have often offered him occasions of battle. We have omitted nothing that might provoke him to it by excursions of parties to his out guards, by foraging near his camp, and consuming with fire what we could not transport; yet he continues within his

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his trenches without accepting a battle or even a fair skirmish, although his parties have been often much superior in number to ours. Thus much, that you may understand our present condition, which is such as we may hope to hold out much longer than till November, the time designed for our succours, which you may so represent, as not to slacken the ministers of that court in dispatching them as if they were not necessary; but to hasten them, by shewing them how easy it is to chase Schomberg out of this country, which would open a door for our return to England; and by this, break that formidable league against France, and lay the corner stone of a lasting peace in Christendome. [*A passage in unintelligible cyphers.*]

The frigate called La Jollie, commanded by captain Nangle, is leaky and unfit to keep the sea this winter season. Deal with Monsieur Seignelay for another frigate of the same bigness, but stronger and finer for winter service; and get his consent for changing the captains, that Nangle may remain with the other frigate, and the captain of it return with the Jollie. As to the money, we ordered that 21000 livres should be given to the queen, the remainder you may receive and keep by you, till you receive our order to lay it out."

[Here follows the sentence of a court martial; it has been inserted above in a note, p. 194.]

"We send the letters to Rome; that to all the cardinals is signed and sealed with a flying seal. Enquire of some of the ministers in that court, if that King adds any thing to his signature besides his name; and, if you find he does, add the same to this letter and then seal it, and, by the first occasion, acquaint us what it is, that we may do the like hereafter. My lord Tyrconnel hath written to the Queen about a business, which she will acquaint you with."

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D.N. vol. i.
fol. No. 44.

"Copy of a letter without names, concerning Ireland."

It was written from France and probably by Lord Waldgrave. It gives an account of Lord Dover's reception, and of the success of his negotiation. It shows the state of James's affairs in Ireland, and the situation and disposition of the court of France.—Rosen is to be recalled, and Lausun to be sent in his place.—Lausun's character.—Money transactions.

My Lord,

I Have received your lordship's by my lord Dover, who tells me, that he has given your lordship an account of the disposition of this court, with relation to Ireland. But, however, it being my duty, and I having been present at the audience he has had of the ministers, I will give your lordship an account of what I have heard and of what I can guess. The first audience he had was of Mons. de Louvois, to whom he delivered a copy of the demands contained in the second instruction. Mons. de Louvois told him, he had already seen it, being sent by Mons. D'Avaux; and that my Lord could say nothing to him which could encrease the opinion he had of the great consequence of preserving Ireland, and of the danger, if it were not succoured. But that the present posture of their affairs was such, that they could not spare any men, till the end of October; and that they had not arms or ammunition ready, their magazines being exhausted, what was sent into Ireland already being the very remnants; so that it would require time to get together any quantity. That in case Mons. de Schomberg should land, he hoped the King would be able to defend himself, till the beginning of November; and that then he should not want assistance. I cannot see how they could refuse 6000 men, considering the good posture of their affairs; but much less, why they refuse a small quantity of arms. My lord Dover having begged, that, if they could not send the quantity desired, they should at least send what they had ready, every thousand arms being a thousand men to the King. They had a warm dispute about the lies, that were written by many of the French in Ireland; Lord Dover demonstrating plainly the impossibility of doing better, considering the desolation of the country; and that many of the employments, which are said to be ill-executed, as relating to the money, commissaries for the army, &c. were executed by Frenchmen. Mons. de Louvois did answer, that he was sensible of
the

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the difficulties in a country destroyed by civil war, and where the method of arms and sieges being new, few had any experience in their employments. But that he was convinced, that no industry was used to obviate these difficulties. That, whensoever a cart was not to be found with horses, the artillery or baggage stood for want of industry to get cows or oxen. Then when any the least screw was broke of any of the arms, there was no care to have a smith to mend them. That the French, who had executed their employments ill, as I think, especially some of the commissaries were said to have done, were not recommended from hence, and it was the fault of those who admitted them, as I remember, lord Dover did say, that they were recommended by Mons. D'Avaux. The King of France has been since with the Queen; and has said the same as Mons. de Louvois, as to the time of sending into Ireland. But he seemed more ready to believe my lord Dover, concerning the management of affairs there. They are very ready to recal Rozen. But I doubt much, whether they are not sorry Lausun is sent in his place; it being only yielded to (as I believe) because the King has writ so earnestly for him, and that many, who do not love him, are glad to send him out of the way. I have been told, by those who are most affectionate to the King's service, that whenever he has had power, he has been so insupportably imperious and haughty, that it was impossible to live with him; and that, since he was so with his own master, it is to be feared he will be worse when he finds himself and the succours he commands necessary. Besides, it is so long since he has been in an army, that he must have forgot much of the method of war; and certainly his imprisonment and life since have taken away that vigour and activity, necessary to command a raw army. He has shewed so much ill-humour about this matter, that I have almost fallen out with him about it. The first two or three days, after lord Dover's arrival, he told us, that he would not go, unless he were made a duke. When he began to be cool enough to consider, that such a capitulation would send him again to prison, he said he would go; but told me, particularly, that, if there were a man, to whom he wished the greatest plague he could invent, it should be to be in his circumstances, and to be sent into Ireland. That he was grown old, and desired quiet; and, instead of that, undertook a desperate business; only fit for somebody who had neither reputation, nor interest, nor quiet, nor any thing else to lose. I believe no
general

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general in France but would have been ambitious to restore the King, and to venture their lives in such a cause. He intends to stay to go with the men, because he will take better care to have every thing necessary. He is very ill with Mons. de Louvois. But I hope the latter is so good a servant to his master, that he will not oppose any thing out of a private pique. I was glad to find, that lord Dover was so well received at this court, because Mons. D'Avaux had writ, that, after the sea fight, he seemed to be sorry for the victory, and turned it into ridicule; so that the King of France took notice of it to the Queen, and the ministers to me. But he has wrote since, in such a manner, as lord Dover has been received with great kindness.

The bills of exchange, drawn upon me, were taken at Chester, as I perceive, by a letter I have had from James Grimes, in which he desires me to find some other way to send money; and that he thinks the ordinary way of returning by merchants dangerous. I have already informed your lordship, that I have spoke to Mons. de Croissy, who told me he had received a letter from your lordship, on that subject; and had accordingly spoke to the King of France, who answered, that he had already given 2000 pistoles, which he believed had not been spent as was designed, since they were for printing papers, and sending intelligence into Ireland; and he was informed by Mons. D'Avaux, that the King had very little intelligence from his friends in England.

I have spoke since, but found less hope since the war is likely to be carried into Ireland. Whereas, if the war could have been carried into England, it would have been of such invincible necessity, that it must have been madness to have refused it. I have also informed your lordship, that I went to Mons. de Metz, Garde du Tresor Royal; and told him, that he knew very well, that I had received 50,000 livres for the month the King was here. That I had not any notice from the King, at his departure, that I was not to receive the whole sum; and, therefore, I believed, he expected I should do it, and return into Ireland what was above the Queen's proportion. He told me, that the comptroller general had ordered him to pay me only 21,000 livres a month; and that the King had left his orders concerning the rest. I asked him, whether the rest passed through his hands, and to whom he paid it, to be returned into Ireland. But could not get any light, by his answer. Upon which,

which, I desired Mons. de Laufun to speak with the comptroller general, who told him the King had left his orders, and would not give him any account.

1689.

While James was endeavouring, in vain, to force Schomberg to fight, he sent Lord Melfort to France, to inquire into the success of lord Dover's negotiations, and to convince Lewis the XIV. and his ministers of the facility and advantage of making a diversion in England.—Melfort wrote the following letters upon his arrival in France.

October.

The Earl of Melfort to King James, St. Germain's, October, 1689. "Upon his arrival from Ireland, and before his going to Rome."

Carte's Papers, D. N.
1. fol. No.

A copy in Nairne's hand, who was at this time Secretary to the Earl of Melfort.

74.

An account of his reception.—Confutes the misrepresentations of D'Avaux, Dover, and an Irish faction at Paris.—Endeavours to reconcile the French ministry to an invasion of England.—Conduct and character of Lord Dover.—Further reasons for the intended invasion.—State of Scotland.—Correspondence to be settled with Scotland and England.—Expectations from the new Pope.—The Queen proposes to send Melfort to Rome.—He consents to go, and asks for instructions.—News from England.—The Queen's conduct.

May it please your Majesty,
SINCE my last to your Majesty, we have had many accounts of success you have had; and we have only wanted the confirmation of so good news, to give us a joy we have now been long strangers to. God Almighty grant, that it be true, and your Majesty's most just and righteous cause may prosper, to the ruin of your enemies.

After I had given my first accounts here to the ministers and to the King himself, and touched on some things I had found your Majesty most blamed for, I was not willing to press any farther, till I should learn how what I had said relished; and, for this end, I employed my friends at court to get me notice of the different sentiments. I was not long of finding, that the King was satisfied, and saw, that before he had not been rightly informed, neither by D'Avaux nor lord Dover, of the

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state of Ireland, either before your Majesty came to it or since; and that, not finding things so desperate, he begun to be of the opinion, that the help he gave would not be lost. The ministers pretended to be so well satisfied with the answers I had given to what your Majesty was accused of, and what was laid to my charge, that every one told me what they had been informed of, and so gave me the occasion to vindicate all; a matter not hard to do, for one so much conversant in the whole matter. On the main, I found the calumnies to come from the ambassador, Rosen, and some of the French officers, on the one hand; and from a knot of Irish on the other, who reside here at Paris. As for the French, all I could do was, to answer them. I did it fully, in ways not worthy troubling your Majesty with. But as for the Irish, I made it my business to find out their malice, as well as the ways they took to execute it. I soon found, that the fountain of this here was one bishop Malone, who, some time ago, being pressed to go to Ireland, had refused, and being put to it, declared, that he was entrusted at the court of France by duke Tyrconnel, and for the clergy and nobility of Ireland, and consequently could not go. This he drew up in a paper, and was resolved to have presented it to the Queen. But some of his countrymen, more wise than he, it seems, prevented it. This I had from one of that kingdom, who saw the paper.

This man, pretending so odd an ambassade, has a secret correspondence and access to the ministers, as I am informed, to whom he shews letters of correspondence from Ireland of a most abominable strain; especially three (after which I now hunt), wherein the great things done in that kingdom before your Majesty's coming there are fully set out; and how you had, by the advice of ill councillors, ruined all the good order you found in it, and hindered duke Tyrconnel's designs. I was almost despairing to find any of these so true, as that I might build upon them, when the Queen was pleased to tell me, that she had got the last of them from that bishop himself, a good luck I could not hope for. I begged it; and, though she could not give me the original, till she had spoken to the bishop, yet she has promised me a copy of it, by which I shall more fully know what is said, and be better able to vindicate your Majesty here, and be able to find out the person from whom it was sent; which I think is of the last importance to your Majesty's honour, to have

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him punished, with all the rigour the laws civil or military, if an officer, will allow of; and I must conjure your Majesty, though I know it needless in this matter, where your honour and reputation in this country is concerned, not to have compassion on him, nor have regard either to his relations or any thing else; but have him punished so, as the world may see he was a calumniator of his King: a crime merits more deaths than that ill man has hairs. For it is by such, that more ill has been said of your Majesty's royal person and proceedings, than it were decent for me to repeat; and, by having this end of the cord, your Majesty may pluck out all the accomplices of so wicked a fact, and learn why they came to be guilty of it. Their accomplices here are as many almost as there are of Irish. For all have seen, and either carried about copies of these letters, or trumpeted their contents about; but there are two more guilty than the rest, viz. O'Farrel, a lawyer, and another lawyer besides the bishop. I am confident the Queen sends your Majesty the original paper. I shall endeavour to take off all the impressions that and such like have given in which, hitherto, I have neither been idle nor unsuccessful. I confess, I found, amongst the generality, a strange change. But it begins to clear up, and every day will more and more, by the assistance of Almighty God.

One point in your Majesty's instructions I had not insisted on, as I told your Majesty in my last, because the Queen would first think of it amongst her Majesty, lord Waldgrave, and myself. This, at least, she did, upon the repeated news of success your Majesty had had. The point was, for assistance to go to England or Scotland; and, besides, the advices from England were so many spurs to haste her on to it; at least, the fear was, it should be looked on as a new proposition, and she or we looked on as inconstant, and might hinder the succours promised. This I over-ruled, and so was ordered to go on with it, when the Queen went to Chaliot, and the court to Fountainbleau.—At Chaliot, Mr. de Louvois came to visit her, and told her, that it would be fit to send me to Fountainbleau for hastening on the succours. She told him, that was agreed on already; and I could do no more. However, he said, I was one would be welcome to every body, and my very face would hasten them, and keep them in mind. The Queen sent for me, and told me this before my lord Waldgrave; so we took up the matter of going into

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England again, and concluded it was fit to propose it; but so as that it might not come as a new thing. So I was ready to go Thursday last. On Wednesday, the Queen sent for me, and told me she had altered her mind. Mr. de Laufun had been there, and she thought it would be to no purpose to propose that matter at this time. I let her Majesty see, that it was so to be done as not to be a new thing. That it was of importance to your Majesty, to know their opinion, and what you had to rely on, and so begged the manner might be left to me, which she was pleased to agree to; and so I went on Friday. Saturday, I met with M. de Louvois, and discoursed long with him of the state of Ireland. I shewed him what the condition of it was, at your Majesty's arrival there; the difficulties you had to encounter, and the little help; the poverty of the country, and the threatening wants, through the licentious plundering of the inhabitants, and destroying the stocks of the protestants; and that the best corn country of Ireland either was entirely waste, or the seat of the war. That, from these, and the want of money, which would infallibly be so soon as they came to be in greater quantity, than the ordinary stock of money current in the kingdom. That all these things make it evident, that Ireland cannot be long kept, without constant and vast supplies.

That your Majesty went to Ireland only in your way to Britain; and that the door there was open, so soon as any considerable party was ready to join with your Majesty. So that, whenever that happened, you did never question the assistance of the most Christian King for your return thither. That your Majesty had all the moral certainties imaginable to believe, that England was now in those circumstances; and that, therefore, this was the time to provide for your Majesty's transportation and succour. That it was the interest of France, and good *menagerie*, to do soon what must be done at last, after a vast loss of time and expences with more uncertainty. That there still would be danger, and there still must be an army to go, and a fleet to carry it. That there never could be a greater disproportion betwixt the fleets on the French side; and that this was the season they could best send their troops, and least fear any other enemy at sea than wind and weather. A copy of all these arguments, at length, I shall send your Majesty. This he himself introduced, by asking, what I thought would be the event of any advantage
your

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your Majesty could get in Ireland. I told him, that, if it were not followed by further attempts, whilst the one party were hearty, and the other in fear, it would have no other effect than to hasten your ruin; and that, by the forces they would send against your Majesty in the spring: and that, in all probability, it would need more assistance to preserve Ireland, than it would do now to gain England; and so went on. By this means, it came to be no new proposition, nor did he look on it as such.

He told me, the men would be no great difficulty; the horses would; but that the greatest was the fleet. That, if the English kept out all they had this summer, as was reported, it was not possible for them to keep out so many.

I told him, that it was not possible for the English to keep out their great ships this winter. That many of their other ships were so ill built, and of green timber, that they would not be able to keep the seas in this rough weather; but, however, that the same difficulty occurred for the 6000 already condescended on; all which was out of dispute, and what could safely carry them would need but small addition to secure the rest.

He said, that was not all. Ships to transport the horse and dragoons must be provided, and that would take time; and that a small number of ships not embarrassed with a convoy, would be too hard for a far greater number of ships with a convoy. I told him, though I was not seaman enough to answer all these objections; yet I remember it was not thought so by the seamen, when the King had the prince of Orange to oppose. He told me, that the great difficulty yet remained; which was, that, in case of ill weather, they were masters of no port on the coast. I told him, that to me appeared the easiest: for that moment your Majesty set foot in England, you would be master of the best port in it; and then, what with it, Ireland, and the coast of France, they would be in a better condition than the English themselves, when that port was taken from them. He said, that he wished it were in their power to do this; but he did not think it possible for them. However, I was glad he would discourse of it: a thing he could not be brought to before, by letters.

He complained to me of lord Dover grievously, for quarrelling him in his own house; and saying that, if the French intended to sell their

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wars so dear, he was not come for that end. He says, that he told him, that the lord Dover had taken himself to quarrelling, at which he was very unskilful; and so they parted that time. That lord Dover had excused that matter afterwards; but that he told him freely, that at this court there needed a great practice and experience of affairs, and a good temper, not to be soon found out, and to make their matters go well on. That, afterwards, speaking of the affairs of Ireland, lord Dover said, there were disorders; but he was going back, and would take care to see all put right; at which Mr. de Louvois laught much, and told the King of France, Ireland was now secure, lord Dover was to take the government on him. These are things I expected not from lord Dover; for your Majesty may remember, that he told you, one cause of your affairs going ill was, that I did not carry as I ought to Mr. de Louvois. To me he was all kindness, and told me all the time, the comte de Lauzun and others said all the ills of me. He had still said, that if I had done ten times worse, yet I was the only man about your Majesty he had ever conversed with capable of serving in these stations I was in. This I only tell your Majesty, to shew how far my coming has changed the talk here; and, indeed, I think there was a good providence in it, in relation to your Majesty's affairs; for it is not conceivable the villainous reports they had spread abroad. And, indeed, matters go too far, when subjects will raise their reputation upon the ruin of that of their sovereign; yea, that they dare connive at others doing it for them. Of these sorts of intelligences there has been too many.

I find too, that Mr. de Lauzun is no ways satisfied with my lord Dover's conduct here, and thinks he was no ways fit to have been sent; and Mr. de Louvois told me, that he had said to his master, that he pitied your Majesty, for having been reduced to the necessity of sending such a man. For his part, when he met with such men in business, he knew no remedy but to go and sleep.

But to return to the other affair. I spoke fully to Mr. de Seignelay, and found him more averse from hazarding the fleet than Mr. de Louvois had been, and make the difficulties insuperable for this season. I pressed him on it, as far as I thought reasonable then; having a mind not to put him out of patience, so as that I might have room to begin again at the court's return; and indeed I durst not press, least having
taken

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taken the thing upon myself, any ill answer had been given, and I blamed. On Sunday morning, I made the Queen's compliment to the King, and thought to have said no more, but just to put him in mind, that the time was near in which he had promised to send the succours into Ireland. But he entered in discourse of the whole matter, and expressed all the kindness and all the respect imaginable to your Majesty and to the Queen; gave me again an account of the affliction of his affairs; and said, that he will not only do what he finds difficult, but if there be a possibility he desires no more, and said, that it was so much his own interest, that he was not to be suspected in the matter. That Louvois had told him, that we had had a long discourse together on your Majesty's affairs; and that, if there remained any possibility of doing what I had proposed, in relation to your Majesty's passage into England, he would do it. But that, if by any accident he came to lose his fleet, your Majesty's affairs would be desperate, and his in an ill condition. That he knew he was blamed, for not fighting the enemy this summer; but that, I knew it, things were never represented as they truly were: for he did not think the state of the enemy so bad as it really was. And that, I knew well, some years ago, it would have been looked on as extravagant to say, France could have coped with any of the two sea powers; and now, though he confessed it was not the same brave English, but a company of rebels, yet both the powers were united against him. That, if he came to fight on the coast of England, and had (as it could not be otherwise) any disabled ships, not having a port near, all these must be necessarily lost. I told him, that, if it only stood at that, your Majesty's landing in England secured him one of the best, if not more. He said, he was afraid that might harm your business in England. I told him, that, if your Majesty did not go to England in a condition above these precautions, you could not think to succeed. At that, he seemed to be pleased; so I told him, that, one time or other, this must fall out; and doing it in time, would save much time, money, and blood; and I did not doubt, that if he did apply himself to it, he would find ways to overcome the most difficult steps that lay in the way; and to think of it soon would give the more time for the preparations. He said, that, as for what concerned the 6000 men, he had taken his measures; and that the regiments were named, and should soon be at Brest, tho'

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tho' he durst not let know which they were, lest the ill opinion was here of the Irish affairs might occasion them to run away; so he must bring them by other ways: that he would, in all things, do his utmost for your Majesty's interest; and a great deal more to this purpose.

Upon this whole matter, seeing there is no body in the world knows so much of the sea affairs as your Majesty does, it may be fit that your Majesty should write to the most Christian King, on this subject, yourself; and give him your opinion, how this matter may be done, and send your letter to the Queen, to see if it quadrates with the circumstances your Majesty's affairs may be in when it comes; and this, so much the rather, that I have the little seal for sealing, and she will be sure to make the best use of what your Majesty shall so write; and, if there be any thing to add to what I have said on the subject, your Majesty would be pleased to send it; and, in the mean time, I shall still be going on, as far as it is possible for me here, in conjunction with my lord Waldegrave, whose health obliges him to go and pass the winter in the warmer climate.

I hope he gives your Majesty an account, that he and I live in that perfect understanding your Majesty desires; and, if ever it should be otherwise, I shall look on myself as most unfortunate.

The foreign news I leave entirely to my lord Waldegrave, and the Queen has all the papers from England, except this, which I send to your Majesty; in which, you will see the true humour of Scotland, and that what I foretold the D. Hamilton is true; that where one grumbled at me, there would be a hundred open clamours against him, if ever he came to have any hand in the government.

Your Majesty will likewise see there, the bravery of Cannon and the other Scotch officers, who must have some sort of relief, if your Majesty thinks fit, considering the inconveniency of sending any part of what lands once in Ireland. The Queen may demand something to be sent immediately to Scotland, without touching at Ireland; and this to be done so soon as the rest is gone from Brest. Some arms, ammunition, and some money must be had. It were pity so many brave men should perish without assistance.

I confess

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I confess I am in pain for their wants, though not so much as for these I know your Majesty must needs have where you are, considering how little ammunition was left; and, for that end, I begged of the intendant to hasten what was ordered to go with all speed. But I find all stays to go with my lord Dover, and he stays for the Soleil d'Affrique, which is to relieve the Jollie, and is not yet come from Rochfort. Indeed this was not right; but, as I informed your Majesty in my last, lord Dover gave all so much for lost, and had convinced all here so much of it, that I found he had no great mind to go back: for he said publickly at the table, the best could befall him was to be taken by the way and carried to England: he had friends there, and the prince of Orange would be kind to him. This he said to the duchess of Powis, and pretended to be angry when the act of attainder was against us, (proposed, for it did not pass) that he had not writt into England, to inform that he was not in Ireland; the attainder going only against such as were there in arms, as they called it. These things are foolish. At present, I am doing all I possibly can to hasten on the succours; and I will leave no stone unturned to obtain your passage into England: for the more I see from thence, the more I find of reason for your Majesty's hazarding there.

The matter of intelligence has been managed here by Mr. Innis and his correspondents, all depending on the care of Sir Robert Clerk, whose concern for your royal interest is above what I am able to express; and, indeed, without him and his correspondent, author of this long letter I send you, there would be nothing here, but storys one can make nothing of, nor any way rely upon.

This correspondent, whose name I know not, your Majesty will find by his writings to be an intelligent man, and much knowing in all the affairs, especially those of Scotland; and that comes from his great familiarity with Scalmorley, Sir James Montgomery, and, by his means, this man has had the influence to raise many a broil amongst them, and is still raising more.

This correspondence must be entertained; and that cannot be without money: for the persons concerned have not whereon to live. This must be soon too, and I thought it might have been supplied from the 29,000 pounds your Majesty received for yourself, of the 50,000 was
given

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given for your entertainment. But, upon discourse with my lord Waldgrave, I find he could not get the ministers to let him know what they resolved in that matter; nor to explain whether it was paid or not, or whether it was to be paid at all. This is unlucky; but it must be known; for it is of importance, that distinction be made of what is for your entertainment, and what for the war; yet so as no exception can be taken at the demand. The difference I take to be this, that what is given for entertainment, your Majesty may dispose of for such ends as you shall think fit; and, indeed, I think your Majesty will need a considerable part of it to live on, and for the assistance of such as are like to starve in gaols in England upon your Majesty's account, and some part of it must go for such intelligence, as they would starve; for they believe none but their own, and all these are refugees and fanaticks, who write all the whig news they can pick up. This will not do your business. Besides, some person must be sent to give an account of your Majesty's affairs, lest they, who all pretend to skill in the politicks, make judgment on the wrong notions they have; and so believe, that your Majesty would be incapable of relieving them, tho' you come back: so ill an opinion have they of your conduct; and so little they know the condition of your affairs. As for example, all who come from England rail against me as a traitor and a Sunderland, or worse, if that can be; because that I durst not come into England myself; and, therefore, had hindered your Majesty from coming, tho' you had arms enough, 15,000 French all this summer in the army, 700,000 *l.* sterling money from France, and the command of their whole fleet. I confess, had this been so, I must have been worse than they can conceive of me, if I had been against your Majesty's going. But, as foolish as this is, it is universally believed; and, therefore, there must be a way of true intelligence found, which I am now upon, both directly from England to your Majesty, and by this.

Fergus Graham*, being come over here, will be the fit man to be the first informer of the true state of your affairs; and how much your Majesty deserves the praise of all the world for your conduct in Ireland, instead of being reproached. I thought to have sent Tempest first; but he will not look so disinterested as the other, who came fraught with com-

* Brother to the lord Preston.

plaints against me, and is now fully satisfied of the folly of them, and all the things they so fully believe in England. Besides, he is a fit man to take a farm, or find a farmer on the sea coast, for laying down of letters. If he think better to go to Ireland, I will send Mr. Tempest only to lord Preston and that gang; for there are several gangs who trust not one another; and all these must be managed separately, according to their tempers and desires, and what is possible to be done must be to keep them in heart; and yet not make them believe what we are sure cannot be performed; for, at the long run, such things does infinite harm.

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The next matter of great importance, is the management of this new Pope, who, they say, is entirely for France. He gained, but by one vote, to be elected; and all the French cardinals voted for him: so he owes his election to them, and the duke de Chaunes is his most intimate friend. They lived long in one house together; and that duke was instructed to stand for him, though none of the other parties imagined it; and he being a Venetian, is of a state has most generously espoused your Majesty's interest, and put affronts on the resident the prince of Orange would have sent, and has continued yours, in possession of your Majesty's right; and, it's said, that it was this Ottoboni who, before the election, proposed, that a considerable part of the money found with the old Pope's treasurers, should be employed for your Majesty's restoration. Most certain it is, that he has begun to compliment France, and has assured the ambassador of all the bulls now wanting for France; and the most Christian King has presented him with Avignon. So that I hope God will smile again on your Majesty's affairs, from that rigid corner from which so many of your misfortunes spring.

The distance your Majesty is at, made me advise the Queen to make your excuse, and to send her compliments early, and to begin to lay your Majesty's condition at his Holiness's feet; and I myself have made bold to write to the cardinals d'Este and Norfolk. These letters, whereof I have sent copies inclosed, that your Majesty may see what I do; in which, if I do amiss, your Majesty will pardon a zeal that cannot let slip any occasion of serving you, which my conscience convinces me is for the best; and I shall go on with this, till I have your Majesty's commands in the matter, and your own letters, which may either be done there, or

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the inclosed copy followed and signed by your Majesty, and sent back open to me, as you shall please to order, together with these to the cardinals. But I am yet to see the ministers here; and shall lay all before your Majesty, in the best method I can, before this express is dispatched.

There are some four or five hundred Irish officers and soldiers come to Lisle, from Hamborough, through all imaginable difficulties, till they came to the duke of Lorraine's army; who told them, if they said they were to serve in France, he must put them in prison: but, if they were to go and serve their own King, he would give them all passes. So they said they were to go to your Majesty to serve you; and he not only gave them passes, but money to bear their expences: a thing so generous as deserves your royal thanks; and, indeed, it has gained him more reputation here, than most things he could have done, considering his circumstances with the Emperor. These men we hope to get over supernumerary, when the rest comes. I never knew what impatience was, as now to be so long of hearing from your Majesty; especially at a time when there is all the reason in the world to believe some considerable action must have been done; and, indeed, in the circumstance your Majesty's army was, I think it is a considerable proof of your Majesty's conduct, that you did not run behind the Shannon, as others advised you, and as your army had done, had not you been at the head of it.

At St. Germain, 25th October.

I Have been several times at this place, in order to lay down ways for carrying on your Majesty's service; wherein, I hope, now, at last, something more considerable may be done. For the Queen will give your Majesty an account of the last discourse she had with this King, and I shall be sure to press it on with the ministers all I can, so long as I am here. But I confess an unexpected thing has happened to me, by a proposal of the Queen's to me, to go to Rome. I defended myself from it, with that deference I owe to her Majesty; and layed out my personal defects for that employment. But, withall, laid myself at her feet, to be disposed of. I likewise would not plead my character already, for an excuse; but would have had her see it might have been one, if the necessity was not urgent. She said she would hope, that if the King

here were of the mind, that it were fit I would not refuse the thing. I am not of a temper ever to refuse any thing, which may be for your Majesty's service, what hazard or trouble soever there may be in it. Of this, I believe, her Majesty will give you an account, and how the most Christian King was violent for it, as a thing of great importance to your Majesty and to him both, which I had confirmed to me, by M. de Seignelay, this day again.

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I must, therefore, tell your Majesty, that I go, when they order me to be gone; and that I expect your Majesty's approbation of my going, and your commands to me, in the terms here inclosed, or such others, as your Majesty shall think fit. But it seems to me most proper, to shun all expences, that I have no character, but that of your Majesty's secretary of state; and that your Majesty's letters have these expressions in it. For it will not be fit, that one in my circumstances be made an envoy; and, I am confident, your Majesty would not put it upon me, and there is not wherewithal to keep out the post of an ambassador: so secretary is more to be believed, than both the other characters, more honour and less charge. This, I hope, your Majesty will approve of, and haste back, two or three several ways, duplicates of what I send inclosed for your Majesty to sign. The reason that I leave the instructions so general is, that I am confident your Majesty is persuaded, that I will do all that lies in my power to serve you in every thing, and that I have the discretion not to do what I ought not, in any of your Majesty's concerns.

If there be necessity to have letters to any cardinals, such as the cardinals employed in affairs by this Pope, of whom we cannot now think your Majesty will not take it ill, I sign such letters only of compliment for you, which I will not do, but only in case of necessity; and that, I hope, shall not occur.

I am sensible, that I ought not to have gone without your Majesty's commands, if I had not thought that I could serve you both in this matter. But, to say the truth, I have been so tossed up and down, I have no will of my own; and, therefore, whatsoever is best for your Majesty I do it without hesitation.

I hope to get these duplicates of this dispatch sent next week; and, therefore, I shall not now enlarge on this matter, of which your Ma-

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jefty will see I had no thought, by my letters to the cardinals d'Esté and Norfolk. For, though I thought it might be fit, when I was in Ireland, and gave it in a note to your Majesty, yet it was quite out of my thoughts, having no orders from you; and, besides, now, that, upon what passed at Fountainbleau, and the conferences I had with the ministers, the same things being urged by the Queen to the King here, he begins to think more of the affairs of England (as possible); and that probably he will trust your Majesty with his fleet; I might hope to be so happy as to see your Majesty in England once again: but I submit.

I must tell your Majesty, that there is nothing so wicked, that some here, and others from England do not vent against me. But, I am afraid, they will be found as little your Majesty's friends, at the long run, as these in Scotland were. My happiness is to have your Majesty for my judge, who, I flatter myself, knows the bottom of my heart; and that it is as true as ever was in any subject's breast. I am, therefore, hopeful they will have no influence on your Majesty, whose goodness to me, on so many occasions, is the only comfort of my life; and that I esteem, above all the share I have of this world. Forgive my saying so much, tho' it is of one so entirely your Majesty's own, by all the ties which bind a faithful subject to the best of masters, as well as Kings.

Since writing this, it's thought absolutely fit, that there be another copy of the letter to the Pope, with credentials in it to me, as ambassador extraordinary, sent hither to lie in the Queen's hands, till she and the most Christian King find it necessary to make use of them. For it is most certain I will, at first dash, have all the Spanish and German faction upon me; and that being the most ceremonious court in the world, things not yet seen may occur, which may not suffer the delay of sending to Ireland; and, therefore, it's best to deposit these letters in the Queen's hands. The form is herewith sent. All of them have papers sewed on them, to shew what they are for; and they must all be with flying seals, or not sealed at all; for I can do that when I get them.

I have sent your Majesty the news from England, at length; an intelligence which, if rightly made use of here, your affairs had been more forwardly, both in England and here. But, to say true, it's starved, and like to be broken off. The use which should have been made of it, was

to have turned it into French, and to have sent it to the court of France; by which they would have seen, by what steps we came to believe that there is a party in England ready to join, which is still what they have most doubted of. This I had begun, and likewise a correspondence in England, by which I had informed them right of the solid things they were to expect, instead of these airy follies they are undone by, and learn them to go on better measures; though, indeed, lord Arran and some pretending to do your Majesty service, have most unjustly injured me; but, if they serve you, I forgive them; and would go further than I am going, if that can advance your Majesty's interest a step. This letter is so impertinently long, that I am ashamed of it, though it is fit your Majesty know as much as possible of what passes here; and, indeed, it were to be wished, that there were some of experience and knowledge of affairs here. For tho' the Queen has as little need of any to help her, as ever any body, man or woman, had, yet it is an ease for her, sometimes to have people to assist her; and my lord Waldgrave's sickness hinders him from thinking of many things too important to be neglected. Besides, that, for some time, he is to be quite absent. I confess I never saw any body understand affairs better than the Queen; and she has really gained so much the esteem of the King, here, and his ministers, that I am truly of the opinion, if it had not been for her, the wicked reports spread here had made your affairs go entirely wrong at the court. I dare not enter to speak of the prince, for adding to this volume; only, I do protest, that he is, without any sort of flattery, the finest child I ever saw. God Almighty bless your Majesty, the Queen, and him for your comfort: grant you the possession of your own, and may you never have a worse servant than, &c.

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Melfort was at great pains to obviate all the objections against his proposals of an invasion of England; as appears from the following paper, in Nairne's hand, intituled,

"Reasons why his Majesty ought to go with all diligence into England, October 20th, 1689."

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 77.

THE kingdom of Ireland, at long run, is not to be kept, against England and Scotland, without a vast charge.

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The kingdom of Ireland is so exhausted, by the many great disorders, rapines, plunderings, and robberies, that it is not able to furnish any considerable part of this expence.

The King went to Ireland, only in order to go to England, so soon as it was in a condition to receive him, with any probability of success. This probability is, when a considerable party of the nation is ready to embrace his Majesty's interest, especially the men of quality.

The King, being convinced this is now the case, has all the inclination imaginable to proceed on this design.

The question then is, if these be the circumstances of England and Scotland at this time; which must be tried, by any means shall be thought fit; which being found true, his Majesty, so generously assisted hitherto by the most Christian King, hath no reason to question his assistance, in this so glorious enterprize, his interest, as well as glory, being concerned in it.

The kingdom of France is not only surrounded with enemies; which way soever one looks, they still see a formidable enemy before them; and, besides, the King is forced to guard a long sea-coast, to preserve his kingdom from invasion on that side.

All the coast, at the King's first landing, will be immediately out of danger, and the troops there have leave to be employed elsewhere, to the great advantage of France; and, as the success is great in Ireland, the Auxbourg league grows weak: for had the King no other thing to do, but to assist France, they would soon force their enemies to accept of a peace of their proposing.

The expences of this, at present, will be money saved next year most considerable; for what will now be requisite will not preserve Ireland six months; and this must be done, at long run, ere the King be re-established.

The men the King sends to his Majesty's assistance, being six thousand, it will be no difficult matter to make them up to eight thousand, to give fifteen hundred horse and five hundred dragoons, considering that, by this, the whole sea-coast is relieved, and sufficiently guarded.

The transportation can be no insuperable difficulty, seeing the most Christian King hath many more ships of fifty guns and under, than the
English

English and Dutch. Besides, the Maloines and all these, being ships proper for winter, will be fitter for this purpose, than bigger ships.

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These, or a considerable part of them, must be sent, however, to transport the succours already condescended to; and the addition will not be of that importance, as to delay so considerable a design for France, as well as for the King.

The ports of Ireland for the French are as useful, as those of England can be to the English and Dutch; and their ships, being truly stronger and better manned, are in a better condition to keep the seas and for fighting. Besides that, the officers are better, have more honour, and fight for a King they justly adore; and that the others have neither honour, experience, nor care of the usurper, and only fight for pay.

There are hardly, in summer, many days found, in which fleets can fight: how much less is such weather to be found in winter?

There are many difficulties in the matter. But it is well known, the most difficult things to other nations, and impracticable by other councils, have been contrived and acted with success in France; and, it is to be hoped, they will find expedients for this matter, which other less wise or experienced may justly despair of.

By delay, Ireland will be wearied out with a long war; and the domestic disorders have been so great, that it's to be feared there will hardly be wherewith to feed the armies next summer.

The King's friends, who have been in an anxious expectation of him all this summer, will be tired out by imprisonment, fines, processes, plunderings, and, what is worse, have an ill opinion of the King's conduct, and despair that ever they shall be relieved; and so turn in to where they may be covered from the violence of that tempest they are threatened with.

The remainder of the party in Scotland, already almost ruined by delays, will be quite pulled up by the roots, and the usurpation so settled, that it will be most difficult to shake it.

The prince of Orange will have an excuse to send all the British forces out of England and Scotland, as if to reduce Ireland, and so have an opportunity

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opportunity to fill that isle with foreigners; which would be more difficult, if the forces were at home, and the people put on their guard, as they may be, by fit instruments, at London; and Scotland is already upon this foot of demanding the fulfilling of promises, in regard to their privilege, and yet they have no such ground of complaint as a foreign army would be.

The King can take the number he designs now from Ireland, without hazarding that kingdom, all action being there near an end, which he cannot do, if the summer were come; and, by this means, Ireland will be safer than it is now; the true way to preserve it, being to attack England. This expedient has been of use before, in as considerable a case.

The advantages the King will have are, that, being on the same continent with his friends, they will dare to show themselves; and the indifferent will be obliged to take party, the oppressed will resent their ill-usage, the old disbanded army have an opportunity to revenge themselves, the Catholicks have a head to rally to, the church of England the confidence to say they are injured and to demand redress, the non-conformists, ever trimmers in danger, stand and look on, and leave the prince and his strangers to act for themselves; resentments of wrongs, hopes of advantage, pardon, preferment, or safety, each argument will have its party, and the giddy humour of that nation, never content, will make them as apt to huzanna, as they were before to persecute; and, in general, it is a strong argument to be in peace, on the legal foot; a thing not to be hoped for under the usurper. The prince of Wales is no more disputed. God be blessed, he thrives. This was looked on as impossible, and was the strongest argument to join with that prince, whom, they thought, would, sooner or later, be their master, and use them as they should now do him. The bribes he promised are not paid; or, if they be, they who have them would be content to save them. All these things make for the King's going, as soon as it is possible for him.

At his landing, the best port in England will be in his hands; which, being secured, affords a secure retreat to any ships of the most Christian King, who shall have any need thereof, especially in case of any engagement on the coast of England. Going, at this season, secures any post

the King shall take, if he resolves not to advance, through any disappointment he may meet with; the season making the action difficult, in that country where the King must land, except the numbers be unequal, as it is supposed the King's will be much superior to what the prince of Orange can bring; who has not now above ten thousand foot in all the south of England, and very few horse or dragoons.

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Lord Melfort to King James, October, 1689.

A copy in Nairne's hand.

Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 75.

*The misrepresentations of D'Avaux.—The character of the ducthess of Tyrcon-
nel.—Bishop Malony, and the Irish faction.—They will endeavour to
carry every thing in parliament.—He advises James not to call one.—
Divisions in Scotland and England.—A correspondence to be settled with
the malecontents.—Melfort is to set out on his embassy.*

THE last letter I had the honour of writing to your Majesty was so long, that it has not left much for me to say; and this carries the duplicate of that whole dispatch; and, therefore, I must not weary your Majesty with too long a letter now.

The wicked informations which have been sent hither, are of worse consequence, and more uneasy to remove, than I thought them to be; because there comes daily fresh supplies to support the old; and so industrious they are here, they need but a hint to serve for a foundation. They build upon it abundantly.

M. D'Avaux is not idle of his side. The last post was full of his invectives. (But I must first caution your Majesty, that it must be for your own use, lest I hurt my informers; for they saw the letter itself.) In the first place, he says, that all things now go well, since I was sent away: that all the Irishmen have another heart, since they saw my lord Tyrconnel with them; and that it is evidently seen the prejudice I did to your Majesty's affairs. This he has reason to write here. But how does this agree with the great desire he shewed to have me stay?

In the next place, he says, that now your Majesty is beginning to take up the protestants of Dublin; and that, once before, there were a good many in prison; but that I let them out without order; and that for

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many I gave passes, at Cork and Kinsale, to men who now are with Schomberg, and that after my coming away from Dublin. These things are such follies as all wise men laugh at, and his best friends here say, that he pushes the matter too far to be believed: for he has shewn malice, and so deserves no credit; and, as for what relates to me, I laugh at him, and would say no more; but to you there are some things else to be said. Mr. de Lauzun is to go over, and I am afraid that he and the ambassador will not agree long together. This will draw in my lady, and consequently my lord Tyrconnel, and there will be a war in your own court, which I fled hither to shun: for that end, that there may be no dissension, it were fit D'Avaux were recalled; which advice (as many others I have given) is downright against my own interest; for it would be no small justification to me here, if he should agree as ill with Mr. de Lauzun; and, besides, it's better for me now, that I shall not be here, that he were at a distance likewise. But that does not bias me. He ought to be recalled, for the quiet of your affairs. He could not agree with one submitted to him: how will he with one who will not yield an ace, nor let him meddle with French troops pay or preferment? this I see is the other's temper, and I dread the consequences. There is one other thing, if it could be effectuate, were of infinite use; which is the getting the duchess of Tyrconnel, for her health, to come into France. I did not know she had been so well known here as she is; but the terms they give her, and which, for your service, I may repeat unto you, is that she has (*l'ame la plus noire qui se puisse concevoir.*) I think it would help to keep that peace, so necessary for you, and prevent that caballing humour, which has very ill effects.

These things I write, not for the outward appearance, but because there is a secret spring at bottom I confess I like not; and that on two accounts. First, it is said, Churchill has more influence in that matter, and this I believe not, except she have sent her money into England. But the second is another thing, the keeping up a correspondence here, the bottom whereof I will not understand; first, by herself with Mr. Courtin and by him; and secondly, by the nephew with the Irish here, who begin to have discourses of the freedom of their nation. I must not repeat, but your Majesty must prevent, lest it come too late, by putting it out of the power of any one family to make Ireland change a master.

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This is that what prudence demands without suspecting any, and I must humbly lay it before your Majesty the true way to do this. As I have often said, get men of your own independent men, on whom build a government as united in your Majesty's interest as possible, but as independent of one another. I wish I had the honour to be half an hour with you for the reasons of this advice, which I dare not write lest this fall in hands there. The person who carries on the design here is bishop Malony, and it is plainly a faction of almost all the Irish to lay all blame at your door and to applaud Tyrconnel; not that they care for him, otherwise than that he is Irish. They say openly, that no man is to be trusted, but the Irish; and that now is the time to play their game or never. They curse the last parliament, as a company of easy men, for not sticking to their demands; and that, in the next, they will have other things done, especially the overturning Poyning's laws, &c. Lord Clare has written to bishop Malony, telling him, that they will trust none but their own countrymen; and, therefore, shortly there will be an envoy there, for their affairs; but he will employ his interest, that Malony shall be the man. From this, your Majesty will find the necessity of having no parliament; and, on my conscience, I think it so much for your service, that I am confident you will not suffer any to meet. You want not excuses too good; but it will be attempted most certainly. But I hope, in God, no persuasion will make you yield to it. In the next place, there is an absolute necessity to call over to Ireland this bishop Malony; for he is not what he ought to be. His correspondent, for that letter, is Sir Neal O'Neal, nephew of my lord Tyrconnel; and, if your Majesty make not an example of him, all will pass for true he has sent; and one such action, judge by the council or judges, would put a stop to these stories here, if rightly used. And, for another means, I must beg of you to examine the French ambassador, as not knowing a thing written by him; but as a report here, if any such things has been said to him; and, if he denies it, to write it to me. If he says, there has, cause examine it fully, and send the issue; but let it be examined when your Majesty is present. I know the rest are not to be trusted. This, if it were only for my vindication, I should not have the confidence to ask, though I flatter myself with the hopes, your goodness to me would not refuse to clear a faithful servant, that does almost nothing, besides

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your

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your service; and whose zeal, for your interest, I hope, your Majesty is persuaded of. But, indeed, it is your own interest I pursue in this, that his black calumnies against your Majesty's proceedings may not be trusted hereafter. For just now he complains of the rashness of your conduct, in going on to Allerston-bridge, so near the enemy, and that against his advice, and that of all the general officers of his nation. I do not find, that has taken here: for your Majesty is much commended for it: only all are of opinion, that, if you are forced to retire, you should chicane, and still ruin all behind you. This Mr. de Belfond came with a card yesterday to shew me. I most humbly beg leave now to go to the other side of the water.

By the advices from England, your Majesty will see the disposition of affairs, and the necessity of following these affairs more closely. Indeed there are many things to do, which require the utmost skill and application; and am sorry, that I must leave them; but I will tell your Majesty the heads of what is to be done. Scotland is dissatisfied; would offer fair. I have given the heads. These assurances I know your Majesty will approve of; that is, they offer to yield, without capitulating for religion, they having the pardon for what is past. I have written, that they doing the best to bring your Majesty back by these ways they have in their hands, they shall not only have pardon for lives and fortunes, but they shall have rewards suitable to the actual services they shall hereafter perform. Now going away, without their answer, I leave that to the Queen, and am confident your Majesty will forgive for hazarding such things, when a day is of importance, as it is in this case, by reason they are at London, and actually now treating with Orange.

As for the English, they are divided in factions. One knows not of another; yet I would have found a way to have let most of them know your Majesty's mind; but that I must leave too; only I must say, this correspondence must be continued, and the money necessary for that left here in the Queen's hands, and I shall leave a memorial with her of the way it is to be done. Now that I am sent to Rome, I hope I shall serve your Majesty usefully there; though, I must confess, I saw more to be done here, that others understand not, than I do there, where I am but as others, without experience, their language, or acquaintance. But I am

glad to go, where God ordains, and your Majesty's service calls me. The M. C. King has given to me of allowance, as to his ambassadors extraordinary, and has given me a memorial, a copy whereof I send inclosed. I can only say to your Majesty, that there shall be no want of me, except of natural understanding; for what I have shall be employed to the utmost. I have been happy in Mr. Tallon, who has got me acquainted with some men of admirable knowledge in the matters of that court, and I hope all shall do well. I shall be ordered in every thing by cardinal D'Esté, and he shall be the witness of all my actions. I hope your Majesty will be pleased to have all that you think fit constantly transmitted to me, and defend me from all my enemies behind me: for I am determined never to look back, when your service lies before me. I have reasons of great weight to send over father Maxwell to wait on your Majesty, for a correspondence I must not have known to any but your Majesty; and I humbly beg it of your Majesty to take him, as one of your chaplains, the time he stays; himself deserves it on many accounts, and your Majesty has none of his nation. But these are not now the only reasons. I beg it for your own service, and what I shall answer your Majesty shall have no cause to repent of. I have told him many things, as under confession, with power only to reveal them to yourself; and he, knowing the jealousy, will be better able to watch the designs of these caballers, and to let you know their progress; for I have given him his measures here, and I am sure he will obey them exactly.

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These letters, when compared with the accounts printed of the intrigues of the year 1689, authenticate the history of that period.—The private instructions which Melfort gave to father Maxwell his confessor, are in his lordship's hand-writing, among Nairne's papers.—The reasons for sending him to Ireland are mentioned in the preceding letter.

Instructions for Mr. Maxwell, going into Ireland.

TO give the King his letters, and to inform him, that, under the seal of confession to all, besides the King himself, I had told him of what was said to be a-doing amongst the Irish in Paris and elsewhere, that

Carte's Papers, D N. 1.
fol. No 76.

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that the King might have his eyes open to prevent their folly, if it were really true. First, That it has been debated amongst them, whether it be not their interest to join themselves to some catholic crown able to protect them, rather than be subject to the revolutions of the protestant kingdoms of Great Britain; and that most of them at Paris have been of this mind.

That upon this design it was, that they were so *opiniatre* in some points in the parliament; and that, after it, they decried the King's proceedings, to make it the easier to go off from him, if they found any to accept of them.

That it was for this, they would have all Irish secretaries and other officers Irish, that they might have it, one time, in their power to manage this matter the more closely.

To furnish these at Paris with arguments of the necessity of these things, some in Ireland were employed to write letters to defame the King and his government, and to cry up that of the natives.

These letters were all translated into French, and by bishop Malony, taking on him as empowered for Ireland, communicated to the court of France.

That it was, for this reason, they could not suffer the earl of Melfort, suspecting that he would soon see this matter, of which the King knows his suspicions founded on appearances.

That the duchess of Tyrconnel is a main instrument, in carrying on this design, and keeps a constant correspondence with M. Courtin, and by him, with M. Louvois. That, for this reason, bishop Malony stays here, and had the impudence to give one of these libels to the Queen, and to propose to her the having an Irish envoy at the court of France; he himself having the promise of lord Clare and others for their endeavours, that he shall be the man.

For this reason, it's said to be that M. D'Avaux had made a faction amongst the Irish; but that the design was rejected with scorn here. For that reason, that advice was given to abandon the kingdom to Schomberg, thinking the King would lose the hearts of the people, by deserting them; and others gain it, by recovering it again, when the
succours

succours came over. This design not relished here, they use only to persuade the usefulness of it.

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Many more things are said, and original informations to be shewn the Queen of all the matter, principally in relation to a session of parliament, in which great things are proposed to the nation, &c.

To prevent the mischief of this, it will be necessary, in the first place, that in all places hereafter to be filled, the King choose men having no dependance, but on himself alone; and that, so long as he is there in person, he discourages all dependance on any other to eclipse him; but in such a manner, as none can take exception justly at.

The next thing is, by no means to have a session of parliament there, having excuses none can take exceptions at.

Pope Innocent the XI. died on the 12th of August, 1689. James received the news of his death, in a letter from the cardinals, while he was at Dundalk, offering battle to Schomberg. His answer to them, then assembled in the conclave, is in the style of a true son of the church, and dated from Dundalk, the 30th of September.

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 71.

On the 6th of October, Alexander the VIII. was placed in the papal chair. Lewis the XIV. who had renewed the war with the Emperor, was desirous of securing the favour of the new pontiff, and a temporary accommodation was made up between the courts of Rome and Versailles, by a tacit concession of some of the pretensions on both sides. Lewis likewise advised the Queen to send Melfort to Rome, in quality of ambassador from James, as mentioned by Melfort himself in the preceding letters, and he furnished him with instructions, that he might not be obliged to wait, until he received them from his master. These instructions are among Mr. Nairne's papers, and entitled, "Memorial for the earl of Melfort, going to Rome on the part of the King of Great Britain." Lewis believed it was necessary, that James should have a minister at Rome, in order to cultivate a good understanding with the Pope, and to procure his holiness's assistance in re-establishing him, and in preventing the entire abolition of the Romish faith in the British empire. He thought Melfort well qualified to execute such a commission, and furnished him with ample directions before he set out

D. N. vol. i.
fol. No. 68.

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out on his embassy. He directed him to cultivate a good understanding with the cardinals and ministers of France, who would have instructions to second him in his negociations; and particularly with cardinal D'Esté, who might be of infinite service, and had already given sufficient proofs of his attachment to the interests of his Britannic Majesty, which cardinal Norfolk, though his subject, had always neglected. He desired him to represent the low state of his master's affairs, and to shew the pope, that providence seemed to have reserved, for the honour of his pontificate, the most glorious enterprise that could be undertaken for the advantage of religion and the good of the church.

These circumstances, Lewis continued, were favourable. The prince of Orange's tyranny had become insupportable, even to those who had called him over. There was a strong party for James in Scotland, in England, and in Ireland; but it was necessary to support them. The protestant princes were in a league to abolish the Roman Catholic religion (of which Lewis attempts to give proofs in Britain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany). It was incumbent on the see of Rome to employ all its authority, and even the treasures of the church, against them. The prince of Orange, if he was once master of the British empire, and the States General in conjunction, would endeavour to re-establish Calvinism in France, and even to introduce it into Italy. The protestant princes and states had deluded the Roman Catholic princes, and met with no opposition but from France. France was able to defend itself, but the union of the house of Austria with protestant princes could not fail to be prejudicial to the Roman Catholic religion.

Melfort should endeavour to persuade the Pope, to bring the Emperor and the King of Spain to the sentiments with which the danger that threatened their religion should inspire them; to unite the Roman Catholic princes in a league to restore a King, who suffered merely for his attachment to the religion of the holy see; to discontinue the subsidy which his predecessor gave to the emperor, and to employ it in assisting the loyal subjects of the King of England, to drive away the usurper of his throne.

Melfort

Melfort set out on his embassy with these instructions before he received credentials and instructions from his master. James's credentials to him are in the usual form, and his instructions in the following terms :

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D. N. vol. i.
fol. No. 69.

"Instructions to our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, John Earl of Melfort, our principal Secretary of State at Rome, or on his way thither, by order of our dearest Consort the Queen."

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vol. i. fol.
No. 70.

A Copy in Nairne's hand.

October, 1689.

SO soon as you shall have received these our instructions and our letter to the Pope, you shall demand an audience of his holiness, wherein you shall congratulate his exaltation to the holy chair, in our name ; assuring him of our filial obedience, and that the reason of your not using the character of our ambassador extraordinary to perform these things, in the due manner, proceeds from the present ill condition of our affairs.

You shall hold forth to him the present state of our affairs, the injustice we suffer, upon the account of our religion, and the fears the protestants had of its apparent progress, in our dominions ; the violence of the persecution against the Catholics, and the horridness of the usurpation of the prince of Orange. That this affair is not only of importance to us, but to the whole Catholic world. You are, therefore, to demand his holiness's assistance, by endeavouring a peace among Catholic princes ; if not general, yet to disunite as many as is possible from the protestant alliance, that so our dearest brother, the most Christian King, may be the better enabled to give us those generous assistances, our necessities call for from him towards our re-establishment.

And, whilst this is doing, you are to press, that his holiness may give us such present supplies, as may enable us to wait for the other, and to maintain these dominions we are in possession of.

Such letters to cardinals or others as may be necessary, and we cannot here think of now, cause prepare there, and sign for us, so as they may be thought from us.

You shall make our compliments to such cardinals as you shall find to stand well-affected to us, especially to the cardinal of Norfolk.

You are to communicate, in all things, with the cardinal D'Este, our cousin, whose directions you are to follow, in what relates to our service.

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You are to correspond with the ministers employed there by our dearest brother, the most Christian King, and go alongst with them in all things; our interest and that of our dearest brother being all the same.

You shall do all things which you judge can best conduce to the weal of our service, and obey what orders you shall receive from our dearest consort the Queen, as if they were immediately given by us.

You shall remain at Rome, or where his Holiness shall be, till recalled by us or our dearest consort the Queen.

You shall diligently observe what you may think worth informing us or our dearest consort the Queen of; and inform us punctually thereof, from time to time, by letters directed to ourselves; and we shall, from time to time, send you such other instructions as may be for our service.

Given at our court, &c.

When Melfort was on his way to Rome, he sent the Queen his opinion about the divisions which reigned in England and in Scotland, and the means of fomenting them. He gave directions about the proper method of receiving intelligence, and of guarding against the Irish faction.

Lord Melfort to the Queen. Toulon, November 22d, 1689.

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. i.
fol. No. 78.
November.

THE intelligences which come from England, containing many things of great importance, it is fit that extracts of them be punctually translated into French, and given to the French ministers, that they, knowing the true progress of the King's affairs in England, may the more readily join in the measures which may be most useful for the King; and that the most Christian King himself may the better judge of what is proposed to him by your Majesty.

There seems to be some jarrings betwixt the prince of Orange and the rebellious Scots, which it will be fit to foment; and, for that end, all encouragement must be given to such as will stand up against him, they promising to adhere to the King's interest; and this being begun already, must be carefully continued, and the King's authority interposed (if required by these Scots) or the Queen, till that can be had.

This beginning in Scotland will, no doubt, have great consequences, if the King's friends in England take the example, in that parliament, which

which is now assembled at Westminster; where a few resolute members might put a great stop to the P. of O. his proceedings, if not quite defeat his designs, money being his great business. Many reasons can be alledged to hinder it, and whatever is done on that head, is grateful to the people, who love not to pay their money, now especially, that trade is low. Care, therefore, must be taken to insinuate this to all the parties the King has in England; and money, &c. must be offered to such as will appear in that affair.

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The persons who can best manage this matter, are these from whom the several intelligences come; seeing that the parties know not of one another, and that it is of importance to keep all their councils; and, for this reason, some money must be lodged in careful hands, for the carrying on this work, besides what must be employed in relieving starving prisoners; which is a justice and charity not to be forgotten, as far as is possible, considering the circumstances.

Sir Robert Clerk is not to be forgot, and those of his gang; for, though I have not his acquaintance, yet I must say, that, as to his intelligence, he has done more than all the rest together; and, therefore, 4 or 500*l.* to be put in his hands, to be disposed of for the King's service, is absolutely necessary for carrying on that intelligence, and it must not be lost on any terms. Mr. Belfons is likewise of great use, and he must have some assistance, just that he may live.

It is of importance, that what your Majesty does in these things be only known to yourself, and to such as Sir Robert Clerk and Mr. Belfons trust: for there are some, whom your Majesty trusts, that these would not; and they bearing the hazard, it is just to humour them in this manner. Of this, Mr. Innes can inform more particularly; and, seeing it is he who has been at the expences on this side, it will be fit that he have just as much as to reimburse him; and more he will not, at this time, expect from your Majesty.

All imaginable instances must be made, with the most Christian King, to get some way to transport the King into England; and, as arguments arise, from the several intelligences from England, Scotland, or Ireland, this must still be made use of to facilitate the matter, at least, against the spring.

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It will be most necessary to see, if some of the Irish or French merchants will carry arms into Ireland to sell, for which they will get great prices in the native commodity of that kingdom, to wit, wool, butter, beef, &c. by which an useful trade will be carried on to both nations, and much for the King's interest. The best way will be, for your Majesty to cause some of the most substantial merchants be spoken with, and pressed to, as good service for their own nation.

It will be most fit to endeavour some separate relief for Scotland, besides what goes into Ireland, as well to shew these brave men, who stand out for the King, in despite of all discouragement, that they are not forgot, as really to enable them to make a more powerful diversion against the spring; which, if it can be effectuate, will be of a vast importance. If it cannot be obtained from the most Christian King, it is of such importance, that it will be fit for your Majesty yourself to do something in it, even out of such money as the King is to get from France. Great care is to be taken to suppress, as much as may be, the clamours, and indeed follies, of some Irish at Paris, by letting them know the undutifulness of their proceedings, and sending some of the most busy into Ireland. It will be absolutely necessary to have some amongst them to inform of what passes; for this employment Mr. Sheridan is the most proper man; and from him may be got the most secret of their intrigues and correspondences; though, at the same time, great care is to be had not to believe what he brings not good proofs for, especially as to the foolish design he mentioned to me of delivering up the kingdom; a thing would never be accepted; and, besides, so foolish and villainous in them, that I cannot think it ever entered into their heads. If it has, they are only some mad-men, and has foolishly been talking at random, and not any men of sense or consideration. To find out this, Sheridan is to shew his proofs, but only to your Majesty: for the thing is so foolish, and so undutiful, that it's of importance it go no farther.

I need not put your Majesty in mind how necessary it is to free your own family of any who may be spies upon your actions. It is a most intolerable thing for us, who are private people, to be constrained in our families; and must be much more troublesome to your Majesty, who ought much less to be subjected to such hardships.

It

It is, in my opinion, most necessary that Mr. de Lauzun be made as easy as possible to make him: for, if once there begin any jarrings, they will have worse consequences than any thing has yet happened; and care must be had of any pretensions he may have, that the King be informed of them; and that, from time to time, he gratify him in such things as he may justly pretend to; and, on the other side, the D. of Tyrconnel would be cautioned not to suffer himself to be led into such little cabals as may disorder the King's affairs, and never end in any other confusion.

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The pretensions of the French, as to their ranks, must be sent over distinctly to the King, that he may prepare all who are concerned to submit to what he shall determine. This Mr. de Lauzun can inform of, and it's best doing it now, before the troops part from Brest.

This being all that occurs at this time, if there be any thing more, it shall be sent as soon as possible; and, if any thing occur to your Majesty, you have but to let me receive your commands, and they shall be most punctually obeyed.

MELFORT."

Melfort arrived at Rome before he received King James's instructions. For the first memorial which he presented to the Pope was in the name of the Queen. It is in Mr. Nairne's hand, and dated December 19th, 1689.

December.

AFTER a complimentary preamble to his Holiness, Melfort begins with assuring him, "That there never was a King of England so beloved and so obeyed by his people, as his Majesty, until it appeared by his actions, that he was more zealous to gain a heavenly crown for his subjects, than careful to preserve an earthly one for himself. This and the extirpation of heresy in France, gave such an alarm to the protestants throughout all Europe, and even hell itself, that they put in practice every means, however detestable, to ruin the King, and with him all those who had the same sentiments of piety and religion."

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 79.

This mystery of iniquity, as Melfort calls it, must, according to him, without a speedy remedy, be of the most fatal consequences to the Catholic

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tholic religion: but he saves the pope the pain of hearing, and to himself the pain of repeating them, as it is sufficient, that his Holiness knows that the King has been chased from his kingdoms merely on account of his religion, and obliged to throw himself into the arms of the only sovereign among his allies, who was not an accomplice in the prince of Orange's designs. His most Christian Majesty has so generously assisted him, that he has been able to quell almost entirely the rebellion in Ireland, by defeating Schomberg's army, and reducing it to its present distress.

From the state which Melfort gives of his master's affairs, he endeavours to shew that his Holiness can re-establish him, if he will give an immediate supply of money, and bring about a peace among the Catholic princes, who might then be persuaded to assist in restoring his Britannick Majesty.

"The affairs of the King my master have nothing in common with those of the other catholic princes. He hath given no occasion to the present war. It was merely his religion which alarmed the protestant princes, and drew upon him his misfortunes. If he had been partial, or formed alliances, as has been falsely supposed, his Majesty would not be in the circumstances in which he now finds himself; and if he had not refused the assistance which his most Christian Majesty offered to him, he would have had no difficulty in repelling the violences of the prince of Orange, and in curbing the insolence of his subjects: but he generously refused them, to avoid the partiality of which he hath been since accused, as guarantee of the peace of Nimeguen: and it is very certain, that if the King my master had been in concert with his most Christian Majesty, the first hostilities would not have commenced towards Philipsburgh."

For these and other reasons, Melfort thinks the catholic princes will be disposed to assist his master. He adds a great many arguments in the same strain, and concludes his long memorial with these words:

"As for myself, I reckon it a happiness to be at the feet of your Holiness; having nothing to solicit, but the concerns of the King my master, which are, at present, those of your Holiness; and, after having endeavoured to discharge my duty towards God and my King, although

though in a more weak and defective manner than another would have done, that I have an opportunity of soliciting for myself your Holiness's apostolical benediction."

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It was probably at this time that Melfort, according to his instructions, gave a memorial to the cardinal D'Esté. It is marked at the top in his hand-writing.

A paper given to his serene highness the cardinal D'Esté.

He begins with repeating, as in the preceding memorial, that his master suffered for his attachment to the catholic religion; and that being the cause of the holy See, and of the Pope, his Holiness could not avoid to assist him; which could only be done in two ways, by bringing about a peace between the Roman catholic princes, and by furnishing his Majesty with money. To open a congress for such a peace, his Holiness should dispatch legates, who were well disposed to the cause, to different courts. A supply of money was absolutely necessary that very season, to secure the safety of Ireland, and accomplish the reduction of Scotland.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 82.

AFFAIRS of SCOTLAND.

JAMES the Seventh, upon his accession, was addressed by the Scottish parliament, with expressions of the most servile adulation, and with promises of perpetual attachment to his person, and absolute submission to his will. They acknowledged, in an act, "That the blessings the nation then enjoyed were owing to the solid and absolute authority with which their Kings were invested." They expressed their abhorrence of all principles which are contrary or derogatory to the "King's sacred, supreme, absolute power and authority;" and they promised to give entire obedience to the King, "without reserve." They gave him convincing proofs of the sincerity of these professions, by extending the laws of treason, and obliging all the men in the nation, above sixteen years of age, to be in "readiness to attend the King, in arms, where and as oft as he should require."

But the measures of the new reign were not calculated to continue the popularity with which it began. James composed a new ministry, consisting

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These measures, and the unpopular character of secretary Melfort and others, lessened greatly the affection of the people for James and his government. Yet he had still many friends among the Scots, when the prince of Orange landed in England. He was invited by them, after he retired to France, to return and join them. James, however, thought it more for his interest to go to Ireland; and he contented himself with writing a letter to the convention, which the prince of Orange had summoned to assemble, at Edinburgh, in the month of March. His letter was dated, after he had embarked, on board the St. Michael, the 1st of March, 1689. From Ireland, he sent them the proclamation referred to, in the journal he sent to France by lord Dover. In the mean time, his friends in Scotland, particularly the viscount Dundee, were diligent in increasing the number of his adherents.

Dundee, who had refused to enter into the service of King William, came to the convention of estates, which had assembled at Edinburgh, on the fourteenth of March; but, finding he was deserted by some who pretended, at first, to adhere to the cause of his master, and apprehending there was a design to assassinate him, he retired, at the head of a troop of fifty horsemen, who had deserted to him from his own regiment, then in England; and, having reconciled some of the Highland clans, who had been quarrelling among themselves, he began hostilities, without waiting either for a commission or the succours which James had promised to send him from Ireland.

Among Mr. Nairne's papers, there is a copy of an account of his military operations, which was sent to Ireland. It is called on the back

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. i.
fol. No. 49.

"News from Scotland, with Mr. Hay. Received July 7th, 1689."

BY the last information, sent by Mr. M'Swine, account was given how the viscount of Dundee parted from Edinburgh; how he stayed at his own house for above a fortnight after, guarded by a party of 50 horse; and

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and how, after a party of the Scotch dragoons came over to Dundee, with a party of Mackay's foot, he marched towards Inverness, encouraging all persons to stand out, letting them see, by his example, there was no danger in it. The account was also given, how he went through Murray, and was come back to Castle-Gordon, when M'Swine was dispatched. After which, he marched to the Cairn of Mounth, designing to go near Dundee, encouraged by the promises the Scotch dragoons had sent him that they would declare for the King; but, by the way having intercepted a messenger of the master of Forbes, returning from Edinburgh, found, by Mackay's letters, that he was to be at Dundee that night, with 200 foot and a regiment of English horse; and they, with the dragoons and the foot that came there before, were to pursue him wherever he went. The lord viscount waited at the Cairn of Mounth, till M'Kay was within eight miles, and then marched back towards Castle-Gordon, (where the earl of Dunfermling, with 40 or 50 gentlemen, joined him) and from thence through Murray to Inverness, where he found the laird of Keppoch at the head of 700 men; the most part volunteers. They plundered M'Intosh's lands and the neighbourhood; which M'Intosh, in a manner, deserved, because the viscount had written twice to him to declare for the King, and had got no return. The laird of Kilravock, with 300 men, was on one side of Keppoch, and the town of Inverness in arms on the other. The viscount sent to Kilravock to know his design. He professed loyalty, and so was allowed to guard his country. The magistrates of Inverness came and informed him, that Keppoch had forced them to promise him 4000 marks. My lord Dundee told them, that Keppoch had no warrant from him to be in arms, much less to plunder; but that necessity had forced him out, and told he would give his bond that, at the King's return, (since they had not yet declared the prince of Orange King) they should have their money repaid them. After which, he desired Keppoch to march his men with him, and he would go and engage M'Kay. But the men, partly the Camerons, said they could not, without consent of their master; but the truth was, they were loaded with spoil, and neither they nor their leader had any thing else in head; so they went home plundering on the way.

The viscount marched to Glengairie, and so into Badenoch, where, considering the season was advanced towards the 8th of May, and the

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grafs begun to appear, and having found the disposition of the low countries for the King, and received letters from most of the chiefs of clans of their readiness, and being informed of the substance of brevets, letters, and commissions, and finding that M'Kay was endeavouring to raise Highlanders and others for to ruin and suppress the King's faithful subjects, before the estate of his affairs in Ireland would allow him to come to their relief, the said viscount resolved to appoint a general rendezvous, which accordingly he did, to be, the 18th of May, in Lochaber, and acquainted all chiefs of clans; and, in the mean time, M'Kay being at Inverness, he took occasion to slip down through Athol, to St. Johnston, where he surpris'd the laird of Blair, seized him, his lieutenant Pogue of that ilk, trumpet, standard, and all the troopers that were in the town, with two lieutenants of M'Kay's, and two or three officers of the new levies; most of which are sent to an island of the M'Leans which is said to be like the Bass. After which, he went to Dundee, thinking to gain the two troops of Scotch dragoons: but could not prevail, because of captain Balfour, who commanded them; yet he forced them to leave Dundee, but could do no more, because the town was in rebellion, and the streets barricadoed. He caused seize the drums and baggage of the laird of Drum, and others of the earl of Mar's officers, and chased the lieutenant colonel, and might have seized whole companies, but was not at the pains; yet frightened and scattered them so, that they have not been heard of since. After which, having seized 300 l. of cess and excise, the lord viscount took his march through Athol and Rannoch, up to Lochaber, to keep the dyet of the rendezvous. Glengairie kept the day punctually, with betwixt 2 and 300 men (who, on all occasions, shews himself a man of honour, sense, and integrity). Next came a very honest gentleman, the laird of Morer, commanding all the captain of Clan Rannald's men, on the main land near 200. Next came Appin and Glenco, towards 200. Sir Donald M'Donald was expected, but was not ready. M'Lean gave account, that he was just coming; and, after having made the viscount stay six days, Sir Alexander M'Lean, hearing his friends were in difficulties, failed away to Kintyr, with his men and an hundred of M'Lean's; at the same time M'Lean fell sick. Lochiel came, with 600 men; Keppoch, with 200; with which the viscount marched into Badenoch, in haste, hearing

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ing that colonel Ramsay was coming that way, with 700 foot, to join M'Kay at Inverness; and, accordingly, Ramsay having marched from Edinburgh to St. Johnston, and near 40 miles up towards Ruthven in Badenoch; but upon different news of my lord Dundee's coming, went back and fore in the hill a whole night. In the end, he went back in great confusion to St. Johnston. Several of his men deserted. The Athol men got together; and, by the prudence of the gentry, with great difficulty, were hindered from falling on them. Ramsay posted to Edinburgh, and got commission of fire and sword against Athol. About this time, account was brought to Dundee, that M'Kay was within four miles of him, with great numbers of Highlanders, Grant's men, M'Intosh's, Balnagown's, Rae's, Strathnaver's, and Monroe's, beside the standing troops. On which, he caused draw out all the men, and bid them be gaining towards a very strong ground, and sent out a party immediately to view the enemy, following it himself; having left orders with Lochiel, that the body should not go above half a mile back. However, when he returned, he understood that M'Kay had almost no Highlanders, and was not there to fight, but to meet Ramsay. He found that all the troops had marched four miles back. However, he made all haste to march to engage M'Kay: but, before he could come to the place, M'Kay was so far gone, that he could not be overtaken; and being informed there, that Sir Donald and M'Lean were yet to join, thought fit to wait; and, in the mean time, blockt up the castle of Ruthven, where M'Kay had put 50 of Grant's men in garrison. After some days, the castle, wanting provisions, surrendered; which being burnt, and lost hopes of M'Lean, and fear of Ramsay, my lord resolved to engage M'Kay. But, so soon as he heard of the march towards him, he dislodged in the night. The viscount pursued him four days; and, by an unexpected way, came in sight of him, an hour before the sun set, and pursued them so close, that parties of the Highlanders were within shot of the rear-guard, close to the main body, and dark night came on; save which, nothing could have saved them, in all human probability. The ground was dangerous, and the march had been long; so that the viscount thought not fit to follow further, being within three miles of Strathbogy, a plain country, where the horse and dragoons had too much advantage of the Highlanders. The next morn-

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ing, hearing M'Kay had marched 10 miles before he halted, the viscount lay still all that day; but, being after informed, that Sir James Lesly, with his regiment of foot and another regiment of dragoons, had joined M'Kay, and the officers of the Scotch dragoons having sent to acquaint the viscount, that there was very bad news come of the duke of Berwick's being prisoner, and of a party's being beat back, that had endeavoured to land in Scotland, and that they were so furrounded with English horse and dragoons, that, if there was any engagement, they could not shun to fight; and, therefore, begged, that he would go out of the way, for a time, till better news should come. On all which, the viscount thought fit to return to Badenoch. Most of my lord Dumfermling's people, save himself (who continued still very fixt) and the duke of Gordon's horsemen, being wearied and near their own houses, went home, without leave; the Highlanders thinking themselves masters, grew very disorderly, and plundered, without distinction, wherever they came. The viscount fell sick, which gave boldness to the disorderly and disheartened others. The first day he marched back, he made a long march. M'Kay sent a party of horse, who seized some of the duke of Gordon's gentlemen that went off, and some of the plundering stragglers; but never came in sight of the rear-guard. The next two days, the viscount did not march six miles in all; and M'Kay's foot came not within ten miles of his: but, in the evening of the last day, he sent up a party of 200 horse and dragoons, who, led on by Grant, were brought upon a party of the M'Leans, scattered a mile asunder, seeking meal. The horse came up upon them at the full gallop, having got some advertisement. About one hundred of them got together; and finding themselves on a plain, they run near half a mile, till they gained the foot of a hill, where they stood and fired upon the enemy, who, in the disorder, having killed two or three, and seized their baggage, thought they had nothing to do but knock them all down; so got above them and surrounded them, which the M'Leans perceiving, threw by their guns, drew their swords, attacked the enemy boldly, killed the English officers that commanded, and eleven more, wounded many, and forced the rest to retire. Night being then come, the scattered M'Leans joined the rest. My lord Dundee, marching towards them, the next morning early, met Lochbuy and all his party, who had not lost above four of his men, and

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and the baggage, and two old men and boys, who were with it. Then the lord Dundee marched to Ruthven in Badenoch, where he learned, that Ramsay had come back, with 1100 foot and 100 horse, had passed to Inverness; that my lord Murray had come up to Athol, had brought these men together, and saw Ramsay safe through. The next day, the viscount was further informed, that Ramsay and M'Kay were joined and marching towards him, and that there was come to St. Johnston my lord Angus's regiment and other new troops, and to Dumblain more of that kind, was resolved to go to Rannoch, and strong ground near the low countries; but finding that the Lochaber men were going away every night by fortys and fiftys, with droves of cattle, and finding all the rest loaden with plunder of Grant's lands, and others would needs go home, gave way to it, and came into Lochaber with them, dispersed them all to their respective homes, with orders to be ready within a few days, if the enemy pursued. If not, to lay still till further orders; and, in the mean time, sent advertisement to M'Lean, Sir Donald, the captain of Clan Rannald, and M'Leod, to make ready against the rendezvous, who had not yet come forth. It's believed M'Kay was very glad of the occasion, his horse being extremely wearied, and so retired to Inverness, where, on suspicion of correspondence, he seized eight officers of the Scotch dragoons and sent them prisoners to Edinburgh, with a guard of 300 English horse. The rest of the horse and dragoons are quartered in the adjacent places for conveniency of grafs. Ramsay, with 700 foot, is sent to Elgin, who summoned Gordon castle to surrender; upon which Mr. Dumbar, and those that were with him, immediately deserted the place. There were several hundred bolls of meal there, as well as at Strathbogie. M'Kay, in the mean time, is causing seize all the meal in the low countries, and gives it to the soldiers landladies, instead of ready money: for it is believed, they have not great abundance of it. My lord Dundee hath continued in Lochaber, guarded only by 200, commanded by Sir Alexander M'Lean; but being in the heart of Glen-gairy and Lochiel's lands, he thinks himself secure enough, though he had not, as he has, the captain of Clan Rannald with 600 men within ten miles of him, and M'Lean, Sir Donald, and M'Leod, marching toward him; so that he can march with near 4000, or refresh in safety till such time as the state of the affairs of Ireland may allow the King to send.

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send forces to his relief; which, if it please God shall fall out, there is all appearance of forming a considerable army. Notwithstanding that, the people are a little disheartened, by the unexpected surrender of the castle of Edinburgh, which is said was only by despair the duke had of any relief, though he wanted not from my lord Dundee, by a third hand, all the encouragement he could give.

There is another account of military operations in Scotland, from the 21st of May to the 4th of June. It was sent by Mr. Hay to Ireland, at the same time with the preceding; for it is marked on the back:

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 47.

"Relation of what past in Scotland, in the Highlands, with [by] Mr. Hay, received July 7th, 1689."

It contains an account of Sir Alexander M'Lean's expedition to Kintyre, and of his return to join lord Dundee at Lochaber, with some articles of more late intelligence.

Mull, June 2d, 1689.

UPON Tuesday, the 21st of May, Sir Alexander M'Lean embarked for the relief of the King's party in Kintyre. At his landing in the island of Giga, where he found Mr. Neal of Clachalie, his lieutenant colonel, with two companies of men, who gave account, that, two days before, Lurip and he had endeavoured to stop the low country forces from entering Kintyre; they had engaged near Clachan Killcalmanell, and after facing others for two or three hours, and some party's firing, Clachalie finding the rebels still encreasing to more than four times his number, he very handsomely drew off his men, and came safe to Giga. Lurip took ship for Ireland, without acquainting any with his design; and Lergie left the castle of Skipnidge, and went for Arran. In this action Clachalie lost one man, and the rebels seven. In this condition Sir Alexander found these gentlemen, at his landing in Giga, and immediately ordered boats to be prepared for securing Lergie's safe retreat to him, and sent him orders to come to the coast side of Kintyre, where he should meet him; all which was performed before Friday night, the 27th. Upon Saturday blew a great storm, so that they could not come to Giga, which they designed, to come in all haste to his Majesty's army at Lochaber. Lergie gave an account, the rebels were 1500, preparing

boats

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boats to invade Giga. Upon Sunday morning early, the wind continuing to blow in the same * art, Sir Alexander perceives two men of war, one frigate, and three or four long-boats, making from Ila towards them, and some boats coming off from Kintyre to meet them. Upon which, he and the other gentlemen disposed their boats equally in two several places, and encouraged their men to a brave resistance, this being their first action. The two men of war did anchor close within musket-shot of both harbours, and had a full view of the small boats; the frigate continued under sail, from place to place, with a great long-boat, and offered several times to land; but were always beat off. Thus they continued, firing incessantly, from eight in the morning till eight at night; about which time, the wind decreasing, Sir Alexander began to carry away his boats to other places, and two contrary ways, the better to de-lude the rebels, and give them the more to do, which was effected with so much courage of the soldiers, that they carried away their boats, through showers of cannon and muskets, to the other end of the island, where they embarked all their men, and came to Argyle next morning. In the action, the King's party lost one boat, and two sunk with cannon-shot, and one man only wounded. The rebels lost 13 of their men, above 400 cannon-shot, and their whole plot miscarried.

Upon Monday, Sir Alexander having intelligence, that there was a rendezvous of the rebels at Kill-Michall of Invereny, within five miles of Glasrie, he immediately makes towards them, for it was not much out of his way; but, upon approach, they all fled. Sir Alexander, with Elchille, encamped there that night, and suffered the soldiers to take nothing but meat next morning. He continued, with as much expedition as possible, to come up to my lord Dundee; and landed just now here, with the other gentlemen in the boats, and brought all his men safe to this place.

The soldiers are hearty and eager to see my lord Dundee, and suffer hunger and want of sleep, with great patience, to come up, and are in hopes to be transported to Morven, to-morrow or Sunday.

Badinoch, the 4th June.—Just now arrived here Sir Alexander M'Lean, with Mr. Neal of Calchalie, and the laird of Lergie, where they met his excellency my Lord Dundee, on his way to Lochaber; who,

* Quarter.

thereupon,

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thereupon, dismissed the rest of his army to be refreshed at home, keeping only with himself Sir Alexander's party and a few horse, until news from his Majesty and the next rendezvous. Three days ago, a party of major general M'Kay's horse and dragoons, with six score horse, fell upon a party of M'Lean's men, commanded by Lochbuy, who was upon a party, about half a mile from the army. The M'Leans took themselves to a hill, and lost their baggage in the retreat, whereupon they took their ground and fell in pell-mell with the rebels, sword in hand, and broke them, chasing them for a good way. In this notable action, the rebels lost their chief officers, who were killed upon the place, viz. the captain, who was an Englishman of considerable note, and much regretted by the rebels. His name we have not known as yet. Himself with a lieutenant and 15 others were left dead upon the place; and the M'Leans carried the horse and arms, &c. to the camp. Lochbuy lost five of his men.

Lochaber, June 23d.—Yesternight arrived at the camp, Mr. Hay, from Ireland, with express from his Majesty, which gave great joy to his Majesty's army here. We have also accounts from several places, that his Majesty's fleet have secured their coasts and have taken, or sunk, or chased all the rebels' ships from hence. My lord Dundee is now drawing his forces together again, and resolves to march from this in a few days.

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. 1. fol.
No. 48.

The viscount Dundee to the Earl of Melfort.

Melfort unpopular.—Dundee did not prejudice the King against him, but advises him to retire from business for some time.—Dundee's conduct.—His want of resources.—Remittances from the Queen.—Character of the nobility of Scotland.—Many of them will join, when succours arrive from Ireland.—Asks 5000 or 6000 men.—Expects the King.—Names the place of landing.

“ My Lord, Moy, in Lochaber, June 27th, 1689.

“ I Was not a little surprized to find, by yours, that my name has been made use of, for carrying on designs against you. Mr. Carleton is extremely in the wrong, if he says I gave him any commission to the King, or warrant to say any thing to him, in my name. Earl Bredalbin
sent

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sent him to me, with a credential, which he desired me to burn so soon as I had read it. I had never seen the man in the face before, nor heard of him. He was not two hours in my company; and, when he gave me account of his pretended business to Ireland, I disliked most of it, as I signified to you, by M^cSwyne; nor did I give him so much as a line with him, that I remember. I leave you to judge, if it be probable, that I would intrust myself so far to any in such circumstances, as to employ him in so nice and dangerous a point as that is, of accusing so great a man, and so much my friend as you are, to the King. If I had any such design, I would rather have trusted myself to the King, and written frankly to himself. I will assure you, all my endeavours to lay you aside were only to yourself. I thought myself bound in duty to the King and friendship to you, not to dissemble to you the circumstances you stand in with the generality of this country and many in the neighbouring. Your merit and rising fortune has raised envy; your favour with the King is crime enough with his enemies, and I am feared, even with his ambitious friends, which I am sure can never be imagined to be one with me: for I can never have any pretensions in your way. Besides, you have contributed to all the considerable steps of my fortune; but I must tell you, that besides these generals, there are many pretend to have received disobligations from you and others, no doubt, with design on your employment; yet the most universal pretext is, the great hand you had in carrying on matters of religion, as they say, to the ruin of the King and country. I must tell you, I heard a great resentment against you, for advising the giving the bulls for the bishops, and I am feared they themselves believe it. You know what the church of England is in England; and, both there and here, they generally say, that the King of himself is not disposed to push matters of religion, or force people to do things they scruple in conscience; but that you, to gain favour with those of that religion, had proved and prevailed with him, contrary to his inclination, to do what he did, which has given his enemies occasion to destroy him and the monarchy. This being, as I assure you it is, however unjust, the general opinion of these nations, I thought, in prudence, for your own sake as well as the King's, you would have thought it best to seem to be out of business for a time; that the King's business might go the smoother, and all pretext be taken away

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for rebellion; and this only, in case the King find difficulties in his affairs: for I am obliged to tell you, that, if the people take umbrage as to their religion, it will be, notwithstanding of all the foreign aid, a long war. But I think you may come over; and, when you have seen the state of affairs on the place, and spoke with every body, you may think what will be best for you to do. You desire me to recommend a proper man to be secretary. You know it is hard to do. But, if you really resolve not to seem to meddle, I would, were I you, advise the King to employ one, to be turned out when things altered, would not much disoblige, or could have no consequence. But I think I have said enough, if not too much of this.

My lord, I have given the King, in general, account of things here; but to you I will be more particular. As to myself, I have sent you it at large. You may by it understand a little of the state of the country. You will see there, when I had a seen advantage, I endeavoured to profit on it; but, on the other hand, shunned to hazard any thing, for fear of a ruffle: for the least of that would have discouraged all. I thought, if I could gain time, and keep up a figure of a party, without loss, it was my best, till we got assistance, which the enemy got from England every day. I have told the King, I had neither commission, money, nor ammunition. My brother-in-law, Albar, and my wife found ways to get credit. For my own, nobody durst pay to a traitor. I was extremely surpris'd, when I saw Mr. Drummond, the advocate, in Highland habit, come up to Lochaber to me, and gave account, that the Queen had sent 2000 l. sterling to London, to be paid to me for the King's service, and that two more was a coming. I did not think the Queen had known any thing of our affairs. I received a very obliging letter from her, with Mr. Crain; but I know no way to make a return. However, when the money comes, I shall keep count of it, and employ it right. But I am feard, it will be hard to bring it from Edinburgh. When we came first out, I had but fifty pound of powder; more I could not get; all the great towns and sea-ports were in rebellion, and had seized the powder and would sell none. But I had one advantage, the Highlanders will not fire above once, and then take to the broad-sword. But I wonder, above all things, that, in three months, I never heard from you, seeing by Mr. Hay, I had so earnestly recommended it to you, and
told

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told of this way by Inverlochie, as sure, if you would not have sent expresses, we thought you would, at least, have hastened the dispatch of these we sent. M'Swyne has now been away near two months, and we know not, if the coast be clear or not. However, I have adventured to advise Mr. Hay to return streight, and not go farther in the country. It would have been impossible for him to get through to Edinburgh; but there was no need. He came not here until the 22d, and they surrendered on the 13th. It was not Mr. Hay's fault, he was so long a coming; for there has been two English men of war and the Glasgow frigates amongst the islands, till of late. For the rest of the letters, I undertook to get them delivered. Most of the persons to whom they are directed are either put under bond, or in prison, or gone out of the kingdom. The advocate is gone to England, a very honest man, firm beyond belief; and Athol is gone too, who did not know what to do. Earl Hume, who is very frank, is taken prisoner to Edinburgh; but will be let out, on security. Earl Bredalbine keeps close in a strong house he has, and pretends the gout. Earl Errol stays at home; so does Aberdeen. Earl Marshall is at Edinburgh; but does not meddle. Earl Lauderdale is right, and at home. The bishops, I know not where they are. They are now the kirk invisible. I will be forced to open the letter, and send copies attested to them, and keep the original, till I can find out our primate. The poor ministers are sorely oppressed over all. They generally stand right. Duke Queensberry was present at the cross, when their new mock King was proclaimed; and, I hear, voted for him, tho' not for the throne vacant. His brother, the lieutenant general, some say, is made an Earl. He has come down to Edinburgh, and is gone up again. He is the old man, and has abused me strangely; for he swore to me to make amends.

Tarbat is a great villain. Besides what he has done at Edinburgh, he has endeavoured to seduce Locheil, by offers of money, which is under his hand. He is now gone up to secure his faction, which is melting. The two Dalrymples and others against Skelmurly, Polwart, Cardross, Ross, and others, now joined with that worthy prince, duke Hamilton. M. Douglass is now a great knave, as well as beast, as is Glencairne, Morton and Eglington; and even Cassils is gone astray, misled by Gibby*. Panmure keeps right, and at home; so does Strathmore,

* Bishop Burnet.

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Southesk and Kinnaird. Old Airly is at Edinburgh, under caution; so is Balcarras and Dunmore. Stormont is declared fugitive, for not appearing. All these will break out, and many more, when the King lands, or any from him. Most of the gentry on this side the Forth, and many on the other, will do so too. But they suffer mightily in the mean time, and will be forced to submit, if there be not relief sent very soon. The duke of Gordon, they say, wanted nothing for holding out, but hopes of relief. Earl of Dumfermling stays constantly with me, and so does lord Dunkell, Pitcur, and many other gentlemen, who really deserve well, for they suffer great hardships. When the troops land, there must be blank commissions sent for horse and foot for them, and others that will join. There must be a commission of justiciary, to judge all but landed men; for there would be examples made of some that cannot be judged by a council of war. They take our people and hang them up, by their new sheriffs, when they find them straggling.

My lord, I have given my opinion to the King concerning the landing. I would first have a good party sent over to Inverlochie, about 5000 or 6000, as you have conveniency of boats; of which, as many horse as conveniently can. About 600 or 800 would do well; but rather more; for had I had horse, for all that yet appeared, I would not have feared them. Inverlochie is safe landing, far from the enemy, and one may chuse, from thence, to go to Murray by Inverness, or to Angus by Athol, or to Perth by Glencoe, and all tolerable ways. The only ill is, the passage is long by sea and inconvenient, because of the island; but, in this season, that is not to be feared. So soon as the boats return, let them ferry over as many more foot as they think fit to the Point of Kintyre, which will soon be done; and then the King has all the boats for his own landing. I should march towards Kintyre, and meet at the Neck of Tarbitt, the foot, and so march to raise the country, and then towards the passes of Forth to meet the King, where I doubt not but we would be numerous. I have done all I can to make them believe the King will land altogether in the West, on purpose to draw their troops from the North, that we may the easier raise the country, if the landing be here. I have said so, and written it to every body; and particularly, I sent some proclamations to my lady Errol, and wrote to her to that purpose, which was intercepted and carried to Edinburgh, and

and my lady taken prisoner. I believe it has taken the effect I designed; for the forces are marched out of Kintyre, and I am just now informed, M. G. M'Kay is gone from Inverness by Murray towards Edinburgh. I know not what troops he has taken with him as yet; but it is thought, he will take the horse and dragoons, except a few, and most of the standing forces; which, if he do, it will be a rare occasion for landing here, and for raising the country. Then, when they hear of that, they will draw this way, which will again favour the King's landing. Some think Ely a convenient place for landing, because you have choice of what side, and the enemy cannot be on both: others think the nearer Galloway the better, because the rebels will have far to march before they can trouble you: others think Kirkcudbright, or thereabouts, because of that sea for ships, and that it is near England. Nobody expects any landing here now, because it is thought you will alter the design, it having been discovered; and to friends and all, I give out I do not expect any. So I am extremely of opinion, this would be an extreme proper place, unless you be so strong that you need not care where to land. The truth is, I do not admire their mettle. The landing of troops will confound them terribly. I had almost forgot to tell you that P—— O——, as they say, has written to his Scotch council, telling them he will not have his troops any more harraided following me through the hills; but orders them to draw to the west, where, he says, a great army is to land; and, at the same time, gives them accounts, that eight sail of men of war is coming from Brest, with 15000 men on board. He knows not whether they are designed for England or Ireland. I beg you will send an express, before whatever you do, that I may know how to take my measures; and, if the express that comes knows nothing, I am sure it shall not be discovered for me. I have told Mr. Hay nothing of this proposal, nor no man. If there come any party this way, I beg you, send us ammunition, and three or four thousand arms of different sorts, some horse, some foot. I have just now received a confirmation of M'Kay's going South, and that he takes with him all the horse and dragoons, and all the standing foot; by which I conclude, certainly, they are preparing against the landing in the West. I entreat to hear from

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from you as soon as possible; and am, in the old manner, most sincerely,
for all Carleton can say,

My Lord,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

DUNDEE."

Dundee having received news from Ireland recalled Mr. Hay, whom he had dispatched with the preceding letter, and wrote again to lord Melfort. The copy among Mr. Nairne's papers wants a date, but is marked on the back "My Lord Dundee's letter; June 28, 1689."

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 46.

The Viscount Dundee to the Earl of Melfort.——The same subject continued.

" My Lord,

" **A**FTER Mr. Hay was dispatched I was informed, that Achtera and major Farchar's son were landed, so sent and stopt Mr. Hay and came down here to know what news they brought. I am very glad to hear by your lordship's that the King's affairs prosper so well and that Derry will be soon ours. But I hear it was not on Monday last. I know not what the matter is; but I would think Mackay's going south and the troops drawing back from Kintyre towards Edinburgh would import some alarm they have got. I have so often written over all that Derry was ours, that now, say what I like, they hardly believe, and when I talk of relief out of Ireland, they laugh at it, though I believe ere long they will find it earnest, and then our enemy's confusion will be great. As to the places of landing, I am still of the same mind. For the number I must leave to the conveniency you have. The only inconveniency of the delay is, that the honest suffer extremely in the low countrys in the time, and I dare not go down for want of horse, and in part, for fear of plundering all, and so making enemys, having no pay. I wonder you send no ammunition, were it but 4 or 5 barrels. For we have not 20 pound. As to yourself, I have told you freely my opinion and am still of the same mind. You desire I may tell you your faults. I use to see none in my friends, and for to tell you what others find when I do not believe them were to lose time. But I must tell you many of them who complained of you, have carried themselves so, that what they say

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say deserves not much to be noticed. However, they have poisoned the generality with prejudice against you, and England will, I am afraid, be uneasier to you than Scotland. It is the unjustest thing in the world, that not being popular must be an argument to be laid aside by the King. I do really think it were hard for the King to do it; but glorious for you, if once you be convinced that the necessity of the King's affairs requires it, to do it of yourself and beg it of him. But this only, as I said in my last, in case of great difficulties, and in the way I advised, which I think the King will not refuse you; I mean as to filling up of the place; for the King may have enemys, some by your continuing; but he may put in one who may ruin all, which I am sure, if he gave it to some that pretends, it would I am afraid certainly fall out. I wonder you could have the least thought that I would concert with any body against you, having parted so good friends. I spoke not to Dunmore since he came from London. I mind not I spoke of you to Bredalbine. I remember when I was endeavouring to make friends for the King in the country and in the convention, many did tell me, that there would be no living if you returned; so when no arguments for you could prevail, I have, may be, to smoothe them, said, that if all were well, you would be prevailed with not to meddle any more. I would have written letters of encouragement to all the King has written to from yourself, and assured them of your friendship and satisfied them of your real designs of living and letting live every one in their own way in matters of religion, which would mightily allay, I think, as to Scotland, and let them see you do favours to cavaliers and to Protestants, for some steps, that may be, you was forced to make in favours of these ungrate beasts the Presbyterians. You gave unhappy umbrage to both the other, but they were fools; for never will they get one whose family, education, and inclination, is so cavalier. They long at the King's restoration to have a Lauderdale to destroy Middleton and poor suffering cavaliers. Let not this be their plague. I am sure you shall be sure of all my endeavours for to bring the minds of people to reason. If you will allow, I will say, that though you come to see the King once landed, you design not to stay, unless you think that you may unbolden your enemys. I give my humble service to my lady, and am, My Lord,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

DUNDEE."

The

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Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 43.

The following paper is marked on the back, "Account of the engagements in Scotland since May, 1689," *for the Queen.*

"An account of the engagements that happened between the King's party and the rebels in Scotland since May, 1689."

December 15th, 1689.

THE first engagement was betwixt Sir Alex. M'Leane, with whom were the lairds of Lergie and Calchillie, in the island of Giga, betwixt Kintyre and Isla, and a squadron of the English fleet commanded by captain Ruke, in May last, thus,

Sir Alexander and the aforesaid gentlemen with 400 men were waiting a fair wind to bring them to the rendezvous appointed by my lord Dundee, his Majesty's lieut. general, and had their small boats close to the rocks of the island when they were assaulted by the English. The fight began at 8 o'clock in the morning. The English, thinking to take and sink the boats, manned six long boats, and under shelter of a yaucht they came in pell mell amongst the boats, and took a large boat belonging to Sir Alexander, that could not be brought near the shore; but they were so warmly received by the King's party, that the rebels were forced to retreat with loss, whereupon the two men of war dropped anchor as close to the boats as they could come, and fired incessantly with their cannon and small shot from 8 o'clock in the morning until 8 o'clock at night. At which time Sir Alexander divided his boats, and sent one half of them round the island one way, and with them the yaucht and small boats engaged. They being thus out of the way, and the two men of war still at anchor, all the rest of the boats came out upon them, and in despite of all the English could do, they brought all safe away. In this skirmish the loyalists lost one boat, and two sunk, and one man wounded, but none killed. The rebels had a lieutenant and 14 men killed and a great many wounded.

The next engagement was in that same month, between a party of Sir John M'Leane's regiment of 120 men, commanded by M'Leane of Lochbuy, against 200 horse and dragoons, commanded by col. Livingston, wherein the M'Leanes routed the rebels, killed captain Waine, an Englishman, and 14 of his party, with the loss of five men only.

The

The battle of Rinrory, in Athol, was the next considerable engagement after this, which was thus :

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The lord Murray, son to the marquis of Athol, having with 1500 men laid siege to the castle Blair, in Athol, then garrisoned for the King (thereof the lairds of and Ballechan were officers) and my lord Dundee being to wait at Lochaber some days for colonel Cannon and the Irish regiment and the other officers, who were come from Ireland to come up to join him ; his Excellency sent orders for Sir Alexander M'Leane (who was then at Cromar in the North, in an expedition against the master of Forbes and other rebels) to march in all haste to relieve the garrison of Blair, and there to wait till his Excellency's arrival. This Sir Alexander so happily performed, that lord Murray was forced to raise the siege ; and major general M'Kay being on his march to second lord Murray, my lord Dundee (upon information thereof) made long marches to prevent him, and arrived at Athol upon the 16th of July, and next morning was informed, that M'Kay's forlorn of 400 men were within two miles of the castle, at the Pass of Kilikrankie. Whereupon his Excellency commanded Sir Alexander M'Leane, with 400 men, to march against this party. But they were not a quarter of a mile off when his lordship was informed, that instead of a party, M'Kay himself with all his army was at Rinrory, within a mile and a half of him. Whereupon his lordship commanded the army to march towards the rebels, resolving, without delay, to fight them. M'Kay's army was drawn up in eight battalions, consisting of 4500 foot and two troops of horse. My Lord Dundee's consisted of 2500 foot and one troop of horse. On the right wing Sir John M'Leane was placed with his regiment in two battalions. On the left, was Sir Donald M'Donald's regiment, commanded by his son and Sir George Berkley, in one battalion, and Sir Alexander M'Leane another battalion, made the left wing. The main battle consisted of four battalions, viz. Lochiel's, Glengary, Clanronald, and the Irish regiment, and the troop of horse commanded by Sir William Wallace. The officers that came from Ireland divided themselves among the battalions. The fight began about 5 o'clock at night, Sir Alexander M'Leane keeping the rebels in action (while my lord was forming the battle). By debating for advantageous posts, therein he lost only five men, but the rebels loss was greater. About 8 o'clock the signal was

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given; his lordship, charged in person, upon the head of the horse. The Highlanders gave such a furious charge as made the rebels give ground in a moment. For the rebels having spent their fire before the Highlanders fired, (who kept their shot till they were within pike length of the enemy), and after fire the royalists falling in with broad swords made the rebels run. The left wing of M'Kay's army was quite routed by Sir John M'Leane, who followed the slaughter for a good way. The like was done by the main battle. But all the opposition to purpose was in the right wing of the rebels. For Sir Alexander M'Leane, having routed M'Kay's regiment, his men followed the pursuit so briskly, that he was left alone himself in the place of battle; and observing colonel Hastling's regiment of foot standing their ground against Sir Donald M'Donald's regiment, and at last forcing them to retire, he rallied as many as he could get of his men, and with Sir Evan Cameron made head towards the rebels who thereupon fled, and the night put a stop to the slaughter.

In this battle there were killed of the rebels upon the place 1500, some say 2000, and the next morning 500 prisoners were brought in by the men of Athol. Those of note killed, were brigadier Balfour, and lieutenant colonel M'Kay, brother to the major general, with many more officers of less note; of the prisoners were lieutenant colonel Balfour, captain Ferguson, captain Donaldson, and 13 other officers, with all their camp, tents, baggage, artillery, and provisions, which was of great value, and also the prince of Orange's standard, carried by M'Kay's regiment, taken by Sir Alexander M'Leane.

Of the royalists were killed (to his Majesty's unspeakable loss) the lieutenant general himself, (while he was riding to help the confusion he observed in the left wing, occasioned by the gallant resistance of colonel Hastling's regiment against Sir Donald and Sir George Berkley,) the lairds of Largie, captain M'Donald, brother to Glengarie, captain Ramsay, captain M'Leane, nephew to Sir Alexander, captain Pollock, brother to the laird of Pollock, and some other officers, but very few common foldiers. Sir George Berkley and several other gentlemen were wounded.

Two days after this battle, colonel Cannon, who now commands the army, sent the laird of Struan with 100 foot and some horse, under the
conduct

conduct of major William Graham, to St. Johnstoun. where they were surprised by some troops of horse of Sir John Lanier's regiment. Major Graham made off in time. But Struan's men were some in their beds, some drunk, and some of them were killed, and 25 taken prisoners; the rest with the laird himself made their escape. This was the beginning of Cannon's conduct. 1689.
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The last engagement was about 20 days after this, at Dunkell, where there was some 800 of the Cameronians, under the command of colonel Cleaveland and others. Colonel Cannon with the army arrived at Dunkell the 21st of August, at 7 o'clock in the morning, and surrounded the town, commanding Sir Alexander M'Leane to make the first attack, and so the Highlanders fell on so furiously that they beat the rebels from the walls, and helping one another over the walls entered the town. So that at once the town was set on fire both by them and the rebels, whereby the town for an hour and a half was very hot on both sides. At last all the rebels being cut off, except those who got into the castle and the great church, and the Highlanders having spent their ammunition, retired out of the town. In this engagement, on the rebels side were killed Cleaveland himself and almost all their officers, and 120, some say 200, of their men. On the King's side were killed two captains of M'Leane's regiment, and Sir Alexander M'Leane's captain lieutenant, and some other officers of note, but few soldiers; but there were a great many wounded. and Sir Alexander M'Leane had his leg broken with a musket bullet, and was carried to the castle of Blair. But upon some distaste taken by the clans at Cannon's conduct, the army broke up and went home; and now they content themselves with incursions, wherewith they have done great prejudice to the rebels, and lately went within seven miles of Glasgow and destroyed Kilmarnock, &c.

Lord Dundee's speech to his troops before the battle of Killikranksy.

"Gentlemen,

"**Y**OU are come hither this day to fight, and that in the best of causes: for it is the battle of your King, your religion, and your country, against the foulest usurpation and rebellion; and having, therefore, so good a cause in your hands, I doubt not but it will inspire

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you

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fol. No. 242.

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you with an equal courage to maintain it. For there is no proportion betwixt loyalty and treason; nor should be any betwixt the valour of good subjects and traitors. Remember, that to-day begins the fate of your King, your religion, and your country. Behave yourselves, therefore, like true Scotchmen; and let us, by this action, redeem the credit of this nation, that is laid low by the treacheries and cowardice of some of our countrymen; in which, I ask nothing of you, that you shall not see me do before you; and, if any of us shall fall upon this occasion, we shall have the honour of dying in our duty, and as becomes true men of valour and conscience: and such of us as shall live and win the battle, shall have the reward of a gracious King, and the praise of all good men. In God's name, then, let us go on, and let this be your word: King James and the church of Scotland, which God long preserve."

Dundee wrote the following letter, giving an account of the battle to King James. He died next morning of the wound which he had received in the action.

The Viscount Dundee to King James, after the battle of Killikranksy.

"SIR,

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ubi supra.

"IT has pleased God to give your forces a great victory over the rebels, in which 3-4ths of them are fallen under the weight of our swords. I might say much of the action, if I had not the honour to command in it; but of 5000 men, which was the best computation I could make of the rebels, it is certain there cannot have escaped above 1200 men. We have not lost full out 900. This absolute victory made us masters of the field and the enemy's baggage, which I gave to the foldiers; who, to do them all right, both officers and common men, Highlands, Lowlands, and Irish, behaved themselves with equal gallantry, to what ever I saw in the hottest battles fought abroad by disciplined armies; and this M'Kay's old soldiers felt on this occasion. I cannot now, Sir, be more particular; but take leave to assure your Majesty, the kingdom is generally disposed for your service, and impatiently wait for your coming; and this success will bring in the rest of the nobility and gentry, having had all their assurances for it, except the noto-

rious rebels. Therefore, Sir, for God's sake, assist us, though it be with such another detachment of your Irish forces as you sent us before, especially of horse and dragoons; and you will crown our beginnings with a compleat success, and yourself with an entire possession of your antient hereditary kingdom of Scotland. My wounds forbid me to enlarge to your Majesty at this time, though they tell me they are not mortal. However, Sir, I beseech your Majesty to believe, whether I live or die, I am intirely your's,

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DUNDEE."

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1690.

AFFAIRS of SCOTLAND.

1690.
February.

UPON the death of the viscount Dundee, the spirit of the Highlanders, who were in arms for James, declined. Colonel Cannon, who succeeded to the command, was neither loved for his manner, nor respected for his conduct. The insurgents, however, remained attached to their principles; and though they retired home for the winter, they were ready, with the return of summer, to take the field. Major general Buchan was sent to command them; and the following paper contains a detail of some particulars after the arrival of that officer in Scotland.

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 66.

"An account of Major General Buchan's arrival in Scotland.—Of the present posture of affairs.—Of the return of his Majesty's ship the Jennet, with some gentlemen from thence; and of a skirmish they had with the rebels in the harbour of Killibeg."

"For the Queen."

"Dublin, the 14th day of March, 1690.

ON the 20th of the last month, Sir George Berkley, Sir Alexander M'Lane, colonel James Purcell, and Mr. John Hay, set out from Tubermurray, in the island of Mull and kingdom of Scotland, in his Majesty's ship the Jennet (that carried major general Buchan thither) for Sligo, in the west of this kingdom; but, meeting with contrary winds, put into Killibeg, short of it; which, because of the nearness to Sligo, they believed was in his Majesty's hands; but soon found their mistake. There were three of the enemy's ships riding there; and the Jennet had scarce anchored, when two of their boats came up to her. In one were the masters of the two ships, their mates and seamen; in the
I other,

other, two fishermen only. The first came on board and were secured; the masters in the cabin, and the men in the hold. The two fishermen grew jealous, went off, and informed those a-shore, they suspected them. Whereupon, one captain Watson, captain lieutenant to Tiffany, and commander in chief of the place, manned and armed three boats very well; resolving, if enemies, to take them. They received the captain, and those in his boat, on board, and immediately disarmed them; which, as soon as the other two boats saw, they fired upon the ship. But his Majesty, when the ship went off from hence, having ordered a sufficient number of soldiers on board her, to secure her in her return, they poured small shot so thick into the boats, that one immediately cried out for quarter. The other was rowed off by two boys, which made those on board the *Jennet* believe the men in it were killed or disabled. They took, in all, 19 prisoners; two of which were so desperately wounded, that their lives were despaired of. After this skirmish was over, the wind blew fresh into the harbour; but abated by twelve at night. Then, with the help of the boats they took, they warped and towed out of the harbour, which, in the entrance, is very straight. Some shots were made at them, next morning, from the shore, which did them no harm; and a small gale presenting, they got off, and, in two days after, landed at Broad-haven.

Mr. Hay, brother to Mr. George Hay, who was sent express to the King, by major general Buchan, dispatched immediately away, and arrived here with his Majesty, on the 7th in the morning. He brought his Majesty two several letters from Buchan: the first is of the 2d of February at Mull; the last, of the 14th of the same month, at Inverlochie. In the first, he gives an account of the favourableness of his passage thither; and that the officers, ammunition, cloaths, and money, sent with him, were safely landed and secured by him: that he intended to get a good body of men immediately together: that the duke of Berwick's presence there would be very necessary; and desires, that the lords Seaforth and Drummond, and all the Scotch to be spared here, might immediately be dispatched thither. In his second, he tells of a meeting he has had with the general officers and chiefs of clans, in a general council of war, (in pursuance of his Majesty's commission to that purpose) where a general letter to his Majesty was conceived and subscribed

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subscribed by them all, which he covered to the King. In it, they gave fresh assurances of their adherence to his Majesty and royal interest; and promise to continue to do as they began, and expose their lives and fortunes, and all that is dear and near to them, for his Majesty's re-establishment. They beseech his Majesty to send the duke of Berwick, with some horse and dragoons, to head them, which, they say, will enable them to make a descent into the low lands, where they do not question to meet many of his Majesty's friends who will join them; and add, that they have pitched upon Sir George Berkley, to give an account of their present condition, and desire he may be immediately sent back to them. The major general further adds, that he has already had private messages from considerable persons there, and desires commissions for colonels and lieutenant-colonels of horse and foot, for some noblemen he names, together with some blank ones for others. Besides what he writes, and the general letter, his Majesty has had particular ones from several of the chiefs of clans, which are full of dutiful and loyal expressions. Mr. Hay, that, some time before his embarking, came out of the low lands, has brought the present establishment there, as to civil and military employments, a list of the prince of Orange's troops in that kingdom, the order of council for sequestering the estates of the loyalists; and has given so good an account of all things to the King, that he has pitched upon him to carry his Majesty's letters to the Queen, and sets out for Cork this very day."

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 50, 51,
52.

The establishment in Scotland as to civil and military employments, the list of the prince of Orange's troops, and the order of council for sequestering the estates of the loyalists, mentioned in the preceding paper, are all in Mr. Nairne's papers; and they are marked on the back, *For the Queen*. The letter Buchan wrote to James, on the 2d of February, at Mull, is wanting; but there are copies of the letter he wrote to him on the 14th, and of a letter from Sir John M'Leane, and of a joint letter from the general officers and Highland chieftains in arms in Scotland. They are marked on the back, *For the Queen*.

Sir

Sir John M'Lean to King James.——Assurances of perpetual fidelity and attachment.

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February.

SIR,

Dowart, 1st February, 1690.

THERE is nothing in the world more acceptable to me, than to be daily employed in your Majesty's service. Your gracious letters to me, and the sending of major general Buchan unto us, revives our spirits, and raiseth our hopes; and, I thank God, we are resolute and unanimous to your Majesty's service, which I shall never depart from, while I have a being. My cousin, Sir Alexander M'Lean, being necessitate to go to Dublin for his cure, and thereby occasion to be near your Majesty, knows so well all the circumstances we are in here, that I need not give your Majesty the trouble of any relation of what he can more easily give himself. I shall only assure your Majesty of my constant and unalterable loyalty and kindness and unity with all those who shall serve your Majesty, and a perfect submission to all my superior officers; and, when we are so happy as to see his Grace the duke of Berwick, whose coming with some forces, especially horse, will soon reduce this kingdom to its duty; I hope his Grace shall find me your Majesty's most diligent and obedient subject, being, unalterably,

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 53.

Sir, your, &c.

JOHN M'LEAN.

Major General Buchan to King James.

The earl of Bredalbin cannot be depended on.——Lord Tarbat attempts to buy off the clans.——Some noblemen will join, if the duke of Berwick comes to Scotland.

May it please your Majesty,

Inverlochy, Feb. 14th, 1690.

Ibid. No. 54.

SINCE my first letter, at my landing, I had a meeting with the chiefs of clans; and they have written to your Majesty and cousin Sir George Berkley, to give a true account of what is passed, and of the present condition they are in; they will not have any from a particular clan to come over, but an indifferent person, whom they all esteem, as they do the bearer, as much as any that has been amongst them. My

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C c c

lord

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lord Bredalbin has sent a gentleman to me, and professes very much; yet, for what I can learn underhand, he is not to be trusted. There are several of the clans, for all their promises, that have been treating with the prince of Orange; and my lord Tarbat lies, like a banquiere at London, buying off all he can. I have seen of his letters. There is 1000 *l.* offered Lochiel, and to pay off all his debts; so that, unless your Majesty give speedy succour, I fear the most of them.

The officers that came out of Ireland were very miserable; so I, with consent of the council of war, have given out the 500 *l.* amongst them. There is some of the clergy have been with me, desiring to know what length your Majesty would go with them for their religion. I told them, that was truly a point not for me to answer; but desired they might send some person they might trust to speak to your Majesty about it. It will be necessary to please that gang, and to send over some blank commissions, for colonels and lieutenant colonels of horse and foot: for there are several noblemen in the low country desire commissions; as the earls of Errol, Strathmore, Panmure, and some others. These people will never raise, till the duke of Berwick comes over. There is a report, that my lord of Arran will join us; but I do not trust it. I must recommend Lochiel to your Majesty. Your Majesty will see, by his billet, what he desires; and he rules the Highlanders more than any Scotchman does; and likewise Stewart of Ballachant-Billet, who is a very forward man, and John Drummond of Machonie. I beg of your Majesty, that Sir George Berkley may be put upon his allegiance to give your Majesty a true account of every one. He is an honest, loyal man, and knows much more than I can write; and it will be very fit that he be dispatched back again; for the Highlanders have a high esteem for him, and it will conduce very much to your Majesty's service, that he have a commission for brigadier, which will please extremely all the loyal party. I would write much more, but refer all to him; so, wishing the Heavens to preserve and protect your sacred Majesty, I am,

May it please your Majesty, &c.

THOMAS BUCHAN.

“General

“ General Letter from the officers and chiefs of clans now in arms in Scotland, to the King.”

1690.
February.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 55.

*Assurances of attachment.—They ask the duke of Berwick to command them.—
They desire some horse and dragoons.*

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ **W**E being assembled together by major general Buchan's orders, we have all agreed in one voice, that, as we have begun, so we will continue to hazard our lives and fortunes, and all that is dear unto us, for your Majesty's re-establishment. But we must let your Majesty know, that his grace the duke of Berwick will be most acceptable to all honest men in this kingdom, but particularly to us; and that the sooner he comes the better it will be: for we stand extremely in need of some horse and dragoons, and cannot adventure into the low country securely without them. We have likewise commanded Sir George Berkley, much against his own inclinations, to give your Majesty a full account of what is past, and of our present condition. So, to wish God to bless and preserve your Majesty, and to give you success over your enemies, shall still be the prayers of,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's, &c.

Thomas Buchan.

George Berkley.

Al. Cannan.

M'Nachtane.

Alex. M'Donald of Glen.

Alex. M'Donald.

Cameron of Lochiel.

Col. M'Donald.”

D. M'Donald.

Many persons in Scotland who had declared early for the prince of Orange, and acknowledged his title as King, expected exorbitant rewards for their services, but finding themselves disappointed, they began to make their peace with James, and to concert measures for his restoration. The Highlanders, when abandoned by colonel Cannon, who succeeded Dundee in the command of the forfeited King's adherents, chose Sir Evan Cameron of Lochiel for their commander; and, when reinforced by Buchan and the officers whom James sent with ammunition and provisions from Ireland,

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they took arms to second Sir James Montgomery's intrigues in parliament. They were repulsed, rather than defeated, by Sir Thomas Livingston in the county of Murray, and by major Ferguson in the island of Mull: and the conspiracy in which Montgomery had engaged all the discontented nobility and gentlemen in the kingdom, was discovered by himself to the earl of Melvil; and by the earl of Annandale to Queen Mary. But before this happened, the conspirators had begun to correspond with the exiled Queen in France, and with James in Ireland. The first mention made of their designs in Nairne's papers, is in the letters which Melfort wrote to his master from Paris, and to the Queen from Toulon.

The Scots made certain conditions with James, and prepared to restore him in a parliamentary way to his kingdoms; and the most rigid Jacobites being under no restraints from conscience, made use of their master's permission to qualify themselves to vote in parliament, by taking the oaths to the government. But it is probable that James placed no confidence in the offers of the Presbyterians; and Melfort, at this desperate crisis, was as anxious to avoid any concessions which might imply a diminution of the prerogative, as when his master was firmly seated on the throne of his ancestors. He discovers a great deal of this spirit in the following memorial, which contains, at once, proofs of insincerity and marks of weakness.

Memorial concerning Scotland, sent to the Queen from Rome, April 18th, 1690.

In Nairne's hand.

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 84.

"HAving seen a paper, containing some propofals for the bringing back the kingdom of Scotland to their duties and allegiance to his Majesty, I thought it my duty to make such reflections upon it, as might be for the clearing of the state of the case, and the consequences of their demands; of which the substance is:

That it is most certain, that the party now desiring to treat, was that party which gave the usurper the crown, and have used all the means possible to gain their ends with him. So that it is not kindness to the King, but to play their own game better, which moves this offer; they seeing a church of England parliament, their mortal enemies, in all places of trust about the usurper, and persecutions coming on them, instead
of

of that happiness they proposed to themselves by the change. But this should be no hinderance, if their demands were tolerable, which, in reason, the King might expect, considering that they have no resource but in him; and that they must be against the prince of Orange, it being their own interest, as well as his.

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As to the first demand of an act of indemnity, it is absolutely necessary, and to be as extensive as the King with safety can make it; and these exceptions proposed seem to be most reasonable. But, besides these, it is to be considered, that such as have formerly been pardoned for high treason once, do not seem fit objects for the King's mercy; nor such, whose families seem to have been hereditably so, except where, by some new service, they merit more favour; and this I do not find they stick at, to let the King make the exceptions; and I am of opinion there are many who should be included for their lives and fortunes, who should not as to their honour; that so the King may, without augmenting the number of the peers of every rank, have wherewithal to gratify such as have eminently served him; and that exception of honours go to such as have pretended to serve him and did not, as well as to such as have been his open enemies.

As to the proposition of a parliament, it seems to be the most dangerous expedient in the world for the crown. All yet done is void and null, and there is nothing can support it but a chain of force, as illegal and unjust as that which made it. But, if the King consent to a parliament, whatever is there done, his commissioners being there present, though contrary to his instructions, though it will not be licit, yet will be validly done; and, therefore, it is not a right matter to name a man in open rebellion to be a commissioner. It is an act the King may do, but it is not for any to advise him in it; and, besides, it would seem too great a condescension for the King to make, for so small assurances as he is to have on their part, which amounts only to simple endeavours, and such as if the prince of Orange let not the parliament meet, their very fundamental project will be out of doors; it consisting all in turning the parliament into a convention.

The acts they propose are such as may strengthen their authority with the people, and may be a bait for them to catch at; and, I suppose, they

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they mean them for no other end at present; because it seems they would print and disperse them. If that be all, then it would appear to me, that a declaration of the King's, to assure them that he will do for them, may be as sufficient as the instructions, and less dangerous. If they intend to call a convention, without the prince of Orange's authority, which they must do, or have none, in all likelihood, then it were fit, that they admitted the duke of Berwick, or earl of Perth, whom, for that end, they may relieve, to assure them of the King's intention, so soon as he can see them, or safely hold a parliament there; and, in the mean time, to grant them the indemnity, liberty of conscience, and such other things as may with safety be done, leaving them to rely on the King for something, as he must on them for much honesty and fidelity he must presuppose them to have. And it is but reasonable, that these who have broken all oaths and ties, should rather trust to him, who has ever kept his truth, than that he, who has never failed, should trust to them who have, and are his subjects too.

The acts are such as the King can give no instructions in, with any sort of safety, till he see them.

As first, That act for settling the protestant religion may be such, as in conscience the King cannot consent to. It may have clauses in it, which may destroy the being of the monarchy or person of the King, in case of being any way, as they think, incroached upon by him. It may give an authority to the people to inquire into the King's actions, &c.

These things, though they seem a lesser ill than what the King now suffers, yet I look on it as entirely greater. The violence of this usurpation threatens its being short-lived; and God, in his justice, will throw out these workers of iniquity, and, in his mercy, restore the King; and, if he have not consented to any thing prejudicial to the monarchy, he will get intire; whereas a condescension once made, seems impossible to be retrieved again.

That act for not keeping up a standing army, is to put the King in the people's power, which they have not used so in times past, as to encourage the King to trust them in times to come; and for the King to go on these terms, or not to go at all, seems much the same thing, if the first be not by much the worst; and I am in the mind the King will not condescend to it.

As

As that his Catholick servants should be approved in parliament, that's of no consequence to be stuck at on any account. If it had been so still, we had been more secure, and, in my judgment, the King had been allowed whatever he had asked; but if that extend to officers, it is of the nature of the other act, and the King I believe will never grant it.

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That Act, rescinding all forfeitures since 1660, is against all law and the security of the crown. For no man will dread any just sentence. But yet it should not be stuck at, if it can help the King's business on. It may have such exceptions in it, as may be fit that many of the King's own friends may not be forfeited, instead of his enemies: a thing has ever been aimed at, by the discontented party, to make men weary of their duty and loyalty. So that, to propose the matter right, they should have said, at least, The parliament giving compensation to such as shall be injured by such an act. Though, at the same time, I renounce all interest I have in them, so soon as the King shall let me know it is for his interest I do it. But this act requires long time; for many forfeitures are sold and many bought, by the relation of the person forfeited: so that it would require time to adjust such an act, so as to make it as just as can be; and it should be well adjusted with the King's friends, lest they be alarmed by it and disheartened; and so like the fable of Æsop, we lose the substance aiming at the shadow.

Let this gentleman say what he will, this is not only to hamper but to fetter the King; and, therefore, the true consideration is, if the King be in such a case, as that he must accept on any terms, which, according to my weak capacity, he is not yet reduced to; and that, therefore, he may very well propose his terms as they have done theirs, and ride these gentlemen with a good bridle hand, not giving them too much reins, lest they run away with him and throw him again, nor too little, lest they choak and renverse with him.

This riddle is what it requires more wisdom, and more experience than I am master of to find out; yet I could not be wanting to give the insight I can, for the service of such as I esteem above all worldly things; and therefore I think:

That this party, being disobliged by the prince of Orange, flies to the King, and asks high terms. If they can get them, they gain; however,
they

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they lose nothing to propose them, though, at the same time, they must accept of what the King offers them, if that weighs down in one grain what they expect from the prince of Orange. For a proof of this, they have put their lives into the King's hands, without any precaution, which they would not have done but in two cases.

The first, to cheat the King and get these condescensions, with the prince of Orange's consent. This they are not in terms to effectuate; and, therefore, it must be the second: That they are so ill used, that they think they were better before the prince of Orange came than they are now; and, if that, then a state near about what they then enjoyed will satisfy them, in other demands they be never so extravagant.

If, therefore, it be possible for the King to satisfy them with reasonable promises, and once to get them entered in action, they will do the King's work, and whilst the prince of Orange and they are struggling for the bone, leave the King the liberty of growing strong enough to take it from them both, and to give as he shall see reasonable afterwards. For, if once they begin a war, it will not then be so much minded, what terms they are to expect from the King, who is to assist them, as how they shall overthrow the power of the present enemy.

[What follows is in Melfort's hand.]

Who gains time, gains life; and, therefore, the King should shew them all the kindness, all the trust, all the confidence in the world; write most affectionately to them, seem to grant even more than he intends to perform; but, in the mean time, delay, and a good reason of delay of such acts as he cannot grant is, to see them penned and sent him. Such as he can grant, to assure them of them with all cheerfulness, and brag extremely of what assistance he will send them, and that they shall have all content. Naturally they are hot and unwarie, and not able to brook the present pressure of the prince of Orange, as appears by their uneasy messenger's stories; that they can hardly be kept in, and consequently, if encouraged by the King, will break out; which, once begun, and the Highlanders advertised to take the same opportunity, then all will be past their helping, and the King's promises be at his own disposal, at the time and in the manner he shall think fit. Besides the likelihood it may stop the usurper's designs upon Ireland.

But above all things, he must promise favours to such, as shall entertain this matter, and that they shall be in posts to see their people protected, &c. whatever reasons to the contrary may be gathered from their past carriages.

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It is of great importance to send back this messenger contented to his principals; and that he may be instructed in what may be of most use to begin with, as seizing the castles, a thing easy for them to do, by surprise; seizing good hostages on the prince's side, &c. God Almighty inspire the King, and send him such as may be serviceable to him in this conjuncture; neither losing all the assistance of his enemies, nor endangering his royalty.

It appears from the following preamble of a declaration, that James always expressed himself too ambiguously to satisfy even those who had formed a conspiracy to restore him to his throne.

WHEREAS, by several declarations, we have endeavoured to give our good subjects all satisfaction as to the sincerity of our intentions, for settling the nation in peace and prosperity, hoping, thereby, to have removed all apprehensions and fears of our invading their religion, liberty, or property. But finding, by experience, that the said declarations did not produce those good effects we expected from them, but rather dissatisfied the greatest part of our people, although they contained only the substance of such heads and proposals as had from time to time been offered to us by several very considerable persons and parties of our said subjects (who did at the same time assure us, that, if we would condescend to such proposals as they offered, and which were mentioned in the said declarations, our restoration should immediately follow); we, therefore, upon mature consideration, are convinced, that the only sure way left to know truly the sense of the nation, and to satisfy all parties, will be, to defer the descending into particulars till we meet with the representatives of all our subjects in a free parliament; with whom we promise, upon our royal word, to advise and readily to concur in all things, that can, in reason, be expected from us, for the general satisfaction of our people, in all that may relate to their religion, liberty, property, &c.

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pers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 94.

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1691.

1691.
January.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 83.

Ibid. No. 80.
81.

Ibid. No. 85.

ALEXANDER the VIII. after he was advanced to the Roman pontificate, wrote an affectionate letter to the late King of England. He exhorted him to patience and perseverance, and promised him the assistance of prayers and money for his restoration. But he carried nepotism to as great a length as any of his predecessors, and probably squandered too much money in aggrandizing his own family, to be able to send any more effectual aid than chaplets and indulgencies to James. He died on the 1st of February, 1691, and on the 12th of July Innocent XII. was elected in his room. This Pope is supposed, before the end of his pontificate, to have been liberal to James; but it does not appear that he sent him supplies at this time, as there is a blank in lord Melfort's negotiations at Rome. Since December, 1689, there are but two of his memorials among Mr. Nairne's Papers. The one is in Italian, and marked on the back, "The fifth memorial on the 2d of March." The year is not mentioned. The other is in French and in Italian, and it is marked on the back of the Italian copy, that it was delivered to the Pope (Innocent the XII.) on the 22d of August, 1691. In both these memorials he asks money, and recommends a peace among the Roman Catholic princes, in the same strain as in his memorial of December 1689.

By this time James had recalled lord Melfort from Rome; for the letter he wrote then to Innocent is dated the 30th of July 1691. He had higher expectations now, from the divisions among his old subjects at home, than from the assistance of foreign princes; and he entered into a correspondence with those, who had formed a conspiracy against the government. The following paper relates to the intrigues of this period:

"Instructions to Mr. Ord, (I believe) 1691."

In Mr. Nairne's hand.

1691.
January.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 86.

YOU shall, with the first conveniency, after your arrival in England, go to your loyal friends in the North, and from the King command their zeal for his service. Give his royal thanks for what they have done; and let them know, that it is his Majesty's pleasure they keep themselves in the best readiness they can for his service. That they think of the best way of arming themselves, in case his Majesty find, during the course of this campaign, means of coming to them; and that they come to join him, as soon as conveniently they can, after the publication of his Majesty's declaration.

That you go to the earl of Hume, and to such friends as you know in Northumberland, and endeavour to contrive the surprising of Berwick; and that they give the King an account, when they have it in their power, and execute it when his Majesty shall order, or that they shall hear some sure good news to encourage them to it. That they, in like manner, try, if it be possible, to seize Newcastle and Tinmouth.

That, in the meantime, they behave themselves with that prudence, which may preserve them from being imprisoned, dismounted, or disarmed.

That they be ready, at the first warning, to take arms; and that they be careful, so soon as our declaration comes amongst them, to spread it about in all places; and that they cause reprint it, where they have conveniency, and where they have it not, that they cause written copies to be dispersed, and that they proclaim our authority, wherever they pass or have power.

That they endeavour to hearten all our subjects; and, that thorough such places as it will be necessary for them to pass, they keep exact discipline, and pay for what they get.

And, besides all other favours we shall do to such as appear for us, we shall, in the first place, refund what they shall have laid out in this our service.

You shall lay out to all our faithful subjects you have occasion to converse with on this account, the sense we have of their loyalty, the joy

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we shall have to see them, and the unalterable resolutions we have to reward them. That, if any of your friends in Northumberland have correspondence in the borders of Scotland, they inform them of what is proper on this head, that they may likewise prepare for the first advertisement or sure good news to take arms.

October.

Major Holmes went to France in October 1691, and gave a memorial to the King immediately upon his arrival at Fountainbleau. This memorial is not among Mr. Nairne's papers. But there is a paper, in Holmes's own hand, containing some particulars which he had forgot. It is indorsed in lord Melfort's: "Major Holmes's paper, given in October 1691."

Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 10.

"ACCOUNTS from ENGLAND."

"*Memorials from Mr. Ferguson.*"

"**T**HERE is an impeachment designed against the bishop of Salisbury, bishop of St. Asaph, and dean of St. Paul's, in parliament, for persuading the clergy to take the oaths to the prince of Orange as a conqueror.

Another impeachment designed against my lord Danby, for declaring no King could reign in England, whilst the act of *Habeas Corpus* was in force, and a great instrument for the clergy's taking the oaths as above written. There is many of the King's friends would gladly have the general excise to pass freely in parliament, in hopes that the King may come to the receiving of it. There are others of his Majesty's friends of another opinion, that the less money granted in parliament is a good way to the breaking of the confederacy. The parliament will have an exact account of the money already given, and how it was spent. There are several of the King's friends, that are much of the opinion, that, when it shall please God that the King shall land in England, immediately after or about the time of the landing, the loyalists in London or thereabouts join all in a body, attack his guards, and seize the prince of Orange and princess, with some of the head rogues in their government, and bring them straight to the King's camp. That the cessation of arms, made by the earl of Bredalbin and major general Buchan, with the rest of the officers and heads of the clans, was both honourable and advantageous for the King's service; but that lord is not to be trusted by no
King,

King, further than his own-interest leads him. It is a very necessary thing, that speedy supplies be sent to the Highlands, both to the officers and clans. It will take air and spread, that there is some care taken of those poor souls, that hath been in a manner starving for want of things fitting for mankind, and will be a great encouragement to the low country in order to their duty. It is very proper 2000l. be sent to them, with some other necessaries. Brest is the place, which is thought fittest for those wants to be sent from; and to land on the isle of Sky, or island Donald.

1691.
October.

That the King come not in person to Scotland; but to send the duke of Berwick and my lord Dumbarton, with 10,000 men, with arms and furniture for 5000 horses and dragoons more, and 10,000 stand of arms for foot.

That no considerable sum of money be sent to Scotland to a poor nobility, that will undoubtedly quarrel about the dividing of it. But when the army is sent, to send money with it, and put it into a trusty commissioner's hands, that will employ it for the use of the army, and will be answerable for it.

My lord Dumbarton is very fit for this expedition, his lordship being generally beloved by all the people in Scotland, since he last commanded there, and quashed that rebellion with so little blood, and is very much beloved in England likewise.

Arran to command as third lieutenant general. He answers, body for body, for Argyle and Athol.

It's proper Athol, Hume, and Argyle, have the characters of lieutenant generals. It's a feather in their hats, to make them more forward to raise their men conform to their character.

If the King could land in England, with 15,000 men, either in the West, about Lancaster, or in the North, he will be joined by more than the number he brings along with him; and, with God's assistance, march peaceably to Whitehall.

The author of those memorials will be as soon on horseback, as any man in England with his printer.

The King's friends are very confident that there shall be a very fair fire about him in parliament; and if he should take Danby in his arms, they

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October.

they will pull him out; that it's not in their power to protect him; and t's assuredly known, that Halifax or Rochester will succeed.—The King's friends desire to know, which of the two his Majesty most desires to fill his place. There is many, that is come in to the King's interest, that he hath not power to name their names as yet; but will do it as soon as he hath their leave. Sir Charles Owsley is come entirely into the King's interest.

The prince of Orange is mortally hated by the English. They see very fairly, that he hath no love for them, neither doth he confide in them; but all in his Dutch. It's certainly known he hath brought over a great many foreigners this summer, and it's not doubted but the parliament will not be for foreigners to ride them with a caveat; and it's mightily in their heads, that those foreigners were brought over to noose the parliament. He is cursed daily, by those of his council, his bed-chamber, and others that hath very good employments under him.

A marginal note in Lord Melfort's hand.
"Addition received the 10th of March, 1692, St. Ger-mains."

The story of Sir William Sharp being with the princess of Orange and Nottingham is false, and nothing but a malicious invention of Sir James Montgomerie and Jones against Sir William; and that those idle and wicked inventions diseased the King's friends at a strong rate, and it was impossible that they could be easy until they were both on the other side, meaning France, and only there to remain still to prevent further jealousies.

Some months before I came from England, Sir James Montgomerie asked Mr. Ferguson's advice to take employment under the prince of Orange, that he might be in a better condition to serve the King. Mr. Ferguson told him, he should never give his advice to any such thing, and further told me, that Sir James had been with the princess of Orange quietly, and from that time until my coming into France, they never had any meeting.

All these memorials and discourses which passed betwixt Mr. Ferguson and me, captain Williamson was always present, and can testify the same which I now subscribe.

GEO. HOLMES.

When

When I came first to Fountainbleau I was so straitned in time, that I could not possibly remember every particular, far less take any double of my papers, being ordered to give them in that very night, that they might be put into French, and I not thinking I had forgot this till now, having perused the memorial given by me to the King.

1691.

Memorials from Mr. Lawton.

To ask Mr. Noisworthie,

IF it be not worth while to engage the King's head clubmen in the King's interest?

Whether or not they are the major generals and colonels of the * *
* * * †

That he hath a pretty good share of them heartily engaged in the interest, and might have had all if his advice had been followed, and doubts not to bring them all in the interest, provided he were allowed to come over.

That he shall deliver up his body for a pledge to be sacrificed, if these people don't perform all that he promises in their names.

And likewise shall be heartily satisfied to be secured in the Bastile when any effort is to be made, and suffer as above written, if his party fail.

And shall engage for the best and soonest intelligence, that shall or can come over of any kind.

He likewise engages to put the college of Oxford in flame against the prince of Orange. He also undertakes, that, if it please God the King returns into England and holds a parliament, his party shall unanimously take off the penal laws, and put the catholicks in equal security with the King's other subjects. The King declaring himself a common father of all, is the only way to make the King endeared to his people.

And that the aforesaid proposals cannot be carried on without money.

All the memorials of this paper is what I received from Mr. Lawton, which I now subscribe.

GEO. HOLMES."

† The rest illegible.

This

1691.

This paper is indorsed in lord Melfort's hand. "Holmes his peaper, received the first time in December, the second time, with the addition, 17th March, 1692."

When major Holmes returned to England, James gave him instructions, which are not to be found; but there is a paper among Mr. Nairne's manuscripts, entituled on the back, "Additional instructions by G. H. to Mr. Ferguson, 1691," but on the top, only

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 87.

"*Instructions by G. H. to Mr. Ferguson.*"—i. e. sent by G. H. to Mr. Ferguson.—G. H. is George Holmes.—*These instructions are in Nairne's hand.*

"**Y**OU are to find out some safe way, if possible, of conversing with Mr. Ferguson, to whom you shall say, that we are perfectly satisfied with his zeal for our interest; that we have received all his advices, and [do approve of them, though there are some we cannot be positive in, since they depend upon times and circumstances, as our going or not going to Scotland, in case that we shall be in a condition to send any troops there. But we are resolved not to condescend to any particulars, nor deliver ourselves up to any party, being fully resolved to be a common father to all, to establish a thorough liberty of conscience to all our subjects, by law, and to secure their libertys and propertys to them. You will desire him to continue his correspondence with this place.

"That he, and all these he can influence, go on vigorously with disturbing the present government, and that if Danby be got out, of these proposed to succeed him, we like Halifax the best. That, as for the lieutenancy of Ireland we cannot yet say any thing, since the lord Rochester has never yet sent us any letter or message. Therefore, they are from thence to send us advice, and if there be no time, to act as they shall think best for our service. That we are resolved to act as a common father to all our subjects, and not to espouse any party in particular. That we will stand firm to our resolutions of having a thorough liberty of conscience established by law, and we will secure the libertys and propertys of

of our subjects to them fully. That we will mind, in the first place, all those who shall serve us best, and that we shall never forget the services which he has done us, and the zeal he has shewn, both by his writings and actings; and that we shall quickly send him over some instructions for a private press, which we think fit to maintain in the country, for sending papers through the kingdom.

1691.

We think it for our service, that you remain in England, so long as with safety you can; for after this we shall have occasion to employ you more than heretofore, our affairs requiring zeal and address to the carrying them on; for it is our interest, that, till we have an opportunity to attempt a landing, all our friends act as vigorously as they can to disturb the present usurped government, by all the safe ways they shall have in their power, which they on the place can know much better than we can do.

You shall let them know what a considerable army of our subjects we have now here, and that we have reason to hope that things shall mend. Let them send us frequent intelligence, and their advice what we are to do to better our affairs, that in as far as we can, we may comply with their desires.

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1692.

KING James had lost the battle of the Boyne in July, 1690, and before he arrived in France the Scottish and English conspirators had been seized, and the French King had entirely relinquished his project of invading Britain. It was resumed, however, from time to time. The enemies of William and of his government, were continually offering their services to the excluded King. An invasion of Britain was represented, as the infallible means of restoring James to his kingdoms, and of continuing the progress of the French conquests in Flanders. Besides the 5000 Irish which James sent to France, by the transports that carried back an equal number of French troops into Ireland; there were 14,000 of the same nation sent over next year, at the expence of the English government, according to the capitulation which general Ginckle had granted to them, upon the surrender of Limeric. Before they arrived, Lewis XIVth began to think seriously of an invasion, and having desired the opinion of James, received the following memorial. It is in the early of Melfort's hand.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 89.

"A memorial to Lewis XIV. by James II. delivered a little time before the arrival of the troops from Ireland, towards the end of the year 1691."

Ibid. 91. and
D. N. vol. ii.
4to, No. 11.

After the general title, "Memoires writ by E. Melfort, at St. Germain, after his return from Rome;" the English copy of lord Melfort's draught for this memorial is intituled, "Proposition for a landing in Scotland, end of December, 1691, or the beginning of January, 1692, before the business of La Hogue." The French copy is the most exact, and is therefore followed in this abridgment.

Translation.

Translation.

1692.
January.

“YOUR Majesty,” says James, “having asked me, if the employing the troops expected from Ireland to make a descent in Scotland, would be the means of diverting the arms of the prince of Orange, it appears to me, to be a thing very practicable. And your Majesty having desired me to propose what I think necessary for that design, I shall, leaving always to your Majesty to determine what you think fit, make the following proposals.”

His proposals were, that the French King should secretly provide a fleet and transports. Besides the troops that were to come from Ireland, he should employ a requisite number of his troops, which were already in the French service, and provide arms and horses for 500 troopers and 1000 dragoons. That he should send arms for 2000 horse and 1000 dragoons, to equip such as were ready to take arms upon the first notice of his landing, and the necessary number of arms for the infantry, which might be raised in the low country. That a train of artillery, however small, was necessary, with warlike stores, provisions, and money, for a specified time.

When these things were prepared, the best place from which they could embark, appeared, he said, to be Brest, Belleisle, or Rochfort, and the best route through the Irish channel to the firth of Clyde. Its vicinity to the town of Glasgow, the goodness of the anchorage, and the plentifulness of the adjoining country, rendered between Air and Irvine the most advantageous place for landing. But if the prince of Orange, by his vigilance, which was not probable, should prevent their landing there, Dumbarton was the most proper place. The army should march with the greatest dispatch to Edinburgh, in order to publish the King's authority and assume the government; a measure which would elevate the spirits of the royal party and dishearten the rebels.

In the mean time, care should be taken to encourage his friends, as well in England as in Scotland, to put themselves in a condition to be useful upon that occasion. The Highlanders should be warned to be in readiness to take arms on the first notice; and his friends in the low country should have notice to be in a condition to do him the best service, but with that secrecy which the importance of the affair required.

1692.
January.

His friends in England should likewise be warned to seize the first favourable opportunity, on the first notice of good news, of assembling where they could maintain themselves with safety and make the greatest diversion.

That the troops, if successful, should march immediately into England, and join the loyalists of that kingdom. That his friends in the North of England, should be warned to seize Newcastle, not only on account of the riches of that commercial city, but because London could not subsist without the coals which it sends thither. That if Plymouth, or any other place of strength, could be seized in England, the French King should send 4 or 5000 men to its assistance, in order to make a considerable diversion to the arms of the prince of Orange.—“I am of opinion, that, if this affair is prepared with the secrecy, and executed with the vigour it ought, though it may fail to set me upon my throne, yet it cannot miss to divert entirely the arms of the prince of Orange for this campaign, and consequently frustrate the designs of the allies.”

James at the same time presented a memorial to the French King, proposing to make a descent in England also. It is in the earl of Melfort's hand writing, and intituled,

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 90.

“A memorial to the King of France, delivered in December, 1691, or January, 1692, or about that time.”

The French fleet must be ready to sail before the English.—The troops to embark at Ambleteuse, to land in the Downs or near Dover.—The manner of embarking them.—Their number.—After landing they are to march to Rochester and London.—The consequence of taking these towns, will be the conquest of England and the prosperity of France.

Translation.

“YOUR Majesty having asked me, some days ago, if any attempt could be made upon England; I must propose what, at first sight, may appear rash; but what, maturely considered, may finish the present war advantageously to France, and re-establish me on my throne.

“What I have to propose depends upon the time in which your Majesty's fleet can put to sea. For, if it can only be ready at the same time with

with the enemy, it is certain that nothing can be attempted against England. But on the contrary, if it can be ready before the enemy's fleet, your Majesty will have a favourable occasion of attacking them with great probability of success, and I cannot doubt, but your Majesty may put to sea before the enemy, if you apply from this time to equip the fleet. On this supposition, I propose;

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January.

"That your Majesty, having taken precautions for having the troops destined for this attempt, near Ambleteuse, and a number of transports prepared, should make the fleet sail from Brest to join the transports, and repair together to some convenient place near Ambleteuse, where fishing vessels may be likewise assembled, in a sufficient number to assist in transporting the troops. Every thing being ready, the fleet should carry over the army to the county of Kent, in England, about the Downs or near Dover; and, having landed them there, should remain in the Downs or behind the Godwin sands, to hinder the English and Dutch from joining together, and even the Portsmouth squadron from joining with that of the Thames. Your Majesty may inform yourself of the facility of all this, by the sea officers who know the place."

James having shewn how all necessary preparations may be made with secrecy and success, and the transports assembled and troops embarked with great facility, proceeds to specify their number:

"The number of troops I have proposed, is from 25 to 30,000 men, comprehending 3,000 horse or dragoons; all my friends having all along acquainted me, that with that number I shall succeed. But if I come with a smaller, I shall run a great risque of not being joined by the English, who, in that case, will wait for the issue before they will hazard themselves. Whereas, on the contrary, if they see me at the head of such a good army, they will not hesitate to join me immediately upon my landing." He shows that he could easily be furnished with such an army, considering the number of his own subjects which are in the French service; and that this attempt would be made before the campaign could be opened in Flanders, where the enemy would be obliged to wait till forage was ripe, and where they could not attack France so vigorously, if he once landed in England.

"What

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January.

“What I propose to do, after landing in England, is to march directly to Rochester, which is but fifteen leagues from the places which I have named above for landing, and to seize there on the stores of the fleet and take possession of the ships of war, which will remain in the river, and of which there will be a greater or smaller number, according as your Majesty’s fleet shall be ready before the enemy; and having Rochester in my possession, I shall have the wives, children, and houses of a great number of the officers and sailors of their fleet, which will hinder them from acting against me with the same vigour, and will render your Majesty’s fleet more secure in its station.

“From Rochester there are but ten leagues to London; and I know from experience, the consternation and terror which will reign in that city, upon the approach of an hostile army. They will surrender themselves by deputation before I come near them, if the prince of Orange has not an army sufficient to oppose mine, and to keep the city at the same time; which he cannot have, as he has not left in England but 12,000 men, of which 5000 are necessary for the garrisons, and there is no likelihood, that he will withdraw any of his troops from Flanders, since he has no idea that a descent in England is possible, as it has not been made the preceding years.” He likewise infers William’s imaginary security at home, from his having hired 400 transports, not to carry troops to Flanders, but, as he gave out publicly, to make a descent in France.

“The nearer I approach to London, the more I shall be master of the English fleet, because the wives, children, and houses, of the sea officers and sailors, are in all the little towns round about; and when they know, that I have in my hands all that is most dear to them, they will not fight against my interest.

“If I can make myself master of London, (which has never yet resisted, when it was attacked, even by an army of but 5 or 6000 men), I do not deceive myself, when I imagine, that the rest of England will not make a long resistance; since it is certain, that in London, all the men of quality, all the good houses of the nobility, all the rich merchants of the kingdom, have so much interest, that I shall have in my hands very good pledges of their fidelity.

“I do

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January.

"I do not deceive myself by my intelligence from England, though they are not to be despised, concerning the number or rank of my friends; and I do not depend much on the troops which are promised me at my landing, although their number is not small, nor upon the officers and soldiers of my old army, who would not be employed under the prince of Orange, of which the number in London amounts to six thousand. But what I think of importance is, that, throughout all England, there are ten who would not take oaths of fidelity to the usurper, to one who has taken them, and who choose rather to pay the penalties than to take them; and of whom I can form no other judgment, than that being rich they do not choose to hazard their estates by corresponding with me. They mean to show me their number in this manner, which costs them only a little money, and that they are ready to join me, the first favourable opportunity they can find."

James labours, in the next place, to show, that this invasion will be of great benefit to France. That it will dissolve the league of the allies, who are enabled to carry on the war solely by the money of England, and the English can never become poor by the continuance of it, while they are masters of the sea by the assistance of the Dutch, and carry on a flourishing trade. He then proceeds thus, to give other arguments for the invasion.

"It is impossible to form a reasonable conjecture of the English nation, from what the parliament does now, as two thirds of it are composed of the officers of the court, of the fleet, of the revenue, and of the army, which augments jealousies and discontents against him (P. O.) among the people. This is favourable for me.

"It is a thing very remarkable, that a descent in England was never unsuccessful, when he who made it carried an army with him, and no one ever had so much justice nor so considerable a party before him in England, as I have.

"England appears powerful, when carrying on a war abroad under an usurper, but will appear weak, when attacked by its lawful sovereign at home. The reason is, that the usurper composes his army of friends, who are faithful to him; and even all his enemies are obliged to contribute to his strength against their inclinations, until I go to their assistance. But if I once show myself, then the number of my friends would appear,

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and the disproportion between those who acknowledge the prince of Orange, and those who are loyal to me; and the moment I set my foot ashore in England, the prince of Orange would have neither money nor ammunition, nor any of those things from thence, with which he furnished his army in Flanders last year; and it would be soon seen, that the great force which he has now, would instantly vanish, when I had once cut off the sinews of war, that is to say, deprived him of the money which supports it."

The rest of this memorial is addressed to the vanity of Lewis.

Lewis, convinced by the reasonings of James, permitted himself to be buoyed up with hopes of a successful invasion, and James and his secretary were employed in concerting the plan. There is a copy of it among Nairne's manuscripts written by Lord Melfort, with some little marginal notes in the King's own hand, which are here inserted as they occur in the original.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 92.

"*Plan of a descent to be made in England, by his Majesty's army, under his own command.*"

January, 1692.

THAT the number of troops being concluded on, they may be brought as near to the place or places where they are to embark as possible. That the King consider what alterations may be proper to be made amongst the officers of his own troops, and that such as are not on foot may be placed *en seconde*, the better to enable the troops to do their duty on all occasions.

Marginal
notes in
King James's
own hand.
To be done.
To be done.

That all the Scots and English may be put in bodys and the officers named for regiments, so that, in case of more coming in, it may be known, who is to have the 1st regiment, who the 2d, 3d, &c.

That till there come in more to form these regiments, these officers shall serve on the head of the troops already formed, as reformed of their respective qualitys.

That all regiments be so divided, as to bring them on the English foot as soon as can be, by which means a great many more officers will be employed, and the regiments will be better looked to.

That

That special care be had to entertain their arms in good order; and that the soldiers and officers may be under exact discipline, nothing in the world being able to give so much reputation to his Majesty's affairs, as the good order the army keeps at their first landing, which cannot be expected, if it be not established amongst them before they pass the seas.

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January.
To be done.

That for this reason all the field officers should be sent to their respective commands in time, and should be enjoined to see discipline exactly established among these under their command, and examples ought to be made of such as are not regular, to terrify others.

Done.

That it may be known what this discipline is, articles and rules ought to be printed and dispersed amongst the troops, that they may timely begin that regularity, which must hereafter carry them through all their difficulties.

To be done.

Whilst this is doing amongst the King's troops, there ought to be a person of eminent quality and conduct, named by the most Christian King, to command under the King; as likewise some other general officers, who ought to be fully informed of what may be necessary for them to know of England in relation to these affairs, that they may take their measures more justly when it comes to the time of execution: and the most Christian King should lay his commands upon them, to live well with the King and all his officers, that all divisions may be avoided, and the like of what befell in Ireland prevented.

To be done.

That if the most Christian King think fitt to send any ambassador, it may be one of a peaceable temper, reasonable and bold, of sober and virtuous principles, and zealous for his religion and honour.

Very fitt.

That there be a sum of money prepared, over and above what the most Christian King will give, it being necessary, at the first, to have money to give to such as come in, and to pay the new formed troops, as those whom we carry along with us.

To be done.

That all the matter be as long concealed as possible: but that the true design be never named but in the closest councils, and that no questions be publickly asked of the places convenient for such an attempt, lest, thereby, people should form notions prejudicial to the design, and, that spying may be prevented.

To be done.

1692.
January.
To be done.

That horses for the trayne and bread waggons may be sent over with the King, and, that they may be some other way provided, if the most Christian King will not give them; for in two or three days, (the shortest time we could provide them in) an occasion may be lost, not to be again recovered. So it is of importance, that the King be always in a condition to march, the moment that the troops, &c. are landed.

To be done.

The plan of the landing to be, as in a paper apart condescended on, by the advice of the general officers, by sea and land.

To be done.

That every man may know his duty the moment of the landing, it is necessary, that there be provided a provost marshal and guards belonging to him, whilst the King is on this side.

To be done.

That there be a compleat body of artillery and stores provided, and in a readiness to act, in and after the landing; and, that they be provided with all things necessary for their employments.

To be done.

And, because it will be necessary to incampe, there must be a sufficient quantity of carts and tools, &c. fitt for them, that they may march with the army.

That there be a company of miners and an able captain of them, with instruments, and all their tools and instruments for mining.

To be done.

That there be a sufficient number of engineers and all things belonging to them.

All done but
petards.

That, besides the trayne of artillery, there may attend the two mortars lately come from Limerick, and if possible, four 24 pounders, least any of the small towns in the west should make any resistance; and there must be store of bombs and some petards.

To be done.

There should be some long fusills to each battalion, for taking off of officers, &c.

To be done.

There must be a munitioner general for the bread, and a sufficient number of commissarys under him, as likewise caissons, &c. So that, from the moment of the King's landing, he may go and prepare bread for the army.

To be done.

There must be a sufficient number of armourers and all things belonging to them.

There

There must be a sufficient number of horse-shoers, and all things belonging to them; marshalls prepared, and every trooper must carry his proportione. 1692.
January.
To be done.

The horse-men must be provided with averacks, forrage-ropes, tents, &c. and the foot, with tents and what else is fit for them. To be done.

There must be some *chivaux de frize* prepared against landing, in case any body of horse should appear. To be done.

That there be a sufficient quantity of spare arms, for horse, foot, and dragoons, with saddles and bridles, &c. To be done.

That timeous advertisements be given to all the King's party, not to suffer themselves to be trepanned into a rising, till the King advertize them, either by his publick declaration or by private messages; but that, in the mean time, they should be providing what's fitt, with all the secrecy and caution imaginable. To be done.

That the King send into Scotland, to advertize his faithfull subjects there to be in readiness on the first good news from him, to rise as one man, and to put themselves in possession of the government, to seize all who shall oppose them, and to make the greatest diversion they can. To be done.

That some light frigates should ply, betwixt Ireland and England and on the North of Ireland, to hinder any transportation of troops from Ireland, either into Scotland or England; and these to be in their station before the King part from France. To be proposed.

That suitable declarations, for both the kingdoms of England and Scotland, should be made publick before the King's leaving France, and at such time, as his friends shall think most for their safety. To be done.

That the place of landing be well considered, and the conveniencies and inconveniencies of all places and distances from London well weighed, and the conveniency of subsisting considered, in case, as God forbid there should, be any considerable force to oppose the King in England. To be considered.

That there be a muster-master, and as many commissarys of the muster named to attend him, as may be fitt for the occasion. To be done.

That there be a number of commissarys of war named, to serve in the army, as they shall be commanded. The same.

1692. That a quarter-master general of great experience be named.
- January. That there be inspectors named and adjutants, for the general service,
The same. for the horse, foot, and dragoons.
- The same.
- To be proposed. There must be a sufficient number of artificers, for the use of the army and ordnance, with all tools belonging to them.
- Absolutely necessary. That there be a printing-press, with its attendants and necessaries, for proclamations and orders, &c.
- To be done. That there be a considerable number of commissions of all kinds, ready wrote on parchment, that no time be lost, after the people begin to come in.
- To be done. That, besides the general declaratione, such proclamations as are necessary, may be in a readiness to be dispersed amongst the people, as there shall be occasione for them, such as for horses, providing the camp, and such like.
- To be discoursed of. That thes, and all other things being in a readiness and the wind serving, if there shall be a squadron of the enemy at sea, the French fleet chase them off the sea, or fight them. If there is not that, in that case the wind being favourable, they weigh and stand to windward, and give time to the ships of burden to come up to the windward of them, sending in a squadron, to make a vanguard and some ships to bring up the rear and gather in the straglers, that all endeavour to come together as much as possible, to the coast of England, to the place appointed, which is to be, where the wind most conveniently favours; there being more danger in tacking at sea, with so many ships and boats, than in landing a day's march or two, nearer or farther from London.
- To be considered. The van arrived on the coast, in a convenient place for landing, to come to an anchor so near the shore, that their cannon, in case of need, might favour the landing of the troops.
- The same. The first squadron having taken their station, the small boats with the advanced party of foot, under the command of a lieutenant general, to stand in to the shore and to land their men in good order, being followed, as near as can be, by all the foot, who, immediately on their landing, are to draw up in their order of battle.
- The quarter-masters, with their piquets, to set out the camp, and the engineers the lines, at same time.

A commanded party of every regiment, with a major, to go and receive the tools for casting up the lines, and to march to the places marked, and to cast them up accordingly; that these partys be named on this side, and tools given them. 1692.
January.
To be considered.

That, in the mean time, the empty boats make place for the others, and that, whilst the lines are making, the horse and dragoons may be landed, and a considerable party, under the conduct of good officers, be sent out to discover and disperse the necessary proclamations, in the neighbouring towns and villages. The same.

That a park be made for the artillery, and the cannon placed where they are most useful, according to the intelligence of the enemy's motions. The same.

That horses, carts, and provisions be brought in for the use of the army, and that all things be most punctually paid for. To be done.

That such gentlemen or men of quality, as come in to join the King's army, may be perfectly well rewarded; and that the King may rather speak kindly, than much to them; conversatione, at these occasions, being dangerous, with men of so changeable tempers. The same.

That care be taken, that none but the general officers or aids de camps have leave to go along the lines; that so neither our friends nor enemys may come directly to know our strength. To be considered.

That, if any of the protestant bishops and clergy come in, his Majesty use them extremely well, and order all conveniences for their worship, where there are no churches: that all respect be paid them: that fair words be given them by all concerned in the King's affairs: but that no long audiences be given them, that they may not have the time to enter into particulars; a thing so dangerous, that it is by all means to be avoided by the King himself; whilst we his servants give them all opportunities, and enter [into particulars] with them, if needfull; since that is of less consequence to the King's service, than what he might say. To be done.

That they have all respect from the army, tho' of a different religion, and that all the healing things be done; that, if we cannot gain them, at least, they may have no just ground of disgust from us.

That, except some extraordinary cause should happen, that the King should not give any place or preferment, till his coming to London; but refer To be done.

1692. refer all till that time; and, till that, all the government should rather
January. be military than other; the circumstances will excuse it, and his Ma-
Reasonable. jesty's affairs require that it should be so.
- To be done. That, at the same time, the declaratione is dispersed in England, there should be copies sent, with particular encouragement, to the fleet, armys, both in England and Flanders, and to all forts and castles, to invite them to return to their duty again; and proposing suitable advantages to them.
- To be done. That declarations for Scotland should be, at same time, sent with the just differences, if need requires, which should be timely considered.
- To be endeavored. That a stock of money be prepared, besides what the most Christian King will give, by all the ways can be invented; and, by getting the King's friends to lay out what they collect, near the sea-side, to be ready on a call.
- To be done out of hand. That the Pope should be sent to; yet so, as that it may not be in his power to discover any thing may do prejudice to his Majesty's affairs.
- To be prest. That the affair of the deserters be vigorously gone about immediately, that we may have the more officers and soldiers to carry over.
- Necessary. That the officers be commanded to furnish their men with all things necessary for the camp; as pots, pans, &c.
- Necessary. That there be a sufficient quantity of bayonets for the foot, as well as dragoons.
- Very fit. That, before the affair be ready to break out, the King's friends have some underhand advertisement to be in a readiness; and, in the mean time, to keep out of the hands of their enemys.
- To be done. That a sufficient number of Scotch officers, with some money, arms, and ammunition, be sent to Scotland, at the time the King is embarking, that his faithful subjects, in that kingdom, may have time to draw together and to make what diversion they can, on that side; and that letters be writ, and commissions, if needfull, be sent into that kingdom.
- Very essential. That the secret of this affair be intrusted to none, but such as are of uncontroverted loyalty.
- Necessary. That this thing be never named at St. Germain, even tho' all the world should talk of it elsewhere; things from St. Germain being of more weight than what is said by the rest of France.

That some fit person be thought upon to stay with the Queen, and to carry her commands to the court of Versailles, from time to time.

1692.
January.
To be done.

That there be a sufficient number of these, whom the King entertains, employed in the matters of the secretary, that things in that office may go easily and without embarrass. This may be done without any additional expence; and if there is, I will bear it myself.

The project
to be made.

That there be a sufficient number of ships or barks provided, for such as belong to the King, over and above these which are for the troops, and for such persons of quality and their equipages, as will be allowed by his Majesty in the expedition.

To be done.

That the King be well informed of all the troops destined for that service, that he may be in condition to form his order of bataille on this side; and, that, from the first step on English ground, he may be served without confusion, each knowing his post.

To be done.

That the sheriffs and lord lieutenants and deputy lieutenants may be considered, and orders sent to the well-affected, how they are to behave themselves in case of a landing. This to be dispatched whilst the troops are at sea, or just landed.

To have some considerable town behind us, from whence to draw provisions of such things as may be necessary, and where we may have such things in magazines as might embarrass us, if we be obliged to march speedily not to lose time.

To be in-
sured.

To try, by all means, to get the Tower surprised, near the time of the landing; that being of vast use to hector the city, and favour our party in it.

To be endea-
voured.

That it be thought upon how his Majesty will have such cities or counties governed, as to become master of; that is, if he will repose such magistrates as were elected at his leaving England, or appoint new elections; and if the same sheriffs be left, or appoint others; the same of lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, and justices of the peace.

Lists to be made of such as are most proper to be employed in the court, country, or in Westminster hall; that, tho' nothing be determined, yet his Majesty may have such in his eye as may be most for his purpose.

That

1692.
January.

That there be a sufficient quantity of hay and oats put on board, for the maintenance of the horses some time after the landing, as well as the time they are at sea.

James, impatient for a favourable answer to the preceding memorials, presented another to the King of France, containing an account of the intelligence he had received from his friends in England. It confirms the confession of lord Preston, and the truth of the conspiracy, which was discovered in the papers found on him and Ashton when they were seized.

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. i.
fol. No. 97.

"A memorial delivered to the King of France, the 27th January, 1692."

A Translation. The Original is in Melfort's hand.

"IT is now some time since I gave your Majesty a memorial concerning a design which might be formed against the prince of Orange in England. I doubt not but your Majesty has considered it. I am confirmed in the same sentiments, by several gentlemen sent express from England to intreat me, in the name of my faithful subjects, not to lose this opportunity, when the forces of the prince of Orange shall be out of the kingdom.

"To convince me, they say that the humours of the English in general are changed; for, instead of treating me injuriously, as they formerly did, every one complains of my fate publicly, except those who depend immediately upon the usurper; and even of them, a great number do not fail to do so in private, when they find any of my friends to whom they can speak.

"That, at first, the prince of Orange was beloved. But that now he is much hated and despised; and that they publicly speak ill of him every where.

"That his army is dissatisfied, having been very ill paid; and that the fleet is still more so, having demanded their pay, in a very mutinous manner: and that the discontent is still greater, since he refused their request.

"That a great part of the army will come to join me, if I had wherewith to maintain them as they are in the service of the prince of Orange.
But

But that, at all events, some will come: that the church of England and the non-conformists are the two great parties of which the kingdom of England is composed: that the non-conformists are near the half of them, and entirely for me; because the prince of Orange has disobliged them. Although they had a great hand in the revolution, yet, nevertheless, they have not been employed by him since: that they remember it was I, that gave them liberty of conscience: that I would never consent to abandon them to the persecutions of the church of England; and that they will find their interest in my re-establishment.

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January.

“ The church of England, which composes the opposite party, forms more than the half of the nation. But they are divided into those who have not taken the oaths for the prince of Orange, and those who have taken them. Those who have not taken them, are entirely in my interest; and, moderately speaking, form more than three-fourths of the church of England: for there are some who will have them to be nine-tenths. These have sent to offer me money for my urgent necessities in England; which they declare to be a great proof of their zeal, and of their hopes that I may be soon re-established.

“ The party which have taken the oaths are again divided into those who have taken the oaths from motives of affection to the prince of Orange, and those who have taken them in order to live at peace, and who have explained them away at the same time. These last will be for me, when the occasion offers.

“ They say, that if it had not been for the troops which the prince of Orange has in England, and the militia which are in the hands of his creatures, they would chase him from England infallibly. But the troops, which are between six and eight thousand men, joined with the militia, which, otherwise, is good for nothing, are sufficient to hinder the King's friends from uniting; and, besides, though they are tired of their present government, the English are so much at their ease, that there are but few among them who will risque their fortunes and their lives, without seeing a body of troops sufficient to give them hopes of conquering; and then the friends, and even the officers of the prince of Orange swear, that they will not suffer a civil war in the kingdom, and they will join me as quickly as they joined the prince of Orange on his arrival.

1692.
January.

“ They say, that the people are generally dissatisfied, seeing that there is no end of their misery. For if the war continues, they will be subjected to heavy taxes; if the peace was made, they will be slaves.

“ That an universal desire of my re-establishment appears among all good men. They call it universal, because there are but very few who depend upon the prince of Orange, that do not declare, in public and in private, that it is their desire. They intreat me not to lose this season; because there are no hopes of having another like it. For, if the prince of Orange should obtain any advantage, which God forbid, the English would be so intimidated, as not to dare to undertake any thing against him. If, on the contrary, he should receive any considerable check, he would draw back his troops to England; and then it would be necessary to conquer by force, which is no easy matter. Whereas, on the contrary, I could now remount my throne, as it were, without striking a blow, in case your Majesty would send me over such an army as I specified in my last memorial.

“ They assure me, that the naval force of the English will not be near so strong this year as the last: that it will not be at sea before the month of June: that the vessels will be ill equipped and very rotten: that the maritime is a corps very much divided in their interests, and without any union among the officers; and the sailors make frequent reflections upon the difference between their treatment now and in my time.

“ That all the land army will be in Flanders; and that there will not remain in England but very few troops, even not sufficient to garrison the forts; and that there will not be such numbers in Flanders as they give out: that the English and Dutch begin not to love one another so well now as formerly; and that the prince of Orange, by preferring the Dutch, had shagreened the English in such a manner, that they openly speak ill of him, and some of the most considerable among them will not serve him any longer.

“ All this is so firmly believed by my friends in England, that they think it impossible we can be ignorant of it here; and they blame me, as if it was my fault, that I do not come to their relief.

“ They say, that the earl of Danby boasts, that he has found means of supporting the prince of Orange, whose prime minister he is; which is, to send

to send all the troops abroad, to attack your Majesty, and to assist the allies; judging of the future by the past, that you will not attack them at home, without obtaining some considerable advantage abroad. This has put it out of their power to make any resistance at home.

1692.
January.

“ Although there is a difference between the accounts which emissaries give me of the number and rank of my friends, &c. yet they all agree, that if I could land in England with, at least, five and twenty thousand men, I would become master, without difficulty, in the present conjuncture.

“ As all this depends upon the time which the fleet will be ready to sail; and as it is of the utmost importance to ME, that I should not be deceived, and that my friends should not flatter themselves in that respect, which would be of infinite prejudice to your affairs, and the entire ruin of mine, I intreat your Majesty to send two or three, who may inform you of the truth of all that regards the naval preparation; and, if you find the conjuncture favourable, I doubt not but you will resolve to finish this war, by a blow the most glorious and advantageous which can be struck.”

The following letter, in Melfort's hand, has no address. But it appears to have been sent to some Dutch man in the French interest. It is intituled on the back, and at the top, in Nairne's hand, “ *Lord Melfort's reflections on the affairs of England, in a letter, dated the 8th February, 1692.*” It shews what arguments Melfort employed, to vindicate the conduct, and promote the interests of his master.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 96.

HE begins with observing, “ That James wanted only to govern by the laws, as interpreted by the ordinary judges; having never taken any step, without their explicit or implied consent; and, as he was obliged, in the private concerns of his conscience, to trust himself to ecclesiastics, and, in the concerns of his health, to physicians, he had nothing to do in the concerns of law, but to trust himself to men of the profession; and they never advised him to any thing, without shewing to him, at the same time, examples of similar instances in the conduct of his predecessors, who were sovereigns of his kingdoms: and it is very evident, that the dispensing power is necessary, as the parliament of

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February.

England has not condemned it since the prince of Orange usurped the crown.

“ His Majesty found his people, in a great measure, languishing under the yoke of a severe persecution, which tended rather to inflame the rage of particular ministers, than to unite them, in matters of religion; and, to remedy this evil, he granted a liberty of conscience to all without exception; as he wanted that virtue and vice, and not different sentiments of religion, should be the distinctions to determine his favour. This irritated the church of England against him.

“ His Majesty considered the great advantage of which it would be to the church of England, that the Roman Catholic youth should not be sent, for their education, to foreign countries, which carried annually considerable sums abroad; and designed to have a college or class for those who professed that religion; imagining that that would less alarm the Protestants, than to mix Roman Catholics with Protestants in each college, by his own mandate, as he might have done without scruple, by the laws of the kingdom. His Majesty was so far from intending to accomplish all this by force, that his design was to have it confirmed by act of parliament, in order that every one might live in peace.”

Melfort says, he thought it unnecessary to shew the fallacy of the other charges against his master, as the prince of Orange did not attempt to prove any of them, though he was obliged to do so by his declaration; and that, though Charles the Second was guarantee of the peace of Nimeguen, his brother was not obliged to assume that character, unless he found it was his interest. He endeavours to show, upon the supposition that James, as successor to his brother, was obliged to guarantee the peace he had made, that that prince had done every thing which his allies could in equity require of him.

“ With regard to the States-general, he was so thoroughly persuaded of their sincerity, that, notwithstanding he was convinced it was reasonable to arm, considering the great armament which was preparing in Holland, yet he would never believe that that armament was intended against him; because monsieur Van Citters, the ambassador of the States, swore to him, in the name of the States, that they were determined to maintain the treaty of alliance inviolable; and that they could not even think

think of an action so base, as to attack their ally, without the least reason of complaint. His own innocence, and his good opinion of the States, hindered him from entering into that salutary alliance, into which he might have justly entered, with his most Christian Majesty, and for which he has been so much blamed by the allies; though it is very certain, that he is ruined, because he did not conclude it, and trusted so much to the States general."

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February.

Melfort observes, that the prince of Orange dared not attempt to prove the spurious birth of the prince of Wales, though he obliged himself, in his declaration, to do so, "and justly," says he; "for we were, to the number of sixty-six or sixty-seven persons, in the Queen's apartment at her delivery; the greatest part of which were protestants, and even the nearest to the Queen's person; and they have all testified, upon oath, what was indeed clear as day-light, that the prince of Wales is the Queen's son."

Melfort infers from all this, that it was not the conduct of James and his Queen, but the ambition of the prince of Orange and of his own children, which has been the cause of their misfortunes; and that his conduct toward the States-general in particular, was always blameless.

"It is certain, that the King never intended to overturn the government of the States; and, although letters have been counterfeited, of which some copies were sent to myself from Holland, it is certain, that his Majesty was always of opinion, that it was as much a heinous treason in the prince of Orange to usurp any thing over the States, his lawful sovereigns, as in a subject of England to usurp any thing over his King; which Balconier, pensionary of Amsterdam, might testify, if he was alive." Melfort hopes, from these and several other reasons, that the States will, at length, act prudently. "For it is evident, that the King will be re-established, in spite of men and devils; and it will depend upon him to revenge the injustices which have been done him. But he will be much better pleased to have reason to commend the friendship and repentance of the States, however late, than to revenge their perfidy in the time past." Melfort labours, through the remaining five pages of this letter, to convince his correspondent, that it is the interest of the States to humble the prince of Orange, and to contribute to the restoration of his rival.

Lewis

1692.
March.

Lewis XIV. complied with what James requested, in the several memorials he presented to him. Preparations for the intended invasion of Britain were carried on with vigour during the winter and spring; and James, in the mean time, made some further additions to what he had formerly proposed. There is a copy of these additions among Nairne's papers, in Melfort's hand, and is intituled by him, on the back,

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 12.

"Propositions for Scotland, given to the most Christian King, the 29th March, 1692. St. Germain's."

Two frigates to be sent to Scotland.—A list of the stores and ammunition to be sent by them.—The sum of money necessary.—The names of the officers to be sent.

Translation.

AT the same time that I sail for England, it would be necessary to make some provision for Scotland. For though it will always follow England, and I have there a party for me much stronger, in proportion, than that which I have in England, yet it is necessary to encourage them well, in order to induce them to rise in arms, against a corps of troops which are already in arms, and the fortified towns which are in the hands of the enemy.

"What I propose is, to send them two frigates, with officers, arms, amunition, and money to be employed for raising men.

"As to the number of arms, it is certain that the more that can be sent, the better. But, not to propose any thing difficult, it will be proper to send them two thousand fuses, six hundred pistols, two hundred fuses for dragoons, three hundred bridles, saddles, &c. two thousand two hundred belts, &c. according to the number of fuses, and amunition in proportion, for three months.

"The money to be sent should be two thousand pistoles, at least, with which they may make a great bustle, and, consequently, a considerable diversion; and, thereby, acquire reputation to my affairs in England; where, at first, the affair will be magnified, and pass for another descent; and the more so, that I shall, at the same time, order my loyal subjects in the low country to take arms, and join their cavalry to the infantry of the Highlanders, and to come immediately to the capital to establish my authority.

"It

"It will be proper to send away these two frigates, the moment that the fleet sails from Brest, in order that the news of their arrival may be known throughout England, before I land."

1692.
March.

"The officers whom I intend to send, are major general Buchan, major general Cannon, colonel earl Dumfermlin, colonel Sir William Wallace, colonel Sir Alexander M'Lean, brigadier Charles Berkley, Holmes major of cavalry, and all the officers which are come from Scotland, and all the gentlemen of that kingdom."

Notwithstanding all the persuasions of James, and even the inclination of Lewis to comply with them, the French fleet was not ready early in the spring. James did not leave St. Germain's till the twenty-first of April; and he was detained, by contrary winds, four weeks upon the coast of Normandy.

While he remained at that place, he addressed a letter "to the officers and seamen on board our fleet, which is at sea, or going to sea, by order of the usurper, the prince of Orange." It is dated, at Queneville in Normandy, the twelfth of May, 1692. There are likewise, among Mr. Nairne's papers, copies of different "Projects of a declaration for La Hogue," by the earl of Melfort. A short account of one of them, which is in Nairne's hand, may serve as a specimen of the rest.

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. ii.
fol. No. 19.

James declared he had no design of a conquest. He brought only such an army as he was desir'd to bring by all ranks of his subjects, and which was too small to give jealousy. He was resolv'd to call a free parliament, to establish the peace of the nation by its advice, and a thorough liberty of conscience by its authority. He would protect the church established by law, and fill up all vacancies with the most deserving men of its communion. If, after establishing liberty of conscience, the parliament judg'd any further laws necessary for the security of the church, he would consent to them, and never dispense again with any laws relating to religion. As a proof of the future lenity of his reign, he offer'd a full pardon and indemnity to such of his subjects as, after a certain day, should declare for him, "excepting and such others of our subjects, as our parliament shall think fit to except; by which we are resolv'd to be advis'd in this matter; resolving not to follow

Ibid. No. 104.

1692.
March.

follow the dictates of our own just resentment, but such measures and methods of law as they shall advise us, for the weal of our people; reserving always our undoubted right of pardoning even the worst of offenders, if they shall do what may merit it from us."

He summoned all his good subjects to take arms and to assist him, by bringing the prince and princess of Orange, and their abettors, into his power, or by driving them out of the kingdom. He promised his protection to such strangers as declared for him. "But to those who shall remain obstinate against us, we shall shew the treatment due to invaders of a lawful King, without declaring war, under the command of one who, being a subject himself, had no power to declare it." By no other means, he affirmed, but by restoring him to his throne, could his people hope for an end of the miseries which they had drawn on themselves, by too easily believing the calumnies which were invented by his enemies, and which they were not able to prove. The legitimacy of his son, the prince of Wales, could not, he said, be a question. His Queen being then with child, and near her time, gave him hopes of another; and he was always sure of the powerful assistance of his dearest brother and most generous ally, the most Christian King.

April.

While James was taking all the measures which prudence could suggest to secure the success of his expedition in the spring of this year, he sent Sir John Lytcott to Rome, to obtain some money from the Pope. Lytcott corresponded with the earl of Melfort, about his journey and the object of his embassy, from the 21st of April to the 5th of August, 1692.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. 4to:
No. 2.

He writes concerning his journey from Lyons on the 21st, and from Antibes on the 26th of April.

He arrived at Rome the 3d of May; and in his letter from thence on the 6th, he gives an account of his reception from cardinals, ambassadors, &c. He had been introduced to the Pope.

"I Was introduced, the same afternoon, to No. 400 [the Pope], to whom, after all due and proper preambles, I signified the cause of my coming; and humbly begging all secrecy, (which he promised) I gave him 300 [the King's] letter, written, as I signified, all with his

own hand. He immediately opened and read it; and could not but express real surprize and joy. The 530 [designs] I explained to him, as well as I could, at large; shewing how well all was prepared, and what hopes of good success; and added, that, since the 552 [glorious] 554 [enterprize] seemed reserved to make his time memorable, it could not be doubted, but he would exert himself, so as to have a considerable share therein, and that proportionable to his own character, the cause, and the merits and sufferings of 300 [the King]; all which spoke so loud and clearly of themselves, that there needed no words to express them, especially to him, who was so well acquainted and touched with what was laid before him.

1692.
May.

He really shewed his good nature and inclinations, and a great regret, that he was so exhausted that he could not do what he would. However, the issue of all was, that, before I stirred, he promised he would forthwith 188 [send] 46. 48. 18. 34. 46. 52. 46. 24. 36. 48, 44. 10. 34. 16. 350. [twenty thousand crowns]. 138 [I], with all humility and earnestness, prest further, that all extraordinary means and efforts might be made use of, for so extraordinary a cause and end; nor do I think, I omitted so much as one argument in my instructions, besides what occurred of my own. But disability was still urged, with allegations, that every body would be on his back; nay, even 38. 36. 30. 10. 34. 16. [Poland,] which, without he would 528 [assist], should be forced to make up with 502 [the Turk]. The truth is, I find, on the whole, he has been so teized and even threatened, by 514 [the house of Austria, &c.] that he is in a manner forced to trim, even *contre cœur*, nay so far, that even the 430 [money] mentioned is, he said to pass as 432 [subsistence] for the poor 456's [Catholics and churchmen]. Further, he has given a kind of promise, he will still use all efforts, as soon as the news comes of the 444 [descent].

" This morning, 416 [Howart] was with 400 [the Pope]; and did, with a very good heart and his usual zeal, press to the utmost, for some addition for this present extraordinary exigence. But nothing, it seems, can yet be further done. 414 [Cardinal Forbin] is scandalized at the little sum, and will speak home too on Thursday next. But every little must be welcome, till it please God to send more.

1692.
May.

" 'Tis now past 9 at night, and just now a messenger brings a note hither for the 430 [money], which, I reckon, amounts to above 5000 scudi, more than 400 [the Pope] promised me yesterday; and 416 [C. Howart] sends now the said notes under a letter of his own to 302 [the Queen]."

May 20th, 1692. " Since my arrival hither, I have, according to my duty, given, every post, a full account of my proceedings to 302 [the Queen], 406 [cardinal D'Estè], and yourself; and, I hope, my next will be my last from hence. For, in pursuance of my orders, which I shall critically observe, I only expect the news from 318 [England], and the final operation it may make on 400 [the Pope]; who, lest he might prove too free, has been plied with astringents, especially since his last blessing took air; yet cannot he retain the expressing, at least, his inward affection; nay he has already directed several private devotions for his incognito intention, though every body knows it as well as they do: a cardinal with his curtains drawn, and SENZA FIOCCHÈ."

June.

June 10th, 1692.

" The contrary winds in your parts have also put a great many to a stand here, and though at present, every one almost is in a running dress, their shirt and drawers, yet go they still in their old *piano* pace. But when I can get once more out of their enchanted circle, I hope to find my legs again, and make all haste to your lordship; and that, as soon as possible, after the longed-for news of your having past the Rubicon; for then there may be some other ground to go upon even here. In the mean time, there are in this place, who seem to fear, that whatever blessing is perhaps sprinkled from hence, it may fall on the wrong side of the channel."

June 17th, 1692. " God knows where this may find your lordship, since there have been hopes still above these five weeks here, of the advice of your being happily landed. But the same winds which have retarded you, have also put almost every body here to a stand; nor have I power to stir neither, my orders for returning, with all speed, being restrained by the clause of " After the news of the landing should come hither;" according to the circumstances of which, measures may likely be taken here.

" However,

“ However, my lord, after I have done my part, I shall hasten back again, I hope, as fast as I came.

1692.
June.

“ No. 400 [the Pope] I am confident, will still do what he can, tho’ with all his power, he cannot always do what he would; no not so much as lie on t’other side of the river, because it incommodes those about him.

“ No. 356 [the declaration] was here just fitted for the press; but No. 418 [M. Caprara], after the advances he himself made to get it finished, alledged, in fine, very unexpected difficulties, urged by those who were to pass it: so that it is now laid aside. Many here pretend, at least, great inward zeal in their prayers for 300 [the King]. But, if they do pray, they indeed do it so as not to be seen of men, either in their closets, or, perhaps, the primitive grottoes and catacombs.”

June 24th. “ I took occasion to shew myself, last week, to 400 [the Pope]; who, having been prepossessed by 514 426 [house of Austria], in some points of news to 324’s disadvantage, he asked what my letters said; expressing, at the same time, some diffidence, as to 420 338 [the French]. I answered the best I could; but all my conjecture, having, my lord, not had, I say, the least word of any thing since I came hither: nor indeed was it well to be expected, since your lordship, I know, reckoned I had but a very few days to stay.

“ Last week, a petition for prayers in the 318 [English college] for 300 [the King] was granted for three days; yet would it not be allowed, that 300 [the King] should be explicitly named in the Invito; but all was expressed in the usual general form; nor will I trouble your lordship now to tell how few of the grandees appeared on this occasion, whose pitiful politics and pusillanimity are incredible.

July 22d. Sir John Lytcott gives an account of an audience of the Pope; and writes, that James’s disappointment at La Hogue had cooled the zeal of his friends at Rome, and even of his Holiness himself.

July.

July 29th. He sends an account of his audience of leave. He had pressed the Pope to relieve James and his Catholick subjects. His Holiness “ reiterated his promises, that he would, *In ogne Punto*, do whatever he could. Quickly after, to prevent, perhaps, a further address, he

1692.
July.

rang his bell, and called for a little plate, on which was a chaplet, two gold and two silver medals of his own *impresa*, which he was pleased to give me out of his own hand, with 200 indulgences, and a gracious kind of embrace, whilst I did *inginocchiarmi* to receive his last blessing; after which, and returning humble thanks for all, and leaving him to his own piety, I retired in form; and truly, whatever comes from him seems to proceed perfectly from the bottom of a most sincere heart.

It is uncertain, whether William knew any thing concerning the treasonable correspondence which was carried on, at this time, between some on whom he had conferred employments, and the court of St. Germain. But it is remarkable, that men who were conscious to themselves that they were engaged in intrigues against him should complain that he dismissed them from his service. It will, perhaps, give some entertainment to the reader to compare the following letter and memorial with the journals of both houses of parliament in the winter of this year.

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 15.

Ibid. vol. viii.
4to.

The letter is in lord Melfort's hand and indorsed in Nairne's, "A letter to England, 5th Sept. 1692, by D. Fl. concerning Ruffell;" and marked by him at the top, "*To be wrote by D. Floyd to Ruffell.*" It is decyphered according to doctor Hicks's and colonel Sackville's cyphers, in lord Middleton's copy-book of letters.

S I R,

September.

I Am glad to find, by yours of the 9th, that myn of the 1st of August was come safe to your hands. We are still of the same mynd hear, as to the purchas of the bayle No. 668 [admiral Edward Charey]; and, therefore, we doubt not but, as soon as it can be come at, you will let us kno the terms we can hav it upon; and, because it is so tender ware, you will take all imaginable care it be gently and carefully handled, that, if after all it should not answer expectatione, you should not be to blame, who are the factors. But we know, that you are used to trade, and so confide on your skill and dexterity.

As for these two bales you mention, No. 251 [lord Godolphin] and No. 722 [lord Shrewsbury], for all I can yet learn, there is not much more clearness here, than you hav ther; and therefore, I can say nothing of positiv concerning them as yet. I am glad you think we may do
good

1692.
September.

good with the goods No. 31 [English army in Ireland], and I find the Hamborou merchant [a member of the house of commons] will get the factory to deal in them as desired; and, if it be ready, I will inclose the tenor of it to you, by this post, tho' perhaps it cannot come this way. My uncle is resolved in that point. I am sorry that you should have so small hopes of the boxes No. 215 [the fleet], and No. 551 [the parliament of England], at a time when they would yield us so much profite. We must endeavour to make the best we can of them; and tho' they be much spoiled, yet if great paynes and care be taken, and right ingredients be applied, we hope they may yet turn to account; and therefor, you must know, from all the factory, what may be the best way to recover them, and because what can best do it, you know, is the product of this place. I shall send you a sufficient quantity of such as we have, which, if rightly applied, may go a great way in the affair. The bale, No. 231 [David Floyd], shall still be ready to mix with that No. 27 [Samuel Atkins], when you and the partners shall order it; and I find our partners here much inclined to mix more of our best goods on both sides, if they could be sent without damage. For they think it will be impossible to adjust the prices and the different shares, without there be some more goods mixt, that the good and bad may go together. But the danger is, by seeking a better market, to lose all, and that we are loath to venture.

The settlement you mention was the result of the good inclinations of our debtor, who thought he could not oblige you more than by leaving it entirely to your own honour to draw a model; for this was no more, it having never been delivered by him. He knew he would see many of his creditors, before he had use for that settlement; and he was resolved to take their advice in it; and, if he had not pleased them, he would have changed it upon the place, having all things prepared for that intent, as it appeared to you it was unwarrantable, and there is nothing he aims at more, than to please, in all that is just for him to insert, and all the matters in dispute are such as he thought he had granted in the settlement: for such was his intention. If they have not, it was his lawyer's fault, not his; and, if you peruse that letter to your partner better, you may boldly assure all the creditors, it is our debtor's true sense, to which he will stand, and which he will still be ready to declare, as often as he shall be required to do it. As for the settlement, it falls
of

1692.
September.

of course, never having been delivered: for you know delivering is as necessary as signing and sealing is, to make a valid security. All this rightly used may go far towards settling of mens minds, who aim at nothing but having their just debts paid; and I must tell you, that, having particularly informed myself from the book-keeper, he assures me, that this is our debtor's real intentions; and that he is most assured, that, if the most rigide of his creditors knew the honesty of his heart, and the truth of his intentions, as to these points, they would soon agree to let him come and possess his own estate, till he could bring in his debts to pay them. There were a great many mistakes, in relation to particulars, which proceeded on letters from some idle partners there; but, if any such settlement be again made, there will be no such oversight, nor will there, I am confident, be any, or, at least, few particulars, so much as named. But all will be left to the general meeting of the creditors, both as to the nature of the payment to be made and debts to be excepted, and I believe all the creditors will mor willingly submit to the whole meeting, than to any separate number. However, they must be consulted there, before it can be determined here, if the creditors you know have skill. Were they assured of consent, it might engage them to shew their skill on the boxes No. 215 [the fleet] and No. 551 [the parliament of England]; and, if they shew all they can do, I question not, they might be made marketable goods.

You must not think, that the bale No. 38 [lord Bath] is forgot or under-rated. Our partner will try and give fairly for it, twice more than the last merchant bought it at, and better payment, and the last half of the bale No. 149 [lord Duras] into the bargain, or what he may choose in lieu thereof of the same value; and, if this is not fair, judge you; nay, if some more will do, it shall be had one way or other. But this is a matter so delicate, that you must handle it very prudently, least it wrong our credit, on the exchange, which is no hard matter, as things stand. I am affraid we hav not right understood the price demanded, because it consisted in goods and money, and, it may be, the inventory of the goods was not right set down: so the best, in my opinion, will be to give good words and continue the security, till you can send over a copy of the proposition, after you hav brought the price as low as ever you can; that is, still offering fair, as an honest man ought, the true value

value of the goods No. 573 [Plymouth]. This, you see, is not to neglect the merchant; but, if you find it better to offer as above, it will be entirely left to you, and the partners there.

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As to what you desire to know, from France, in relatione to the sea, it is impossible for us, in this country, to penetrate, they keep their matters so secret. But, if there be any appearance of what you have use to know, I shall endeavour to give you timely notice; only lay not out your money, till I send you word. I am sorry to hear the kingdom is in so bad a condition; and I am of opinion, the failing of all our designs this campaign, when we have gained a sea-fight easier than ever we can hope to gain another, by which we were masters of the seas all the summer long, will make the parliament think the conduct has not been good, and consequently their money not too well bestowed. Besides, this brush in Flanders, were, without exaggeration, we have utterly lost 10,000 men, and of our best troops the most, will not be an argument to convince them we ought to trust any more to future promises; and besides, our losses by sea, our harvest spoil'd, our money transported, our plantations destroyed by earthquakes and plague, may, I am afraid, put it in the heads of thinking men, that God is not satisfied with our conduct or cause. These begin to be the discourses in this place; and that so much the rather, that the people begin here to be affraid for their priviledges and libertys, since Torgoes, for standing to theirs, has been blocked up, by the Stadtholder's orders, and forced, by military power, to submit to his will; upon which a most violent manifesto is come out, published by the town; and we know not yet, but it may breed ill blood, which nothing but mere force restrains, at this time. We wait the event.

From France, where you know I have a good correspondent, which neither of the Kings there could ever discover, I am informed, that the affair of Dauphiné, so much talked of, is a mere trifle; which, in the main, does not signify any thing. Ambrun is in the middle of the hills, and could not be relieved. It is of no strength, and they are going to burn it again. There are great heats betwixt the D. of Savoy and Caprara. The first is for coming farther into France; and the other, an old cunning foldier, knows it impracticable. For, if he came out amongst the hills, he would have the French horse before him and
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the foot behind him, and the passages stopped; so that he will not consent to lose the army, for his R. H. hot-headedness. His R. H. has wrote hither to press the descent and action in Flanders: for he sees a storm gathering, troops marching against him from all quarters; and that without there were a powerful diversion, he could do no good, nor stay any longer where he was. This we are not, I am affraid, in a condition to perform; and that will, in all probability, make the end of the campaign, by the duke of Savoy's retreat, as shamefull as the begining has been on this side.

I must tell you, before I end this long letter, that my unckle is perfectly well satisfied with the true honesty of the father and son you mention; and, if ever he hav it in his power to do them any kindness, you may assure them of it from him: for it is his real intentions. As likewise to Mr. G. [supposed to be lord Godolphin] you mention, of whose friendship to him he has many proofs, and will repay him his favours, to his own content. The box, No. 27 [Samuel Atkins], proves so good ware, that our partner is perfectly pleased with it, and will have more of it, and keep it still in his shop. I entreat you to make the right use of this, to shew the owner of it, that he may expect ready payment of it for all he has of that commodity, to his satisfaction, and that he shall have my uncle's thanks over and above the price. He has a real esteem and value for that commodity, as the best in its kind. I think this is sufficient trouble at once.

The goods, No. 699 [Sir Edward Seymour], have proved stark naught, for all we know here, and you may judge of them accordingly, if you find not reasons there to the contrary; and we have but faint hopes of the bale, No. 656 [lord Rochester]; yet, if you find them of use, you may endeavour to purchase them, having still the necessary circumspection in so ticklish a bargain. You know, that I was always of the opinion, that, so long as you stand at a distance amongst yourselves, you will not be able to do any very considerable good; and, therefore, it is the desire of others hear, that you should endeavour as close an union as can be, betwixt the creditors and debtors, that you may come to a right understanding, and fall on methods of compounding the differences so hurtfull to us both; which, having proceeded from mistakes and falsehoods, and having been pursued with malice, I doubt not, but the animosity,

animosity, tho' high, will fall, so soon as you can come but to understand one another; which you never can do, so long as you keep at a distance.

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Before the defeat of the French fleet at La Hogue, King James had excepted several persons in his offers of pardon; some indeed were excepted at their own desire; but he limited himself in his future conduct by very general promises, and, of consequence, gave little satisfaction to such as were not very sanguine for his restoration. This and several other reasons, which he himself communicated to Lewis XIV. in a memorial, convinced him, at last, that it was improper to send any written explanations at all of his intentions. But in the mean time, there were several projects of letters and memorials to be addressed to his subjects laid before him by the earl of Melfort and others. The first of them is in Nairne's hand. He names it at the top; "E. Melfort's project of a letter from his Majesty to the parliament, 2d Nov. 1692." And it is indorsed in Melfort's own hand: "Project of a letter from the King to the Lords and Commons to be assembled at Westminster the $\frac{4}{15}$ November, 1692; at St. Germain's, the 1st day of November, 1692."

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vol. i fol.
No. 101.

My Lords,

THE royal care and paternal affection, I think myself bound to have for my people, by that character which God Almighty has given me, transmitted by the long series of their lawful monarchs, my royal ancestors, has ever made me watchful of all occasions of doing them good, however ill I have been used, by a considerable part of them; which ill usage was grievous to me, upon their account as well as my own; since, from the first moment of their defection, I foresaw the causes they would have to repent the change of my government, for an usurpation which could not be maintained but with an infinite expence of blood and treasure, besides the other judgments of Almighty God, they had cause to fear, for the wrongs done to me, his vicegerent.

My circumstances gave time to all my people to make reflections, on the condition they had brought me and themselves into, to find out the falseness of the accusations against me, and to consider the hardships they had drawn upon themselves and their posterity, which had so good an effect,

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effect, with many of all ranks and qualities amongst them, that, by their most earnest prayers and repeated instances of the misery they lay under, they invited me to come to their relief, which made me lay hold on the first opportunity Almighty God put into my hands, to endeavour their relief, with such force, as leaving no ground to fear a conquest, might yet protect my loyal subjects, and compel my enemies to hear that reason they had so long oppressed by violence; intending, after the troubles at home, and fears from abroad, were over, to have sent away all such foreign troops, as I was obliged to have brought with me, for my defence. And, as I have always been ready to explain my gracious intentions to my subjects of all qualities and persuasions, I thought myself more particularly obliged to do it upon that important occasion; and, for that purpose, had an escroll of a declaration ready to consult with my friends, at my arrival; and, by their consent and advice, and no otherwise, was resolved to publish that or any other form, more expressive of my royal and most sincere intentions; for which end, I had a press and all other things necessary brought alongst with me. For I was resolved to show plainly my intentions, which, however they were disguised or ill expressed, in that form, were, and still are.

That, immediately after my restoration, I will call a free parliament, in which my subjects shall be represented, by such as they shall make choice of, by their free election.

That, to the parliament so called, I will leave the security of the church of England established by law, so as that it may not be encroached upon, in its livings, dignities, schools, universities, or whatever else it is now in possession of.

And that I will recommend to that parliament the case of Dissenters, and the settlement of liberty of conscience, in so good a way, that men of all persuasions may be reconciled to the government, and not look upon it as their enemy, but may all of them think themselves highly concerned in its preservation, upon the consideration of the good treatment and protection they get from it, in the full enjoyment of their birth-rights.

To this parliament, I will recommend the care of the liberty and property of the subject, as well as my own prerogative, which I shall ever use for the defence of that liberty and property; and it shall not be my fault,

fault, if all things be not so adjusted there, as that I and my people may have peace and plenty, a good understanding at home, and that share we ought to have in the affairs of the world abroad.

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All, who have ever known me, have observed my innate inclination to mercy, and the pleasure I take to forgive my enemies and all the injuries done to me, of whatsoever kind they are; so that the many exceptions I suffered to be made in that escroll, were for terror, and to make my mercy, in forgiving most of the excepted, more conspicuous.

But now, to give the world and you a full proof of my natural inclination, I declare, that I am ready to forgive all, who shall not oppose my restoration, excepting some few of the most obnoxious, whom I will leave to my parliament to name, as my royal and dearest brother did, in the like case; it being fit that some should fall, as a warning to posterity of the danger of such unwarrantable practices. After which, I will give an act of grace and full indemnity to be past in both houses of parliament*.

And, since reward is as necessary to encourage the good, as punishment is to fright the bad, I was, and am still of the same mind, to bestow my favours on such, as shall be instrumental, either secretly or openly, in my restoration; and that, according to the quality of the service they shall render me, whether done by English or strangers, by sea or by land.

And being restored, I do promise to govern according to law: to have frequent and free parliaments: to regulate elections to parliament so as that it shall be highly punishable to make false or undue returns, either for counties or corporations: that my ministers and counselors shall be such, as may be entirely trusted by my people; men of integrity and reputation, capable of the employments I shall give them.

And I shall do all that lies in my power, to make my people happy, under my just and legal reign; which happiness they cannot hope for, so long as this unjust usurpation continues, nor from any other form of illegal government their hearts can imagine; which, if they endeavour

* There is, in lord Melfort's hand, a marginal note to a French translation of this letter, in these words: "This article is earnestly desired by most of the King's servants, but I am against any exception."

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to continue, I foresee, with grief, the sad and dismal consequences their unjust actions will bring upon themselves; whilst, if they would open their eyes, they cannot but see the many and great advantages must necessarily attend my restoration.

The vast expence of blood, treasure, and reputation, they have been at, these four last years, is enough to give any reasonable sort of men warning of what is to come, and to convince them, that all the promises of future advantages are as vain as their cause is bad; which, hitherto, has been supported by falsehoods, as it was founded upon untrue and malicious circumstances, among which, none of the least has been to asperse me with want of sincerity or good-will to my people.

To obviate which, I now think fit to declare, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, that what I have here set down is my true meaning and design, whenever it shall please God to restore me to my own kingdoms; and that, if any thing be omitted or obscure, I am ready to explain the same to any, having warrant from any considerable party of my subjects to desire it. And, if, at present, I knew any thing my subjects could justly desire, for their further satisfaction and our joint interest, I would have inserted it. But that being only possible, when they are, by their representatives, assembled in parliament, I promise, that, in the first I call, which shall be as soon as ever it shall be possible for me, I shall be ready to grant them whatever may tend to our joint happiness and tranquillity, and which may establish a good correspondence and legal preservation of the rights of the crown and the liberty and property of the subject. And I will do whatever may tend to the advancement of trade and setting up of manufactures, and what may make the nation happy at home and respected abroad.

I need not tell you the injustice done me. There is not one of you, how hardened soever in the prosecution of his way, but is convinced of the illegal and unwarrantable proceedings against me, as well as of the falseness of the most material grounds they proceeded upon: and though, by their violence, I have been incapacitate from prosecuting my right with that vigour and force I inclined, for the relief of my people; yet Almighty God has, in his justice, taken care to show, by their sufferings, and particularly of such as had the greatest hand in driving me out of my dominions, how little he approves of your proceedings. Nor can
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the clearest sighted amongst you make any reasonable conjecture, where these sufferings will end, except you be so wise as, in time, to lay hold on the gracious offers I make you, and which you might have had, before my leaving England, when I was convinced, that I had been misled by the evil counsel of some now amongst you, to do some things as much against my own interest, as they were displeasing to my people, had not the exorbitant ambition of the prince of Orange hindered all the effects of my royal and gracious intentions, at that time, as is known to many of you, who well saw, that it was my crown, and not the reformation of bad counsel that he came for; which is evident by this, as well as many other demonstrations, that he caresses the authors of these counsels, he so much cried out against. But he knows, and they have since confessed, that they were given me for his service and my undoing.

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The not embracing the offers I made, before my being driven out of England, when the prince of Orange refused all treaty, has cost you dear; and, therefore, I hope you will be better advised, than to neglect this opportunity, when I offer you security for all your rights, religious and civil, and to restore you peace, plenty, and prosperity, under the ancient, legal, and hereditary monarchy, your predecessors and yourselves lived happily under. I am confident all your fellow-subjects, in the army and navy, will concur with you, in so good a design; and I shall always be ready to assist you, to drive out strangers from among you, and to recover your just legal rights, as well as my own, with a force which may protect and not fright you; any thing tending towards a conquest or diminution of the just rights, liberty, and property of the people of England, being what never entered into my thoughts.

If there be any thing further you would be satisfied in, upon sending such of your number to me, as you can best trust, I doubt not but I will give them full satisfaction; and I promise, that they shall come and return with all safety.

If you embrace these offers I make to you, and, by you, to all my people, you see it will depend upon yourselves to be as happy as you can wish for. But, if you reject what I have so proposed, I do not doubt but that Almighty God, the avenger of injured princes, will do justice to me and to my dearest son, the prince of Wales, and it may
be:

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be with circumstances of more severity to the obstinate amongst you, by making the nation in general, and you in particular, account for the innocent blood of my faithful subjects, lost in the defence of my undoubted rights, and thousands of my subjects slain, in the defence of rebellion and treason; which blood must needs be heavy on the land, and on you, till, by a sincere repentance and full restitution of what you have violently and unjustly taken from me, you appease the Divine Justice, and obtain his, as you do the full offers of my, mercy; by which only you can hope for happiness.

The next letter is likewise in Nairne's hand. It appears that Lewis XIV. advised James to communicate his intentions in a public letter or declaration, addressed to his subjects in general; and that he desired the marquis de Croissy to write one in the most unexceptionable terms. It is marked on the back in the earl of Melfort's hand, "Proposed by M. de Croissy, the 23d of November 1692, St. Germain's."

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Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 103.

"*Project of a letter to be sent to England, 23d November 1692; proposed by Mr. de Croissy.*"

"**W**HEN we reflect upon our own age, and the condition of our posterity and kingdoms, we cannot be without earnest desire of bringing things to the speediest issue. But what we ought to do, in order to it, has been hitherto very difficult to us to find out. It has been our misfortune to be mistaken, in our applications to our people, tho' we can appeal to God for our own sincerity. But, however, we will not be wanting in those methods we think most likely; and, therefore, we send this to you, wherein, according to the most natural signification of the words, we assure you, that we are ready to agree to any laws, that shall be desired at our hands to secure the protestant religion, as now established by law in the church of England; and to settle, with the concurrence of our parliament, a liberty of conscience. And we are also willing and fully resolved to secure liberty and property, not only from any male-administrations, that may fall in during our reign, but likewise against any invasion may be designed by our posterity; and we shall take effectual measures for doing of it, in the very first parliament which can be got together; and we shall, during our reign, delight to meet
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our people frequently in parliament, as the best and surest expedient to beget that mutual confidence, which renders the King truly great and the subject perfectly happy: so far we are from designing or attempting to introduce an arbitrary power in the crown. We hope we have expressed ourselves plainly and we mean honestly; and we are sensible the nation (besides the violence they have done to their own consciences) have not found their account in the injury they have done us. We know there are some, who are rather looking after other projects for redress, than wishing our restoration. But we also know, that they cannot start any, that shall be either a better establishment for the future, or can relieve them in their present circumstances, than calling us home. And, if you will depute any to come to discourse us more at large, we do not doubt to give an entire satisfaction to any you commission for that purpose; and let nothing, that is past, continue any misunderstanding betwixt us, since we are desirous and ready, on our part, to forget and pardon all the miscarriages of all our subjects, without any exception, and to enter into any new measures, such as may, according to the best judgment we can make, close with the united interest of our people; and we wish more of them would let us know their minds, without the least degree of flattery, which has had too fatal influences, upon the councils of most Kings."

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There is another copy of this letter, which is likewise in Nairne's hand. It is marked in lord Melfort's hand on the back, "Project of a letter to be sent to England; thought more proper than the other, proposed by the most Christian King, the 23d Nov. 1692, St. Germaines." Nairne marks it at the top:

"Project of a letter to be sent to England, Nov. 1692.—Thought more proper than that of Mr. de Croissy."

WHEN we reflect on the misery we and our people suffer, and the danger our posterity are in, it cannot be thought strange, that we use all expedients, how extraordinary soever, to make our intention known to our people; being sensible, as we are, that our having been so much misunderstood hitherto is the great occasion, that we have not been sooner happy, in the mutual enjoyment of one another. That we may, therefore, have nothing to reproach ourself with, we send this to assure
you,

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you, that, as soon as we are restored, we will call a free parliament, to which we will leave the settlement of the protestant religion, as it is at present established by law, in the church of England. That we shall endeavour in parliament an impartial liberty of conscience; and we are willing and fully resolved, in our parliament above mentioned, to secure the liberty and property of our subjects, not only from any present, but likewise future, encroachments. And we shall, during our reign, delight to meet our people frequently in parliament, as the best and surest way to beget that mutual confidence and correspondence, which renders the King truly great and the subjects perfectly happy; so far we are from designing or attempting to introduce an arbitrary power in the crown. We know, that the nation, besides the violence they have done to their own consciences, have not found their account in the injuries they have done us; and yet, some of them, rather look after other more uncertain projects for redress, than wish our restoration. But we know likewise, that they can never find any that can either be a better establishment for the future, or a speedier relief from their present hard circumstances, than the calling us home; and, that no man may be hindered from so good a work, by the fear of our resenting the wrongs done us, we further assure you, that we will pardon all our subjects, without exception, who shall not oppose our restoration. Having thus shewn our intentions to you, as far as it is possible for us, with the information we yet have of our people's desires, we shall still be ready further to explain them to such as you shall send to us for that effect; by whom we shall be glad to be informed of our people's desires, wishing nothing in this world more earnestly, than to see the happiness of our people established upon the true and legal foundation.

James, however, declined to send over any written explanation of his intentions at this time, and gave his reasons to Lewis XIV. in the following memorial, which contains several interesting particulars, concerning the state of affairs, and the views and conduct of parties in England at the time.

" *A Me-*

"A Memorial.—November, 1692.—After the affair of La Hogue."

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No. 102.

There are two parties among the English Protestants, the church of England and the Republicans, i. e. according to the late King's notions, the Nonjurors and the moderate Tories.—The first are not disposed to limit the prerogative, the last desire concessions; but both are against any explicit declarations at present.—Their reasons.—Among the Republicans, James mentions the Earl of Middleton, Major General Sackville, and the Earl of Shrewsbury.—The last lays down his office of secretary of state, at the desire of James.—A third party demand a declaration, addressed to both houses of parliament.—The advantage and disadvantage of sending one, considered.—The disadvantage is greater.—It was as a previous step for recalling James, that the Earl of Marlborough moved in parliament, to dismiss all foreigners from their employments. Some of the party who were ignorant of his intentions, suspected it was to serve the princess of Denmark; and made a discovery to the Earl of Portland.

Translation.

I Always imagined, that a more ample explanation of my intentions, than was contained in the last project of a declaration, was necessary; but that I must wait for a proper time of sending it.

The two ostensible parties of protestants, who are for me in England, are the episcopals and the republicans, who are so named, although many among them are not for a republic. The first have good intentions, but little power, in the present conjuncture; although, if there was an opportunity of their taking arms, my enemies would find them formidable. The second are more powerful, having all the employments and authority of the prince of Orange in their hands. But they are more to be suspected.

The first absolutely think, that I should not send a declaration, till I am ready to go over to England; and their opinion is, that I ought not to make any concession, which may be of any prejudice to the crown.

The second are for concessions. But they oppose, as much as the first, my sending any explanation or any other paper, until they give me

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notice, and have had time to prepare the people to receive it. I have, accordingly, followed a middle course till now, and sent nothing written in my own hand. But I have made the earl of Melfort write to both parties, in terms which have given a general satisfaction, as appears by the letters which have been written to him on the subject.

The reasons, which the republican party have always alledged against my sending any thing in writing at this time, are, that a great part of the people being prejudiced by the artifices of the prince of Orange against whatever I may write, it is not only necessary to wait, until these prejudices are removed by degrees, but that it is likewise necessary they should be removed, by the means of those very persons, who guide the opinions of the people. That endeavours were used to accomplish this; and that notice would be sent to me in proper time. It is very certain, that this party, being esteemed by my enemies as their deliverers, will have more credit with them than any other.

Secondly, they say, that if I sent any kind of explanation of my intentions, before they had time to prepare the people to receive it, it would induce my enemies to write against it, and to put false constructions on it, and the generality would believe them rather than me; and, therefore, such a writing would not only have no good effect, but, on the contrary, would have a very bad one, while I was not in a condition to support it with a good army, which, undoubtedly, would make it produce a due effect. That, to dispose the people in my favour, those rich noblemen, and gentlemen, who live at their ease, and are not willing to risque much, must exert themselves, and contrive, in an indirect manner, the means of exciting the people, to chase away the prince of Orange, when they show that they have nothing but the public good in view; and, under that pretext, they will be followed by the people, and may thereby promote my designs, with security, and without risking any thing. Whereas, if the prince of Orange and his creatures were once alarmed, by a declaration which would render them vigilant, in discovering my friends, and opposing their designs, these great men would not choose to risque any thing, for fear of being suspected by the people as well as by the prince of Orange; and, perhaps, they would be obliged to favour his designs, in order to conceal their real inclinations,

inclinations, which would enable the prince of Orange to obtain from the parliament, whatever he would demand at present.

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A third reason they alledge is, that whatever I could say is already well known to them; that is to say, to the most powerful men among them. For, as they did not choose to correspond with me, until I had informed them of my intentions; I have done so, and they have been perfectly satisfied with them: and, as they are men of quality and members of parliament, who have a great deal of influence, there is no doubt but they have made them known to others, and that my sentiments at this time, are sufficiently known to this pretended parliament.

These are the reasons which this republican party have laid before me, and for which, they have intreated me not to send any thing in writing at this time: and four days ago, the earl of Middleton has urged the same thing, by a courier, which my friends in England sent on purpose to me, assuring me at the same time, that great pains were taken with the parliament, with the fleet, and with the army, and that I should have news of this very soon.

It should be remarked, that all those who are of this party, have not been traitors. For the earl of Middleton, who was my secretary of state, when I came away, never did a false step: major general Sackville never failed in his duty; and the earl of Shrewsbury, who was secretary of state to the prince of Orange, laid down his employment, by my orders. These men are too clear sighted to allow themselves to be duped, and they have too much interest in my restoration, to allow themselves to be corrupted.

It was from a regard to this party, and from the weight of their arguments, that I have been induced to delay to send any paper, until I should be advised by them, or until I should see, at least, their conduct in this pretended parliament, from which I might judge of their sincerity.

Although I mention only the protestants here, the catholicks are unanimously of the same way of thinking. But as they are less employed, their advice has the less weight. But there are, at this time, some private persons who, I have all the reason in the world to believe, are of so

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little consequence, that they dare not declare themselves, for fear their characters should instantly destroy all their influence. These have proposed to send such a paper, as the others, who are of the first quality, have so strongly disapproved of at this conjuncture.

Upon which, the first thing to be considered is, why these unknown persons have not made their proposal directly to myself, and whether it is not for fear I should know them for such as they are. Whereas, they pass themselves for very different persons from what they really are, upon those who cannot know them so easily as I do.

It is to be considered likewise, whether the opinion of these unknown persons is to be preferred to the opinions of those other men of quality, interest, and weight in the kingdom, who have it in their power to act themselves and to employ others. Whereas, on the contrary, these unknown persons, who, for any thing I know, are as much traitors as others have been, do not pretend to any other power or credit, but that of presenting the paper, nor to any other merit, but what that design will procure them. But, setting all this aside, let us consider the good and the harm which this writing will produce. First, though I should write it, and place it in the hands of these unknown persons, addressed to the lords and commons assembled at Westminster, it is certain they would not receive it. For they would not dare to receive it, when it comes from me without the consent of the prince of Orange, which he certainly will never give, unless he sees that he may derive some notable advantage from it. So that all I would gain thereby, would be a fresh affront, which would diminish my reputation among the people, and be a reproach to my conduct, for having tried an expedient, which I might naturally imagine to be useless, not to say entirely contrary to my interests.

But, secondly, making the supposition, that what I write would be received and read, all the good I could expect from it is, that, as what it contains is sufficiently conformed to the desires of a considerable part of the people, it might in time, and in proportion as the misery of the people induces them to make reflections, soften their minds, and incline them to consider, how little they gain by the continuance of the war, and what advantages they might expect from me. What I write, thus softening
the

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November.

the rough humours of the people, might, by degrees, diminish their malice against me; and, when they would find a favourable conjuncture, for taking a side, it might encourage them to choose mine preferably to that of the prince of Orange, when they would find an equal probability of safety on my side, as on the side of the prince; that is to say, when they would see me at the head of an army as strong as his, and not sooner.

This, I think, is all the good, which what I could write would produce, even were the conjuncture favourable for sending it, and did all my friends consent to it, which, after all, is but a slow remedy, when it is not supported by a force sufficient to induce the people to take a side. I call it a slow remedy, because it is not to be believed, that the people of England, hardened as they are, will be influenced miraculously at the sight of a paper, of which they have already had the substance in so many others; and that they will change all at once from black to white, before they have the fleet or army in their power, or are anywise prepared for it. The laws which they themselves have made in favour of the prince of Orange, hinder them from declaring against him, even in parliament. Therefore along with such a paper, a negociation and intrigues would be necessary; and this is what I call a slow remedy, and what would be of no avail, in hindering whatever the prince of Orange should demand from the parliament; on the contrary, it might contribute to advance his designs.

The disadvantages which such a paper might produce, appear to me to be of another nature. For they would be great and immediate. First, it would excite an infinite number of people to write against me, who would not fail to blacken me, and who would not miss to be believed now as formerly.

Secondly, it is to be considered, that the humours of the people are visibly changed: that many among them, tired of the war, and of the heavy taxes which they are obliged to pay, begin to return to my interests, and to look out for a remedy to their misfortunes; and, though I am not, perhaps, more beloved than I was, yet it is certain, that the prince of Orange becomes daily much more odious, and that a great part of my subjects begin to be very wearied of him. They, in fact, design
to

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November.

to oppose him strongly in parliament. Some in order to break the alliance with the confederates, as a thing useless to England, which exhausts itself for them without pretending to draw any advantage from it. Others in order to quarrel with the Dutch, being unwilling to have any thing further to do with them; and all, in general, exclaim against an army in Flanders, saying, that it exhausts the kingdom, and that a fleet would be sufficient for their defence; that the money which that army costs would be spent in the country, and that an infinite number of men would be saved, of which England stands much in need, being greatly depopulated by the number of inhabitants who go to the colonies. Thus my party, covering themselves with the mask of patriotism, will join with the discontented to diminish the credit of the prince of Orange; and, if they allow it to go on, will do every thing they can against him. But if, in the midst of their contestations, a writing under my name is produced which discovers the manœuvres of a third party, immediately all those who are against me, and against the prince of Orange, would unite themselves rather to him than to me for the present: his friends would redouble their zeal: the populace, who are for him, would likewise interfere; and even my friends would be obliged to appear the most zealous for him, in order to conceal their real sentiments, and to save themselves from his vengeance. So that it appears from this consideration, that such a writing would tend rather to make the parliament concur with the prince of Orange, than to embroil them together.

It must be considered likewise, that the prince of Orange sees clearly the designs which will be carried on against him, if the parliament continues long. He therefore uses every endeavour to dispatch business as soon as possible, and to hinder them from speaking of any thing but the supplies which he asks, until he has secured them; and it is for this reason, he has, at this time, changed his language. For, instead of continuing to say, that France is exhausted, he says now, that his most Christian Majesty is in a condition to carry every thing before him; and that the war is at their gates, unless they grant immediate and ample supplies, for maintaining both the fleet and army. The Dutch gazettes and the news from England are full of this. For they write, that he stations his troops along the coasts. That he still sends ships to sea, and circulates reports

reports in London, that I am ready to go over to England, and all this, in order to intimidate the people, and to engage them to grant him what he asks. So that if, in the midst of all this, they saw any thing appear at this time in my name, which might be interpreted to be a declaration, it would serve only to be a farther confirmation of the prince of Orange's argument, and to induce the parliament to grant him money instantly. For his party in parliament would cry aloud, for the good of the kingdom, and the safety of the prince and princess of Orange; and, in that general ardour for the good of the country, whoever would show the least coolness, would run a risque of being torn to pieces by the populace; and in that way the prince of Orange would obtain speedily and plentifully, what there is great reason to think he will not obtain so soon, nor so proportionate to his wants, if the malecontents and my friends in parliament are allowed to do what I expect from them.

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Further, the prince of Orange would soon discover, that the alarm given by that writing was groundless, and he would consider it as an advice given by France, which he would suppose to be reduced to extremities, and obliged to have recourse to such an expedient. That would elate him and the confederates with pride, and make them look upon the most Christian King, my dearest brother, as if he was not any more in a condition to support the war, which might produce very disagreeable consequences.

It must be lastly considered, that, when a parliament in England votes to raise a sum of money, it is properly but a compliment, until the sum is assigned upon certain funds capable of paying it, insomuch that scarcely any one opposes this first vote, unless they want to quarrel openly with the government. But the manner of opposing it and of securing themselves, when they do so, is by hindering the funds from being named, or by introducing preferably some other business, which may embroil the prince and the parliament, as happened last year, when they consented, by a general vote, to give five millions and a half for continuing a vigorous war against France. But when they came to name the funds, they protracted the affair to such length, that the prince of Orange was not able to make the preparations he intended; and, instead of five millions and a half, they gave him in reality but three millions, insomuch, that

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that his debts now amount to nine millions, which appears sufficiently from the promise he makes to the sailors, who will serve this winter on half-pay, of paying them in the beginning of next summer their arrears to the month of September last, as a particular favour. This shows, that the proper time for acting against the prince of Orange in parliament, is after the first vote is passed. For it is not to be imagined, that I have yet friends enough to act openly in opposing this first vote, which is always passed with eclat, in order to intimidate their enemies who do not know the consequence, and who believe that the payment of the money depends upon it, which is far from being the case.

My friends designed last year to recal me by the parliament. The plan was concerted, and lord Churchill was to propose in parliament, to drive all strangers out of the council and army, and even out of the kingdom. If the prince of Orange had consented to that proposal, they would have had him in their power. If he had rejected it, he would have made the parliament declare against him: and, at the same time, lord Churchill, with the army, was to declare for the parliament; the fleet was to do the same, and I was to be recalled. They had already begun to execute this project, and had gained a considerable party, when some loyal subjects, who were indiscreet, believing that they served me, and imagining that what my lord Churchill did was not on my account, but on account of the princess of Denmark, had the imprudence to discover the whole to Bentinck, and thereby diverted the blow.

This design is still in agitation, and managed by those who are against the sending the writing in question. It is therefore to be considered, if it is proper to interrupt the designs of men of that consequence, who are capable of doing such great things, and that for a project of unknown persons, who propose an expedient as dangerous as it is uncertain, and who promise nothing but to deliver the writing.

Therefore, all things duly considered, I cannot hinder myself from thinking, that such a writing, sent without the consent of my friends, might produce very great and immediate disadvantages; and that even though it should be sent in the best manner and at a proper conjuncture, it could not produce, at most, but advantages which are slow and uncertain.

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1693.

JAMES, at length, perceived that a French army was a more powerful argument to persuade the English nation, than letters and declarations. Accordingly, instead of writing to England, he endeavoured to persuade Lewis XIV. to invade that kingdom, or to convince him, at least, that it was his own interest to seem to act with such an intention. This appears from a memorial in the earl of Melfort's hand, which was intended to have been presented to the French ministry.

1693.
January.

"A Memorial in November or December 1692, or in January 1693 +."

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 106.

HE represented, that nothing but contrary winds defeated the design of the last armament: that, however, as the French King lost considerably by the burden of his fleet, it was not intended now to propose any thing, which would expose him to hazard or expence. But that the fear of an invasion would always embarrass the prince of Orange. In such circumstances, he would find it difficult to raise money; and though after the late alarm he had seized several persons who were disaffected to him, and "a great many men of quality, he did not presume to inflict the least punishment upon any of them. Such affection had the people for them, that they would not be evidences against them, although it is certain, that more than twenty thousand men had been enlisted by them, which rendered them highly criminal towards him; and there is reason to believe, that if the fleet had not fought, while affairs were so circumstanced, the prince of Orange, in a little time would have been reduced to the last extremity, for want of money; and his government

+ Mr. Nairne wrote on the margin: "I believe this was only a project of a memorial not sent."

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January.

shaken in England: so little did his friends think themselves in safety, and so much did the King's interest gain over the minds of the people, though more from interest than from sentiments of conscience or of duty."

The remaining part of the memorial was intended to show, that it was the interest of his most Christian Majesty to begin again the same game, in appearance, by sending a sufficient number of troops, particularly Irish, into winter-quarters on the coast of Normandy: that this would alarm the people of England, prevent the parliament from granting money to the prince of Orange, induce his creditors to urge the payment of their debts, and oblige him to recal his army from Flanders.

"If the men of rank," continues the memorial, "who are in the prince of Orange's interest, and, at the same time, correspond with the King of England, are sincere in their professions, which, though difficult to be believed, is, however, very possible, this will give them an opportunity of making their proposals more boldly in parliament, in case they find they are as much masters of the army and of the fleet as they expect to be. At any rate, great advantages may be derived from it; and the secret being well kept, nothing can be lost by it; more especially as his most Christian Majesty, if he does not send a fleet to sea in the winter, will have the appearance of troops upon the coast, to repel the insolence of the English and of the Dutch, who otherwise may have it in their power to insult and to alarm."

Nairne's papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 107.

The late King, in a declaration which he intended to send to the fleet in the month of February this year, assured them, that if any captain of a ship, commander, or officer of the fleet, brought over any ship of war to his service, by repairing with it to any port in France, or by joining the French fleet, they would have a full pardon for all they did against his authority, until the day of their return to their duty; and that, from the moment they arrived, he would give them the same commissions in his service, which they had in the service of the prince of Orange, and the same pay from the date of their arrival, or the pay of the officers, sailors, or soldiers of the French fleet, who had the same rank, according to their own choice.

"We declare likewise," says he, "that, when we shall return to England, all the said officers, soldiers, and sailors will return with us, without any

any hinderance; and, in order that all our faithful subjects may know, that we have it in our power to perform what we promise here, we declare, that all that is promised by us, is with the consent and approbation of our very dear brother, the most Christian King."

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January.

He concludes, with promising, when he shall be re-established, besides recompensing them for their services, to pay them their arrears from the beginning of the war.

The earl of Middleton gave an account of his reception at St. Germain's, upon his arrival there, with proposals from the late King's adherents in England, in the following letter to a correspondent in London. The letter is decyphered by colonel Sackville's cypher.

"Rotterdam [St. Germain's], April 19th, 1693.

"**T**Hough, dear cousin, I am pressed in time, yet I cannot forbear complying with the earnest desire [my own earnest desire] of 78, in assuring 45 * [you], that she has [I have] and will do her [you] all the service she [I] can, which is, indeed, but common justice; and that she [I] was overjoyed to find 215 [the King] and 55 [Queen] fully convinced how kind and useful she [I] had been to them. She [I] can only tell you, in general, that the indenture is signed, which you may see at the place you used to go to in a morning, where you have often met 540 [me, lord Middleton,] to whose letter she [I] must likewise refer. You will not be surprised to hear, that lies have been already started at 7 [St. Germain's] concerning 78 [Middleton]. But, perhaps, you may too hear, that from 3 [London] cautions have been given of her [me], as a 579 [Presbyterian] and 581 [Republican]. Excuse my not writing to 39 [lord Churchill]. But let her [him] know, that, by the next, she [he] shall hear from 540 [Middleton]; and that her affairs are in as good a posture as we could wish. Post-haste. Adieu."

April.
Nairne's
Papers,
vol. vii. 4to.
or lord Mid-
dleton's
Copy-book
of Letters,
p. 11.

* 45 signifies likewise Mr. Brickley in colonel Sackville's cypher.

1693.
April.

The letter to which lord Middleton refers his correspondent, in the preceding, is as follows :

Rotterdam [St. Germain], April 19th, 1693.

THIS being the first opportunity I have had of giving you an account of your affairs, I must tell you, in the first place, that the only disappointment I have met with is, that Mr. Milles [lord Melfort] had nothing from you, that could sufficiently enable me to do it as I would and ought. But I hope the bundle, that is sent by the trusty carrier you know, will explain the main matter to your satisfaction. It was necessary to cut out the first part of it here, to show them for what purpose it was designed. But, if it does not fit exactly, I am fully empowered to tell you, that it may be mended by the tradesmen upon the place, provided nothing be done to pinch them within or without, which cannot reasonably be supposed. The alteration must stand as it does, lest the workmen who are to be employed, should despair of their wages. As to what concerns Wilson [Middleton], he has reason to be satisfied, being entertained by the good farmer [King] and his wife [the Queen], better than he could expect; nor can I omit telling you, that the bold Briton * surprised me with joy, being infinitely above what has been reported of him.

But what surprised Wilson [Middleton] most, was the lord of the manor [French King]. He less admires his fortunes, since he was acquainted with him, and received civilities from him, which he cannot modestly repeat. Both he and his trustees [ministers] seemed satisfied with the particulars of the estate; and are resolved to go on with the purchase, cost what it will; but cannot determine the time, till it appears whether this season proves more favourable than the last. The greatest rub in this matter is, the high value they have for him [King William], who keeps possession; and, by the glasses they have used, the leech appears to be a leviathan. But nothing has been omitted to undeceive them. It is not to be doubted, but the properest means will be used to persuade the tenants of their interest to induce them thereby to turn to us. It will be necessary, therefore, that they should be informed of what is designed. But the precise time is left to the lawyers who are to manage the suit, whose merits I have represented as I ought; and there are no acknowledgments

* The prince of Wales.

they

they may not expect in particular and punctual performance. In the main, Mr. Milles [lord Melfort] and Wilson [Middleton] are in perfect friendship; and, indeed, the first is entirely disposed as you could wish; and I doubt not but you will do him justice, both here and there. The only thing that lies heavy upon me, is my concern for the splenetic widow and poor orphans, whom I am confident you'll cherish, as much as possible. We are all undone, if you remove. But more of this hereafter. Adieu. I long to hear of Yaulden. Direct your answer to John Dorrille.

1693.
April.

The late King consented to eight propositions, which his friends in Britain, who wanted to restore him on conditions, and were known by the name of compounders, sent over to him by the earl of Middleton, who went to France in the beginning of this year. On the 17th of April, N. S. James published a declaration, which was soon dispersed over all England, where some of his adherents were seized for making it public. It was couched in terms which his friends imagined would have given general satisfaction; but it seems it gave great offence to the Irish faction, who were exorbitant in their expectations, and rated their services too high. King James declared his intention of calling together the representatives of the kingdom, and of consenting to the several regulations and securities he mentions. "And in that parliament," says he, "we will also consent to every thing they shall think necessary to re-establish the late act of settlement of Ireland, made in the reign of our dearest brother; and will advise with them, how to recompense such of that nation as have followed us to the last, and who may suffer by the said re-establishment, according to the degree of their sufferings thereby; yet so as the said act of settlement may always remain entire."

June.
Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.

No. 109. and
D. N. vol. ii.
4to. No. 17.

The earl of Mountcashel, who supported bishop Malone and the Irish faction, against James in France, being offended with this part of the declaration, received the following answer to a letter which he had written to the earl of Middleton on the subject.

The

1693.
June.
Nairne's
Papers,
vol. vii. 4to.
p. 25.

The Earl of Middleton to the earl of Mountcashel, Lieutenant General in the French King's army, commanded by the Marechal Duke de Lorges, in Germany.

My Lord,

St. Germain, 15th June, 1693.

I Should have thanked your lordship sooner, for the honour you did me, if I had not waited till I could return you some good news for yours. The King was pleased to declare yesterday, that his declaration had been dispersed, by his order, in England. I suppose none will be surpris'd to hear, that the people of England should have so just a value for the kingdom of Ireland, as never to be induced to resign the interest they had in it. The reasons are too many and too obvious to trouble your lordship with them. I shall only tell you, that the King promises, in the foresaid declaration, to restore the settlement; but, at the same time, declares, that he will recompence all those who may suffer by it, by giving them equivalents. I mean those who have served him; and not only those here, but all who are included in the capitulation of Limerick, which will be a better security for them, than what they have by the acts of the Dublin parliament, considering the many circumstances. I do not doubt but your lordship is fully convinced of this truth; and it will be a great service to the King to convince others of it, which I hope, will be no difficult matter. For there is no man of common sense but will think himself engaged, by interest as well as duty, to contribute to his Majesty's restoration: which, without the concurrence of the greatest part of his subjects, is impracticable. This I have said by the King's command; and I shall only add from myself, that I have been, these twenty-three years, most sincerely,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most faithful humble Servant,

MIDDLETON.

Though James entertained some hopes, from his promises and concessions, that his restoration would be soon accomplished, with the consent of his former subjects, he was still desirous of supporting his pretensions with an army; and he endeavoured, in a new memorial, to engage

Lewis

Lewis XIV. to assist him in an invasion of England. There are two copies of this memorial among Mr. Nairne's papers, and one of them in Nairne's own hand, with additions and corrections in that of the earl of Melfort.

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July.

"A Memorial to the King of France, 14th July, 1693."

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. ii.
fol. No. 110.

The advantages of an invasion to Lewis.—Reasons for it.—The number of men necessary, and the time proper for it.—The probability of success.—All founded on the present state of affairs in England.

Translation.

AS all the memorials which have been presented to his most Christian Majesty, concerning the affairs of the King of Great Britain, have no other view but the common interests of their Majesties; and as it is just, that his most Christian Majesty should consider, in the first instance, his own advantage; this gives more courage to represent, from time to time, to his most Christian Majesty, with all the humility and submission imaginable, what is useful for his service, and for the interest of his Britannic Majesty. All the advantages which his most Christian Majesty has obtained over the confederates, however great they have been, have not yet been able to oblige them to ask for peace, or dissolve their alliance. The prince of Orange is the author of this war, and the chief of the union of the confederates.

The most effectual means of breaking this alliance is to attack the prince of Orange, on his weakest side, which is England. The probabilities of succeeding, in this undertaking, are the little good understanding which subsists between him and the people of England; the contempt of the English for his person, and their little respect for his government; the great change which has taken place in the minds of the people; the great inclination which appears for restoring the King, and the daily increase of both the one and the other; the great number of men of quality who engage every day in his Majesty's interests, and even of men who have influence, and who are employed by the prince of Orange in the highest offices; the great discontent which prevails in the fleet and army; the intelligence which the King has in garrisons, in the

1693.
July.

the army, and also in the fleet; and, above all, the condescension which his Majesty has had to promise to his people whatever they ask, for the security of their religion, their fortunes, and their privileges, with which the subjects, generally speaking, are highly satisfied. These are the general reasons for believing that his Britannic Majesty might succeed, if he was in England with an army of thirty thousand men, to protect his friends, and to give the well-affected liberty to declare themselves.

The great utility of this, as well to the most Christian King, as to his Britannic Majesty, is so incontestible, that it is unnecessary to mention it. The conjuncture seems favourable for finishing the war, considering the great superiority which his most Christian Majesty has over the maritime forces of the enemy this year. During which, if nothing is attempted, there is reason to fear, that the next year, the prince of Orange, by applying himself to operations at sea, may make it more difficult to transport the troops hereafter, than it appears to be, at present. Besides that, the delay will discourage the King's friends in England, who expect him, and encourage his enemies, who fear him.

The end of summer is more proper for this attempt, than the spring or autumn. For, in summer, the prince of Orange will be obliged to abandon England to his counsellors or to leave Flanders. If he does the first, we have for us the principal counsellors of the prince of Orange, who governs; and the commanders of the fleet, who will be encouraged, by his Majesty's approach, and by the absence of the prince of Orange, to execute more boldly what his Majesty shall demand of them. If the prince of Orange leaves Flanders, his most Christian Majesty may take advantage of this, and drive the confederates before him; which he cannot do either in spring or in autumn, on account of the forage and roads, &c.

The expence will not be considerable, because the expence of the fleet, which is the greatest, is already laid out; the magazines are at hand, and the troops, which are already along on the coast, are sufficient for the purpose; and would be then unnecessary on the coast. The affair may be done, with the consent of the English admirals, if they mean to contribute to the design; and, in spite of the English fleet, if they will not consent

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July.

consent to it. The surest way is to prepare for the worst, notwithstanding their promises. His Most Christian Majesty is to consider, if it would not be proper to make the necessary preparations instantly; and, by making them publickly, without declaring any thing, to leave others to judge, that he is to send back the King of England to his dominions; which, when publicly believed, may have very good effects.

First, It would be no sooner published in Holland and in England, than the expectation, which the people have of a descent in France, would turn to the prejudice of the prince of Orange, who has hitherto derived great reputation therefrom, throughout all Europe.

Secondly, It would encourage the faithful subjects of his Britannic Majesty in England, who have always objected to us, that if there was any likelihood of what year and season his Majesty would come, they would prepare themselves. But, to prepare themselves, without seeing any appearance of being supported, and to expose themselves thereby to all the rigour of the laws against them, was not reasonable either for them or for us. Besides that, many would declare themselves, when their deliverance is near, who would not do so, when they saw it at a distance, and that would greatly interrupt the peace of England, which is already much disturbed.

Thirdly, It would encourage the English officers and soldiers, who are irritated against the prince of Orange, both in Flanders and on board the fleet, and would encourage the admirals to execute their design.

Fourthly, It would oblige the prince of Orange to pretend either to believe actually, that the King is to return to England, or not to believe it. If his affairs are in such a bad situation as we believe, he will have a difficulty in seeming to believe a descent in England, because he will discredit himself, by acknowledging that he had threatened a thing, which he was not in a condition to perform; and that France, even by his own confession is in a condition to do what he could only threaten, and thereby he will give us time to execute the design.

If, on the contrary, he pretends to believe the design is real, he must still abandon either England or Flanders, as has been observed already. If he sends the English to England, there is reason to believe we shall have as strong a party there as he will, considering the discontent of

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July.

some, and the correspondence which we hold with others, who are well affected. If he sends strangers to England, he must, in some measure, evacuate Flanders; and the English will not suffer them in their country. In all events, the prince of Orange will be so embarrassed, that it cannot fail to produce an effect very favourable to us.

What may be objected is, that this would destroy the King's friends: for they would be harassed, imprisoned, &c. But, to this, it is answered, that it is not credible, that the prince of Orange would do so, if he did not believe the design was real. For that would augment the discontent which is already very great; and he will do so still less, if he pretends not to believe the design; for he would thereby give a convincing proof of the reality of his apprehensions.

If he believes the design, and prepares himself to oppose it, we have his counsellors to advise him not to provoke so many families of rank; and, at the worst, he can hurt only friends who are known, and have taken oaths, and who compose but a small proportion of his Majesty's party.

The best of all is, that preparations do not oblige his Majesty to proceed. For, if the conjuncture is not found favourable his Majesty may delay the affair, without any inconveniences; and, if preparations were not made, one could not seize the most favourable conjuncture that could offer. By a favourable conjuncture is understood, some great success, by sea or by land, in Germany or in Flanders, which might furnish an opportunity of detaching the necessary number of troops; a thing, which will be publickly known, before the very first preparations can be made.

It is now the fourteenth of July; and in a month or five weeks hence, the preparations may be made; and before that time we shall know, if the conjuncture is favourable on this side, as well as on the other, with regard to the armies both by sea and land; and his most Christian Majesty may avail himself of this, as he shall find convenient. In the mean time, his Britannic Majesty may concert with all those who are in correspondence with him, what he shall think fit, and give them proper directions, engaging neither himself nor his most Christian Majesty to promise any thing, lest any one should be disappointed in his expectations.

It

It is of importance not to allow another parliament to meet. For there is reason to fear, that it will grant money to the prince of Orange, though not enough, perhaps, for his exigencies, as happened this year. He will, however, have enough to continue the war; for he will not want means of corrupting some; and improving upon the concessions of his Britannic Majesty, he will cajol others, which may be the means of continuing the war; and, perhaps, they will grant him a general excise, with which he will not only be in a condition to continue the war several years, without burdening the people, but likewise to augment his forces very considerably by sea and land.

1693.
July.

The Smyrna fleet may furnish another favourable conjuncture, and likewise supply, as is hoped, some transports.

When his most Christian Majesty intends to make a descent, the more troops he sends, the more will the success of the whole be secured.

The other copy of this memorial is in the earl of Middleton's copy-book of letters, where there is likewise a copy of the letter in which he inclosed it to Monsieur de Pontchartrain.

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. vii. 4to.
p. 30.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Ponchartrain, Minister and Secretary of State at Court.

Translation.

S I R,

St. Germain, 15th July, 1693.

AS I cannot hope to have the honour of seeing you this week, I take the liberty to send you a memorial of what hath been frequently represented to you, concerning the interests of the King, my master. Amidst the embarrassment of so much other business, I imagine it will not be disagreeable to you, to have the reasons in writing, in order that you may the more conveniently make a report of them to the King; and when I shall be permitted to have a conversation with you, I shall endeavour to satisfy you, the best way I can, in all the doubts and difficulties which may occur. With regard to myself, I entreat you to be so good as to believe me to be,

S I R,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

MIDDLETON.

M m m 2

Notwith-

1693.
October.

Notwithstanding the confidence of success with which James spoke to the King of France in his memorials, he was anxious to have proofs to convince his Most Christian Majesty of the truth of all he advanced concerning the number and the attachment of his friends in England, and sent several persons with instructions to negotiate his business, and to procure intelligence in that kingdom. The following papers, concerning this subject, and the intrigues of the times, are all of the same date, and in the earl of Melfort's hand. They appear to be the first draughts of his dispatches, containing the key and the cypher into which they were to be copied. The first paper is endorsed in Nairne's hand:

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. ii.
4to. No. 18.

"To the Bishop of Norwich and Doctor Hickes, to be communicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the non-swearing Bishops and Clergy."

"South's cypher, 16th Oct. 1693.—Bishops."

IT is his Majesty's desire, that the bishops and non-swearing clergy send one or two of their number, especially one of the bishops, to him, with all convenient speed, instructed, by the lord archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the most considerable of them, to inform his Majesty of the readiness they were in last year to have joined him, at his landing and to have preached loyalty and due obedience to the people; and to bring assurances, under the lord archbishop of Canterbury's hand, that they are in the same disposition still, and will join his Majesty whenever he shall land. For the same end, to encourage the people to come into their duty; and because that there may be some danger in inserting of names, ways of writing in white must be found out, and the paper sent by the boat, and not be brought by any of the persons who are sent. This is of the last importance, for the King's service; and, therefore, tho' difficult in appearance, must be complied with: and it's hoped, that there may be no danger, considering how safe all things come. The King is sorry he cannot put his own hand to this. The King's affairs depend upon the punctual doing of what he desires, as you shall know in due time. The person sent may come safe by Holland. He must likewise bring as good an account as he can, of the number and names of the non-swearing clergy; and likewise, how the non-swearing clergy stand affected,

affected, and what the King may expect from them, with the best account he can of the state of the King's affairs in general."

1693.
October.

Cb. of England.

16th October, 1693.

"**I**T is the King's pleasure, that you endeavour to get as exact an account as you can what may be the number, names, and qualitys of such as you know to be in his interest; and what they may probably do, in case his Majesty land with a sufficient force for them to come to: by a sufficient force, it is meant 30,000 men.

That you endeavour, by all the ways you can, to hinder the prince of Orange from getting money, especially the general excise; and that, if it be not possible to hinder him from getting money, that you endeavour to retard it, that it may make all his preparations for the next campaign as late as may be.

That you inform the King what may be proper for him to do, on his part: if he is to do any thing more in pursuance of his declaration: if he is to address any thing to the parliament; and, if he be to send any thing, what the nature of it should be: and if it may not be necessary for the Most Christian King, now that his arms are so victorious, to send something to shew the people, that he desires no more but to see the King re-established; and that he will not meddle with their religion, rights, or libertys; but leave them to be governed by their own laws; and, therefore wish them timely to think of what is the only expedient of ending their troubles, to witt, the King's restoration.

That, by no means, you yield to let whigs get the whole government into their hands; but endeavour, by all means, to keep the church of England in possession of the power, since she is the most able, and, by principle, the most obliged to assist his Majesty*.

That you inform the King of what passes, from time to time: that you let him know all changes of party, alterations in the government or of measures, that his Majesty may better know how to take his measures.

* The pen is drawn across this passage in the MS.

That

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October.

That exact accounts be sent of the fleet, how the preparations go on weekly, that his Majesty may know when they can go out, and how strong, which is of great importance: that his Majesty know, who commands at sea, the winter; what ships are out, and their stations.

That you make as near a calculation of the militia as you can, how it stands affected in the respective countys; who are the lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, and justices, how affected, their influence in the counties, and their inclinations to the King; how to gain them, or, if that cannot be done, whom to put in their places respectively.

That you inform the King of the cities and towns corporate, how they stand affected, and what may be the best way to manage them, in case of the King's landing; who ought to be changed, and who put in their places; who are to be put out, and what else may be for his Majesty's service, in that particular.

That you endeavour, by all means, to embroile the prince of Orange's affairs in parliament, and that his Majesty's friends join heartily together to cross his inclinations, and his interest, in all things; and that they be ready to joine with any party which shall appear against him, in so far as they can, without doing injury to his Majesty's interest. But this is left to the prudence and zeal of such as shall have these opportunitys.

That you endeavour, by all means, to gain as many to the King's interest as possible, especially of the members of parliament, officers of the fleet and army; assuring all who shall do him any service, that they shall have a reward suitable to the service they shall do to him.

That you give most constant accounts of your diligence, and send him, as soon as you can, exact answers to all these particulars, and what else you shall find for his service. And, as soon as you can give him any distinct account, you are to send *over some person, considerable by his quality and interest*, to convince the Most Christian King of the truth of what shall be sent, *and find some safe way to send something to meet him here to give him credit.* This is, at this time, of the last importance.

1693.
October.*"Instructions to Wilson, returning for our service to London."*

16th October, 1693.

YOU are to let the bishop of Norwich know from us, how much we are pleased with his zeal and faithfulness in our service, to assure him of our favour, and to return him our most hearty thanks. You are to give him that note, written with our own hand, containing an authority for him to act for us, and ordering all other of the clergy to trust him, as empowered by us.

You are to let him know how well we are satisfied, with the return of the swearing clergy; that we receive them into our favour and forgive what's past, and will encourage them in time to come, as they shall deserve from us.

You are to let the said lord bishop and such other of our friends, as you have access to know, that they are, to trust no pretended messenger or others, who does not shew his credentials under our hand, except it be such as they themselves shall send to us, with orders not to have any.

You are to inform him, that, sometime ago, it would have been of importance to have had a bishop here, to have attested the truth of what informations we had of the clergy of England. But that now it is not, for the present, of that use, and that therefore, we think not fit to hazard any of them, in so dangerous a journey; but that, so soon as any thing occurs, which may make the sending of a bishop useful, we shall signify our pleasure to him, that he may prevail with one to come. You are to remember us kindly to all our faithful friends, and return them our hearty thanks, for the service they have done us respectively, as you laid them before us, and assure all of them, that we shall never be unmindful of their faithfulness and zeal for us.

To Parker.

16th October, 1693.

HIS Majesty approves of what colonel Parker, brigadier of his army, has done in order to the forming of their regiments of horse and dragoons, in persuading them to provide arms and other things necessary.

His

1693.
October.

His Majesty returns his most hearty thanks to all his loyal subjects, the Gentlemen concerned, and desires them to continue in the same disposition and readiness for his service; and desires further, that they may send over one of their number, with power from the rest to inform the most Christian King of the condition they are in, and their zeal for his Majesty's service, to whom his Majesty shall cause deliver all the commissions yet wanting, and what else may encourage them to serve him to the utmost of their power. He who comes must have a power from the rest to shew to the most Christian King, which must be so contrived, that it may not do harm, tho' it should, as God forbid, miscarry.

"E. Ely."

16th October, 1693.

BESIDES the general instructions, his Majesty desires, that you may proceed in the affair with Garret; and that you may let his Majesty know what he can do for his service, now that the fleet is laid up. His Majesty is most sensible of all your care and zeal in his service.

To Mr. South himself, to be used with great care and caution.

16th October, 1693.

YOU are to endeavour, by Mr. Philip's means, to get plans of all the strong posts on the west and south of England, as Pendennis, Plymouth, Torbay, Weymouth, Portland, Isle Purbeck, Pool, Portsmouth, Isle of Wight castles, Rhey and its bay, or what other places can be easily made strong for an army to camp in.

You are to send over the full collection of Collins's maps of the coast of Great Britain, two copies for the King.

"Instructions by the Countess of Shrewsbury, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Lord Churchill, and Russel."

16th of October 1693.

"IT is his Majesty's pleasure, that you let admiral Russel know, that his Majesty desires him to endeavour to get the command of the fleet from the prince of Orange: that his Majesty trusts in what the admiral

miral sent him word of, by earl of Middleton and Mr. Floyd; and assures him that, on his part, he is ready to perform what he has promised at his desire; that he is so far from giving any ground to any to write the contrary, that, of all things, he desires, that they will let him know the authors of the calumny, that he may shew them his dislike, by the punishment he will inflict upon them.

1693.
October.

That you inform yourselves, how admiral Ruffel can best serve his Majesty, and when, that things may be timely adjusted to the satisfaction of all concerned, and that you endeavour, by all means, to keep Mr. Ruffel to these ways, which may secure him the command of the fleet; and let all their resentments if possible, stop, since upon this occasion, the fewer enemys he raises to himself, his affairs will go the smoother on, which is much to his Majesty's interest.

His Majesty likewise desires, that you may, from time to time, let him know how this matter proceeds, and that without delay, since his affairs require haste."

"This is to be given to 39 [lord Churchill] and 33 [lord Shrewsbury], concerning 36, [admiral Ruffel], signed, *this is my desire*, and dated Oct. 16, 1693."

"Instructions to the Earl of Danby, Lord Godolphin, and Churchill, by the Countess of Shrewsbury."

16th October, 1693.

"IT is his Majesty's pleasure, that you desire the earl of Danby, to endeavour to gayne admiral Killegrew to his service, since his Majesty knows, that he has an interest on him; that is, if he be to be employed.

That his Majesty expects, upon this conjuncture, that the earl of Danby will do him what service he can, and most particularly, by giving him time how to act against the prince of Orange, and by letting him know, as near as he can, what the said prince's designs may be, and his opinion how to prevent them; and that, if he can answer for his son, he, by no means, permit him to lay down his employment at sea.

Earls Shrewsbury, Danby, Godolphin, Churchill, Ruffel, &c. that they do, what in prudence they can, to hinder money or retard it, and hinder the going out of the fleet, so soon as it might do otherwise.

1693.
October.

That they send the King their advice, if it be for his service to send any thing to parliament, in pursuance of his declaratione; and, if it will not be fitt that the most Christian King emitt some declaratione now, that he is so victorious as to give terror to all his neighbours, and it may be, to England, shewing, that he has no intention in relatione to England, but the re-establishment of their lawful King upon his throne; which done, he will not meddle in their concerns, but leave them to be governed by their own laws, and to enjoy their religione, libertys and propertys, which, by these laws, they have right to.

And that, in all other things, wherein his Majestie's interest may be concerned, it is his Majestie's desire, that they send him their advice.

The Instruction to Earl Danby here above.

This is for yourself and No. 6 alone.

That for Earl Shrewsbury, E. Danby, Lord Churchill, Lord Godolphin, and Admiral Ruffel, and

This for yourself, and No. 33 [Lord Shrewsbury] to be communicate to his friends, both signed by the King, *This is my desire.*

On the back, for M. S. Harbord all three.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 112.

There is a letter in an unknown hand among Nairne's papers, which is neither signed nor addressed. But from the conclusion, it appears to have been written by one of King James's adherents to some of the French ministers. It consists of 26 folio pages; and contains a full state of the affairs of Europe in general, and a very interesting account of the affairs of England in particular, with the names of James's friends. It is dated at the top, in Nairne's hand; "In the beginning of the Winter, after the campaign of Nerwinden*, towards the months of October, November, or December, 1693."

The writer of this letter, from a general view of the strength and dispositions of the different powers of Europe, concludes, that the war

* The French call the battle of Landen, by that name.

cannot be finished soon with honour and advantage to France, without carrying it into England. He then proceeds to consider the people of England, as divided into four parties, viz. King James's party, the prince of Orange's party, the Republicans, and those who were not attached to any system of government; and infers from a particular view of the number and sentiments of these parties, that James must succeed now, if he attempts an invasion. He proceeds in the next place, to mention the King's friends by name.

1693.
October.

Translation.

“THE King of England believes he may hope good success from his enterprise, because it is incontestible, that he has for him, the earl of Danby, prime minister to the prince of Orange, lord Godolphin, a lord of the treasury and a member of the privy council, the earl of Shrewsbury, who has been his first secretary of state, Russell, who is of the cabinet council and has been an admiral, Churchill, who is first lieutenant general, the son of the duke of Beaufort and the son of the duke of Bolton. All these have served the prince of Orange with zeal, as long as they believed he could maintain himself in England, and have despised all sort of correspondence with the King. This shows, that they are not of the same sentiment at present, and consequently, that his Majesty has more hopes than ever.

“His Majesty has for him, besides, the dukes of Beaufort, Northumberland and Southampton, the Marquisses of Halifax and Worcester, the earls of Lindsey, Huntingdon, Exeter, Salisbury, Peterborough, Chesterfield, Kingston, Thanet, Scarfsdale, Clarendon, Cardigan, Carlisle, Aylsbury, Litchfield, Feversham, Radnor, Yarmouth, Clare, Abingdon and Derventwater; the viscounts Montague, Weymouth, and Hatton; the lords Abergaveny, Ferrers, Sturton, Petre, Arundel of Wardour, Gray, Carrington, Wetherington, Griffin, Farnham, and Huntingtore, and all the catholicks of England.

“His Majesty has likewise for him, six protestant bishops, and 600 ministers who have not taken the oaths, and almost all the ministers of the church of England who have taken the oaths; that is to say, as one of their bishops writes to me, four parts in five are ready to join the

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October.

King, or to preach in their churches to stir up the people in his favour; 500 of them having been ready to join him last year, in order to convince protestants, that their religion was in no danger, and in order to preach their sentiments to the inhabitants of the country, through which the King should pass.

“ His Majesty has the cities of Exeter and of Bristol, two of the largest in the kingdom, in readiness to declare for him. He is assured of the garrisons of Hull, Tilbury, and Languard. He has already formed and armed from 3 to 4000 horse and dragoons, a number of the nobility and of the richest merchants in London, and the militia of several countries; all these are ready to declare themselves, on the first notice.

“ Besides, his Majesty has the two admirals, who command the fleet, and who are in correspondence with him, and from whom his Majesty may expect every advantage. First, they have been trained by his Majesty and owe their fortunes to him, and expect more from him than the prince of Orange will ever give them, and therefore, they have greater expectations from his Majesty; moreover, they hate the prince of Orange, on account of the insolence, of which they think he has been guilty towards the nation; and lastly, they have reason to fear they will be sacrificed to the parliament, in order to save the prince of Orange, who will not fail to blame them for the loss of the Smyrna fleet. Delaval depends entirely upon the King, and Killigrew, the second in command, depends on the earl of Danby, who is for the King.

“ I do not enter into a particular detail of his Majesty's hopes of having a considerable part of the prince of Orange's army, as the second company of the body-guards, the royal regiment of cavalry, a part of the Queen's regiment, the first regiment of guards, Bath's regiment of Infantry, Selwin's regiment, &c. besides a great number of officers of all the other corps; when it is to be again considered, that if a desertion is once begun among the English troops, they will all come over to his Majesty, as they all abandoned him.

“ The earl of Danby, who is entirely for us, is lord lieutenant of the county of York, which is the largest county in England. He is governor also of the town and citadel of Hull, of which, consequently, his Majesty is master whenever he chooses.

“ The

“ The earl of Abington is lord lieutenant of the county of Oxford, and he is entirely for the King, and consequently the militia of that county will be either for the King, or of no advantage to the prince of Orange, and will not hinder the passage of his Majesty’s friends, who will choose to join him. The earl of Lindsay is in the same station, in the county of Lincoln.

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“ It is true, there are not convincing proofs of all this ; but as his most Christian Majesty does not think proper to hazard any thing in this affair without having a greater security, it is necessary, that he should let us know the state, in which he chooses that England should be, to induce him to make a descent ; and, at the same time, it is necessary to condescend on the proofs which his Majesty would choose to have to convince him, that England is in the state in which he would have it, in order that his Britannick Majesty may urge his friends in England, to put affairs in the posture required, and to furnish him with the proofs that will be necessary for him : for it is impossible to continue the manœuvres we have practised in time past, of taking the proper measures in England, during the winter, for receiving the King in the spring, and not being then in a condition to take advantage of the conjuncture, to employ the summer in making preparations for the autumn, and the autumn and winter for the ensuing spring ; at least, unless we know that his most Christian Majesty will be then in a condition to avail himself of our preparations ; for it is impossible but the prince of Orange will discover his Majesty’s friends at last, and ruin them.”

From hence the writer of the letter infers the necessity of concerting the plan and fixing the time of the invasion. He shows, at full length, that the present conjuncture is favourable, and that the design is as much for the interest of his most Christian Majesty as of the King of England ; and, that the execution of it hath been hitherto prevented, by the artful misrepresentations of the prince of Orange, who concealed his weakness, and published such false accounts of his forces, by sea and land, as might render the success of the enterprise uncertain. He shows likewise, that England, unless it is invaded, will be able to continue the war.

“ Scotland,” he says, “ being more oppressed by the prince of Orange, is more ready to take vigorous resolutions, and is now in the most favourable condition that can be imagined, to rise in arms. More than a hundred

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hundred persons of the first quality in the country, have chosen rather to pay their revenues for a year, and be prisoners to the prince of Orange, than to take the oaths of allegiance, which he asked. Therefore, far from furnishing any assistance to the prince of Orange, Scotland would revolt and make a considerable diversion."

The writer of the letter mentions several symptoms of a general discontent in Britain, since the loss of the Smyrna fleet and the battle in Flanders, which he infers from the complaint of the merchants to Queen Mary, and from the city of London's refusing to advance money to King William in his greatest necessities. "Moreover, those who have most credit with him, want now to capitulate with his Majesty, and those who have a considerable share in the government, have entreated the King to pardon them; foreseeing, as they say themselves, that his government cannot last."

He, in the next place, obviates all the objections, against sending an army of 30,000 men to England, particularly on account of the quantity of specie, which would be sent to maintain them, in case the King should be defeated as soon as he landed. "But," says he, "if the King has time to join his friends, there is great reason to hope, that he will have money to pay his troops; several of the prince of Orange's collectors having promised him to keep considerable sums, provided they can know exactly, when his Majesty will come. There is one of those collectors at Bristol, who, last year, had 100,000 *l.* sterling, in ready money to give the King, if he had gone over from La Hogue; and he kept that money as long as there were any hopes of his landing. Therefore, although his Majesty cannot venture to make a descent, without having subsistence for his army for six weeks after his arrival in England; yet it is to be hoped, that he may save the money of France and return it in specie directly."

The remaining part of the letter concerns the proper place for landing; and after some further arguments for an immediate invasion, concludes in these words: "I have now told you, Sir, a part of what I had to say on the subject, to engage his most Christian Majesty to turn his attention a little towards England. But it is impossible for me to speak on the subject, so as to persuade, unless I knew the objections. I therefore beseech you to contrive, that we may speak freely and at leisure with the

French ministers, in order that they may debate the affair, and tell us their objections, and that we may be instructed by their knowledge; because it is not only our interest, with regard to his Britannick Majesty, whose re-establishment is our first and principal motive; but also because all our hopes, our families, our posterity, and, what is still more dear to us, our reputation, depend upon the success of this affair. Therefore, it may be easily believed, that, if we cannot surmount difficulties, we shall be very well pleased not to engage ourselves in danger."

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The writer of the preceding letter wrote according to the information which was sent to James from his friends in England, as appears from the account given of the opinions of some of them in the following paper. It is indorsed in the earl of Melfort's hand, "A draught of the memorials of Sir George Barclay and captain Williamson, 28th December, 1693, St. Germain's." It appears to be the first rough draught of a French translation, corrected by Melfort, who probably intended it for the information of the French ministry. The paper itself is in Nairne's hand.

Sir George Barclay's Memorial to King James, 28th December, 1693.

Translation.

"**T**HE earl of Clarendon has commissioned me to tell your Majesty, that, at any time within three months, your Majesty may make a descent with success. But that your affairs will suffer by a longer delay, your friends will be ruined, and it will be difficult to find again such a favourable conjuncture.

"The earl of Litchfield says, that he answers to your Majesty for the county of Oxford, as lord Lindsay does for the county of Lincoln, and that your Majesty may depend upon colonel Brewer's regiment; that there is no time to be lost, and, that people in general are not willing to engage themselves in your Majesty's cause, but in the hopes that your Majesty will come soon.

"The earl of Yarmouth says, that the proper time for your Majesty to come, is after the departure of the fleet for the Streights and of the troops
for

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Papers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 111.

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for Flanders. He shewed me a list of the principal persons of the county of Norwich, who have promised to declare for your Majesty. He has likewise secured the city of Norwich for your Majesty; and he wishes, if it be possible, that your Majesty may have the Marechal de Luxembourg to command the army you bring along with you.

Lord Mountgomery affirms, that the most proper time for a descent is, between this and the month of March; and that, if your Majesty puts it off to a more distant period, the delay may be of dangerous consequence; but, that your Majesty coming then, with 30,000 men, cannot fail of success, the nation in general being well disposed, and if they are not for, they will not, at least, be against your Majesty.

Colonel Graham says, that your Majesty must infallibly succeed, if you come any time before the month of March.

Sir John Friend says, that he answers to your Majesty for two regiments of militia, in the Tower Hamlets, and, that he will join your Majesty with a regiment of cavalry, and that he does not doubt, but your Majesty will accomplish the design of your enterprise, if you come with 30,000 men.

Sir John Fenwick, Sir Forrester, and several other gentlemen, are unanimously of opinion, that your Majesty may delay your coming too long, and can never come too soon; and it is their opinions in general, that it is not proper to come with less than 30,000 men, a good train of artillery, and some arms for your Majesty's subjects, who will join you at your landing. Lord Arran believes, that your Majesty never had such a favourable opportunity as at present, providing you come with an army of 30,000 men, and he advises to send some troops to Scotland likewise, if it can be done.

The earl of Breadalbin believes, that the parliament will take the management of the fleet into their own hand, and that they will render it very formidable, in order to be in a condition to obtain a favourable composition for themselves, in case the confederacy should be dissolved. He is likewise of opinion, that it is proper to send some troops to Scotland, and entreats your Majesty to acquaint him, if you choose that he should go to Scotland.

Lord Forbes believes, that the present is the most favourable conjuncture for your Majesty to come.

Ferguson

Ferguson told me, that the English will have this year a very powerful fleet, commanded by men in whom the prince of Orange places confidence; that they will change their lord lieutenants of counties, and particularly the lieutenancy of London and the officers of the militia, and that all the power will be placed in the hands of the presbyterians, who will adhere to the prince of Orange, and, that their intention is to have this summer, a fleet of sixty English, and forty Dutch ships of the line; and he intreats your Majesty to beware of those, who advise you to come with less than 30,000 men. For they are not your friends, nor men whom you should trust.

1693.
December.

St. Germain, the 29th of December, 1693."

Captain Williamson's Memorial.

Translation.

"**T**HE earl of Clarendon intreats your Majesty to take the proper precautions for making a descent before the Spring, as the prince of Orange designs to send a powerful fleet to the Streights, and to leave the channel unguarded all Winter, which will facilitate your Majesty's passage; and your Majesty may depend upon finding, after you land, sufficient sustenance for your troops every where in the barns of the farmers, and your Majesty needs not to doubt, but your subjects will cheerfully return to their duty, provided your Majesty comes with a force sufficient to protect them: a sufficient force is supposed to be 30,000 men.

The lord Mountgomery beseeches your Majesty not to lose the opportunity which now offers, of making a descent, as soon as you can be ready; since there is no winter fleet in the channel, which can oppose your Majesty's passage, and your Majesty will find a people well disposed to receive you, providing you come with a force sufficient to protect them. Thirty thousand men is the number which we earnestly wish your Majesty may bring along with you, with arms for several of your Majesty's subjects, who will infallibly join you; and the sooner your Majesty undertakes this expedition, the more certain you will be of success; for the prince of Orange will have a powerful fleet next Spring, and will send it early to sea.

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December.

The earl of Aylesbury intreats your Majesty not to let slip this Winter season; but to endeavour to prevail with his most Christian Majesty to assist you with his troops, in order that you may be able to make a descent in the Spring, at the latest. This expedition will, in all probability, break the league, which is supported, in a great measure, by the men and the money of England. Your majesty's subjects are extremely well disposed, and will, undoubtedly, return to their duty, providing your Majesty comes with a sufficient force. Thirty thousand men is all they demand, with some arms for those who will join your Majesty upon landing; and the sooner your Majesty comes, when the wind and the season permits you, the better.

The earl of Yarmouth beseeches your Majesty, to obtain from the most Christian King, troops for making a descent, before the prince of Orange's fleet can be ready; which will be very early in the Spring. His opinion is, that it will be more safe for your Majesty to come after the parliament is finished, than when it is sitting, lest the prince of Orange should oblige them to take some steps, which might be prejudicial to your Majesty; but, as this is only his private opinion, he submits it to your Majesty's better judgment*. He wishes your Majesty may land with 30,000 men; the people being so disposed at present, that, with that number, your Majesty cannot possibly fail to succeed.

The earl of Arran intreats your Majesty not to delay, by any means, to make a descent, later than the Spring. It is his opinion, that your Majesty will meet with very little resistance, if you land with 30,000 men; the English being now so well disposed, that he believes it is impossible the enterprize can fail.

Sir Theophilus Oglethorp wishes your Majesty may make a descent, at the latest, in the Spring, with 30,000 men, which will be a sufficient force for vanquishing all your enemies, for protecting your friends, and for conducting your Majesty in safety to Whitehall. That number of troops will oblige both the fleet and army to return to their duty; the latter being already well disposed, and wanting only a superior force to put it in their power to join it.

* The pen is drawn through the last sentence, in the manuscript.

Sir

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Sir John Friend desires, with much earnestness, that your Majesty may make a descent, at farthest, in the Spring; your Majesty's faithful subjects, who have been very active in your service, and who are ready to join you, the moment you arrive, being in great danger of being ruined, and of wanting the power of being of further use to your Majesty, if you delay to come at this time. As for himself, he engages to bring to your Majesty a good regiment of cavalry, at your landing; and he has great influence over the two regiments of the militia, destined for the defence of the Tower; and he has great hopes, by these means, to possess himself of the Tower of London; as he does not doubt but the prince of Orange will withdraw all the veteran troops from London to oppose your Majesty. He will join to his regiment a company of clergymen of the church of England, who are determined to serve as volunteers in this expedition, as are in fact the majority of the clergy, who have not taken the oaths, and also many of those who have taken them. He hopes also, by a stratagem, to seize the prince and princess of Orange, and to bring them to your Majesty†. Thirty thousand men is all that is necessary for this expedition, which will re-establish your Majesty and your posterity: but, with a small number of troops, your Majesty is advised not to hazard your person, and the lives and fortunes of your faithful subjects.

Mr. Louton, likewise, has given me in charge to represent to your Majesty, not to neglect this conjuncture, which was so little to be expected, and is so very favourable, that the like, perhaps, may never occur again: the coast unguarded, and the people, by your Majesty's declaration, and by the taxes with which the prince of Orange oppresses them, disposed to join your Majesty, providing you come to them with an army of 30,000 men, which will be sufficient to protect them: for, as this is an enterprize which cannot be attempted twice, they are desirous to undertake it with safety. With regard to forrage for the troops, all the bars and garrets in the country are full of it, at this season; and, if the winter is allowed to pass, it will be impossible to undertake this enterprize, when there is forrage in the fields; because the English fleet will put to sea early, and be very strong.

† The pen is drawn through the last sentence in the MS.

1693.
December.

Mr. Stroude desires, that your Majesty may make a descent, and has given me in charge to assure you, that all the county of Somerset is ready to receive you: that lord Powlet, he himself, and other gentlemen of that county, will infallibly take arms and declare for your Majesty, the moment they receive advice of your landing: that your Majesty's declaration has disposed the minds of the people of England in such a manner, that this expedition cannot fail to have a happy issue: that thirty thousand men will be sufficient to accomplish this great work; and that, with that number, according to all human appearance, your Majesty will be successful.

Mr. Ferguson wishes, that your Majesty may not let pass the spring, without making a descent in England; it being impossible that the prince of Orange can support himself, when your Majesty comes in competition with him, the people being already much disgusted with his government. The English would choose to be quit of him; but that will not be in their power, unless your Majesty comes to deliver them, with an army of 30,000 men, and with arms for such of your Majesty's subjects as will come to join you. And when the preparations for this expedition are finished, if your Majesty commands him, he will come to give himself up, in any place in France your Majesty chooses, in order to be sacrificed, if the enterprize fails; and the sooner it is undertaken, the more certain will be the success.

Mr. Penn says, that your Majesty has had several occasions, but never any so favourable as the present; and he hopes, that your Majesty will be earnest with the most Christian King not to neglect it: that a descent, with 30,000 men, will not only re-establish your Majesty, but, according to all appearance, break the league: that your Majesty's kingdoms will be wretched while the confederates are united; for while there is a fool in England, the prince of Orange will have a pensioned parliament, who will give him money.

Colonel Graham is of the same opinion with all the other noblemen and gentlemen above mentioned; as are also all the rest of your Majesty's friends, to whom I have spoken; for in the present state of affairs, it is apparent to all the world, that if your Majesty comes, with 30,000 men, you may go, without difficulty, to any part of your kingdom
you

you choose; your Majesty carrying along with you arms for such of your faithful subjects as will join you at your landing.

1693.

Since Sir John Lytcott's return from Rome, James had none to represent him at that court. Cardinal Norfolk and bishop Ellis, without being invested with a public character, took care of his interest, and corresponded with his ministers from time to time.

The cardinal's letters are of various dates, from the 23d December, 1692, to the 17th November, 1693.

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. ii.
4to. No. 16.

23d December, 1692. **H**E writes, that the Pope had already laid out a great deal of money to charitable purposes. He recommends ecclesiastics to be employed in the mission.

13th January, 1693. His attempts to get money have been hitherto unsuccessful. He proposes the preferment of different missionaries, and complains of the Pope's distresses.

10th March, 1693. "Yesterday I spoke again unto his Holiness, of his Majesty and poor faithful subjects; but could get only very kind and compassionate words, renewing his own poor condition, which renders him incapable of sending any further succour at present. I demanded likewise his benediction for your lordship and lady and yours, which he willingly granted; as also some Agnus Dei, which I will get and keep until I receive your commands how to send them."

Without a date, but received 16th March, 1693.

"Our good old man saith he is so bare, that he cannot get for the necessities of the street beggars; but he is endeavouring all he can to get a peace, at least a truce, among the catholic princes, in either of which he will chiefly endeavour his Majesty's restoration." The rest of this letter regards the nomination of Irish bishops. He recommends bishop Ellis to be James's agent at Rome.

14th April, 1693. His solicitations for money from his Holiness are still unsuccessful.

28th April, 1693. "The inclosed is an answer of her Majesty's commands for the translation of St. Margaret's day, as your lordship will see

1693. see by the printed paper, another whereof I send to his Majesty. I hope God and his Saints will look on us and help us, both spiritually and temporally, whilst we find so little help in this world." Ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland.

21st April.—1st, 15th, 26th May. Ecclesiastical affairs. The preferment of priests, deans, and bishops in Ireland continued. He obtains nothing but good wishes for the distressed Catholics.

30th June, 1693. He writes his opinion of a declaration which James was to send to Britain about this time. "I have acquainted the good old man of the appearance and great probability of his Majesty's restoration speedily; and that although he hath hard articles to agree to, however he will never consent to the breeding of our prince out of the catholic religion, as was proposed, or do any thing that he thinketh can be contrary to it; and when he will be restored, he hath firm hopes of establishing a liberty of conscience."—"Now that we are in expectation of his Majesty's speedy restoration, so many will petition for favours, that I must also be one of them beforehand, begging of his Majesty (and your lordship's favour in it) that here being two brothers, catholic gentlemen, called Charles and John Draytons, sons to the famous poet laureat Drayton in London*; one whereof I have, in the interim, got a place of *cameraria di honora*, with our old man; and the other liveth with me. But they always desiring to serve their natural King, and both their father and they having been always faithful, would have gone to serve him in France, had it not been to put him to straits, among so many others, for their maintenance. Wherefore, my humble request is, that his Majesty will please to make them his gentlemen ushers daily waiters in ordinary in his presence chamber, or grooms of his privy-chamber, at his return into England; which honour I am confident they will both as faithfully as decently perform; their father being a convert, and their mother a catholic sister to the lord Berkshire."

25th August, 1693. The nomination and preferments of Irish bishops. "It is better not to stir in these points, till his Majesty be

* "A mistake of the old cardinal's for Dryden," A Marginal note to this letter in Middleton's hand.

1693.

restored: then we may hope to get as good a concordate made with this court, as France, Spain, or the Empire hath. If his Majesty desires to have any deans, I hope to get such as he will please to signify to me, of his liking, which, in effect, will be the same as of his nomination. As for abbots, priors, or some other titles, it is thought they may produce jealousies and other inconveniencies, not only in Protestants, but several catholics, who are in possession of these lands, &c."

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1694.

1694.
January.

SIR George Barclay and captain Williamson, in their memorials, communicated to James the line which his friends in England advised him to follow, and, at the same time, informed him of the service which they themselves were ready to render toward his restoration. This subject is continued, in the two following papers. They are in Mr. Nairne's hand, and appear to be translations of intelligence from England, which the earl of Melfort intended for the information of Lewis XIV.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. i. fol.
No. 117.

"The names of several men of quality in England, who answer for the counties, forts, and regiments in which they are concerned."

It is marked on the back in Nairne's hand, "Memorial presented, at Versailles, the fourth of January, 1694."

Translation.

"THE earl of Yarmouth answers for the county of Norfolk, and sends your Majesty the following list.

"List of the King's friends in the county of Norfolk."

"Two peers of England.

"An Irish lord, who resides in the county.

"Five brothers of earls and lords.

"Seventeen baronets, of whom three are neuter; all the rest are entirely in the interest of the King.

"Eighty gentlemen of rank, who have estates from three hundred to four thousand pounds a year, and of whom there are but seven or eight who are neuter.

"Fifty

" Fifty gentlemen of a lower rank, who have estates from fifty to four hundred pounds a year.

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January.

" All these are particularly known to lord Yarmouth, who has sent this list, and who answers for their loyalty. He adds, that there are a great number of other gentlemen in that county, who are faithful to his Majesty; but he has calculated, in this list, those only who are known to him; and, with regard to the generality of the people, he affirms, that two-thirds of the county are for the King, and that his Majesty may depend upon it.

" He adds likewise, that the city of Boston is very loyal; and that he is assured of this, by thirty or forty of the principal inhabitants.

" As also, that the lord lieutenant of the county of Essex has desired him to assure your Majesty of his own loyalty, and of the loyalty of several other gentlemen of the county, who promise to join your Majesty, with some cavalry, at a proper time.

" The earl of Litchfield answers for the county and for the city of Oxford.

" The earl of Lindsay, lord Chamberlain of England, answers for the county of Lincoln, and Brewers regiment of Infantry.

" Sir John Friend answers for a regiment of cavalry and two regiments of militia in the neighbourhood of the Tower of London; and he gives room to hope that, with these two regiments of militia, he may be able to take possession of the Tower of London for the King.

" Colonel Selwin answers for Tilbury fort and for a regiment of infantry.

" Sir John Knight answers for the city of Bristol.

" Lieutenant-colonel Row answers for his regiment of infantry.

" Mr. Greenville answers for lord Bath's regiment of infantry, of which he is lieutenant-colonel. He is nephew to the earl of Bath.

" Mr. Stroud assures, that the county of Somerset is entirely in his Majesty's interest; and the lord Powlett himself, and several other gentlemen, will be ready to take horse to join his Majesty, upon the first notice.

1694.
January.

“ Taunton, a large town in the county of Dorset, is entirely in the King's interest; and in general all the west of England, which was formerly most valiant against his Majesty, is, at present, the country best disposed, and most attached to his interest.”

The following particulars are in a slip of paper connected with the above.

MR. Crawford, governor of the fort of Sheerness, promised, some time ago, to deliver up the fort to his Majesty; and, as he is always in the same station, although there is some time since any news have been received from him, yet his Majesty has reason to believe he has not changed his mind.

Mr. Haman answers for Languard fort.

In the royal regiment of cavalry there are a hundred troopers, who have acquainted the King, that they have credit enough in the regiment to be able to answer for bringing over the whole regiment to him; and that they will cut the throats of such of their comrades or officers who will make opposition.

Besides the above, there are also the friends whom the King has in the north of England, who are very numerous; and where there are formed seven regiments of cavalry and dragoons, for which commissions have been given, and who will be ready to join his Majesty when he lands. An account of them is expected by an express, which colonel Parker, who is commandant of these forces, is to send here immediately. We expect likewise, by the same occasion, an account of all the counties, towns, and forts in the North, which are in the King's interest; and of the disposition of the people of that country.

The following particular is inserted in the margin.

Captain Crisp assures, that the bishop of Exeter is entirely in the King's interest; and that five parts of seven in the county of Cornwall are for the King.

“ The

1694.
January.

"The Names of some of the men of quality, who earnestly beseech his Majesty to pass over into England."

THE earl of Sunderland writes to his Majesty, that a descent is the only means to finish the misfortunes of the King and those of the nation; and that if his Majesty comes now with an army, he cannot fail to carry his point. "He does not enter into particulars, because he fears that his Majesty does not confide sufficiently in his advice. But when he is assured that the King is satisfied with his fidelity, he promises to send good intelligence, and to contribute as much as he can to his Majesty's service.

"The earl of Arran assures his Majesty of the sincerity of lord Sunderland, and that he may be of great service; and he also advises his Majesty to go to England, with an army of 30,000 men, with which his Majesty cannot fail to succeed, providing he comes immediately, to take advantage of the disposition of the people, of their contempt for the prince of Orange, and of their discontent, on account of the taxes with which they are loaded. The circumstances are the most favourable that can be for facilitating the passage, as well as the landing of his Majesty's troops; since the fleet sails to the Streights, the greatest part of the troops go to Flanders, and the money which the parliament gives the prince of Orange will not be raised in time to put him in a condition to make any opposition.

"Lord Churchill advises his Majesty to come, and gives him assurances of his own services, and of the services of all those who are of his party, which is very considerable *."

Mr. Cholemondly assures his Majesty, that the people of England are very much disposed to receive him, and conjures him to take advantage of the conjuncture.

* In the MS. the pen is drawn through the paragraphs within the inverted commas.

1694.
February.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 4.

*"Instructions to Mr. Cross, going by our command into England.
Feb. 1694."*

These instructions are in Nairne's hand.

YOU are to return our most hearty thanks to all our friends, who sent you to us, for their zeal and constancy to our service; and especially for the pains they have taken, in answering our instructions sent by you, and afterwards, on the 16th of October. And let them know, that we did not doubt, but that we should draw a benefit from the answers, suitable to the trouble we gave them, and the danger we made them incur.

You are to let them know, that it was not only for our own information, that we desired these answers, but at the desire of the most Christian King, to inform him of the true state of our kingdoms; that, if possible, he might lay hold upon the first conjuncture to endeavour our restoration, if he had found things as we represented them to him, and as he found them, by such answers as you and others have brought us, and as our friends have sent to us by other ways.

You are to let them know, that, notwithstanding that, this good inclination of the most Christian King continues, of which we have all reason to be satisfied; yet the stopping of so many of the men of war designed for the Streights, has left London in such a condition to fit out a squadron of ships, equal to what he can arm, if not superior, besides what Holland, upon such an alarm as our preparing to land, might furnish, that it has put it out of the most Christian King's power, at this time, to attempt any thing so considerable, as the sending thirty thousand men out of his kingdom, and hazarding so considerable a part of his navy in the Channel, where he has no port to befriend him, and may be in danger of meeting a greater force, not only to frustrate his attempt, but ruin the squadron he shall so employ in it.

You shall let them know, that this delay is a greater disappointment and affliction to us, and even to the most Christian King himself, than it can be to them. But that, as they have hazarded themselves for us, we think it fit to let them know our circumstances, as they are at present that they may be careful not to lay themselves open to the usurped government,

government, till a fitter conjuncture happen, of which we doubt not the most Christian King will readily lay hold.

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February.

In the mean time, you are, by discreet and safe ways, to inform one of every party, that we desire them to consult with their friends what may be done for our service there, and propose to us what they would have us do here; and they shall see, by our readiness to do what shall be fit for us, and in our power, how earnest we are to come to their delivery and reward their services.

February 8th.

You are to inform our friends, that the most Christian King's reasons for making proposals of peace was not any weakness or inability in France, but to shew that he was willing to make peace, at a time when he thought the victories gained by him had let his enemies see he stood not in need of it; and he has declared, that he will not be obliged to perform these conditions to such of the confederates as shall not lay hold of them, before the opening of the campaign. And you have to let our friends know, that they have no reason to be anxious about them, since we, who are principally concerned, are upon the place.

"Proposals from the earls of Montgomery, Ailesbury, and Yarmouth, Sir John Fenwick, Mr. Jenkins, and other friends of the King in England, dated the ^{21 Feb.}_{3 March} 1694, and addressed to lord Melfort, with the state of the fleet and of the army."

Nairne's Papers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 118.

In Nairne's hand.

Translation.

HAVING considered Mr. Cross's instructions, and your incomparable letter of the 17th Instant, with what Mr. Cross has besides told us verbally, we are of opinion, that his Majesty's service and our own duty require of us to send you our sentiments upon the whole.

We know very well the difficulties of transporting 30,000 men, the extraordinary number of transports necessary for so large an army, and that the great expence of this expedition cannot fail to be a little burdensome to his most Christian Majesty, at a conjuncture when he has so many other affairs on hand; yet when we sent Mr. Cross, we were then
of

1694.
March.

of opinion, that we could not, with safety to the King, propose a smaller number of troops.

First, Because we could not then depend altogether so much upon the good disposition of the nation, as we have reason to do since; for the greatest number of those who do not act from a pure principle of loyalty, were not willing to declare themselves, until they believed that the expedition was ready to take place; and then they communicated themselves to us: from which we conclude, that the King's party in England is much stronger than we venture to affirm. Besides, the nation seems to expect his Majesty with impatience, which is an argument of their disposition to join him, which could not appear to us, at that time, to have the force we see it has at present.

Secondly, We could not foresee then, that the prince of Orange would refuse the popular bill concerning impartial proceedings in parliament, which has created a number of enemies to him, and has augmented considerably the number of the King's friends.

Thirdly, We could not then judge exactly what number of troops would remain in England; and, in order that the enterprize might be the safer, we judged it was proper to propose a greater, rather than a smaller number; and so the number of troops we then proposed was greater than we believed to be absolutely necessary.

“ But having considered what you write to us in your letter, that there would be hopes of persuading his most Christian Majesty to hazard the enterprize, in case we would content ourselves with 20,000 men *,” we believe, for the reasons mentioned above, that if the King can come with 20,000 men, there is, in the present conjuncture, a moral certainty of success; and, in order to confirm our opinion in this respect, we have thought it was proper to send you the state of the fleet and of the army.

By the state of the fleet you will see, that we cannot have at sea more than twenty-five sail of third and fourth rates before the month of April; and even these ships cannot be compleatly manned. So that, if France could send thirty ships of war before that time, they would be masters of the sea, and, according to all appearances, nothing could hinder them from making a descent.

* The pen is drawn in the MS. through the passage in inverted commas.

And, by the state of the army, it appears likewise, that we have not at present more than 7,500 men; and when all the troops destined for Flanders are embarked, there will not remain above 4000 in England. Consequently there is no opposition to be apprehended, at present, from the land forces; much less, when those which are to go abroad shall embark. This confirms our first assertion, that twenty thousand men will be sufficient; since even a smaller number, according to all appearances, cannot fail to succeed, from the manner in which things are now arranged.

1694.
March.

This is what we have thought proper to represent to you, and to intreat you to consider well; hoping that the King our master and his most Christian Majesty will be pleased to concert new measures together upon these reports which we send you, and which we certify to be true. At any rate, we discharge our duty in sending them; and we submit them entirely to you.

“Although it is not to be imagined that his most Christian Majesty can change, at present, the plan which he has proposed to himself for the campaign, yet his Britanick Majesty has thought it necessary to inform him of all the intelligence he receives from England, in order that his most Christian Majesty may take such measures thereon, as he shall find most for his service†.”

Captain Floyd or Lloyd, a groom of the bed-chamber to James, had carried on the communication between that prince and the earl of Marlborough, and admiral Ruffel. The first made no doubt of securing the army; the latter undertook for the fleet. Floyd also carried a letter from the princess of Denmark to her father, at La Hogue, in the year 1692; and he afterwards made several journeys to England; and one in particular to know from the adherents of James, what proposals he might make to the French King, upon the faith of their assistance. When Floyd returned to France, the accounts he gave, on the subject of his commission, were translated into French by the earl of Melfort, and communicated to Lewis XIV. on the first of May of the present year.

† The words within the inverted commas are in the earl of Melfort's hand.

1694.
May.
Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 119.

"Accounts brought by Captain Floyd, lately arrived from England."

In Melfort's hand, and marked on the back in Nairne's, "Captain Floyd's account, carried to Versailles the 1st of May, 1694."

Translation.

May it please your Majesty,

BEING arrived in London, I sent for major-general Sackville and the rest to whom I was directed by your Majesty, for facilitating my access to admiral Ruffel, the earl of Shrewsbury, the countess of Shrewsbury, lord Churchill, and lord Godolphin: and the said Sackville, &c. having come to me, I gave them an account of the affairs, with which I was intrusted, and showed them my instructions for consulting with them about the manner I ought to take in treating with these noblemen.

They informed me, that I was come in the best conjuncture imaginable, because the prince of Orange's party was greatly mortified for the loss of the Smyrna fleet they lately sustained; whereas formerly they were greatly elevated, believing, with certainty, that there was no design of making a descent in England this year, which they had much dreaded, and being persuaded, that France would seek a peace with earnestness, and that your Majesty's interest would not be comprehended in it.

The first person they brought me was lord Churchill, to whom I showed my instructions; at the same time informing him, that your Majesty, having heard that he was to have an employment, had commanded me to assure him from you, that you was highly pleased at this, and gave him your consent to accept of it, and left him at liberty to employ the properest means for obtaining it, having no doubts of his fidelity, &c.

Lord Churchill answered me, that it was true, that he had been solicited some time ago to accept of an employment; but that he did not choose to accept it without your Majesty's consent, which he had demanded, by the means of major-general Sackville, without whom he did not move a step: that the affair was now passed, but, if it occurred again, which might well happen, he would not accept, but from a design of serving your Majesty; for whose re-establishment he was determined to resign his life, for expiating his crimes, &c.

The

The next evening, lord Churchill gave me an opportunity of meeting admiral Russel, who received me with a great deal of friendship. I informed him of what I had to communicate to him from your Majesty, in consequence of the offers he had made to you by myself, as well as by several others; and, in order to settle the means of executing them, I acquainted him how gratefully your Majesty would acknowledge it, if he would apply himself seriously to the business. He answered me, that he was always firm in his resolution of doing all that depended upon him for the re-establishment of your Majesty: but that the thing was very difficult to be accomplished; time was necessary, which yet he would manage in the best manner he could: but that he would consider the affair, and, in two or three days, give me another rendezvous. We parted then, very well satisfied with one another: "I having given him some light, which he wanted, in certain affairs that interested him greatly †."

1694.
May.

I went to wait on the countess of Shrewsbury, who was sick. I made her the compliments I was ordered by your Majesty and the Queen. In return to which she answered me with all the sentiments of duty and affection for your interests. She afterwards told me, how her son, the earl of Shrewsbury, had been obliged to accept of an employment; the prince of Orange having sent for him, to offer him the post of secretary of state, which he refused, on account of his bad health. But the prince of Orange showed him, that he had a very different reason, by repeating to him a discourse which he had held about your Majesty. This surprised the earl of Shrewsbury much, and convinced him of the danger of refusing the employment; but, as he expected a descent in England in a few days, he demanded some time to go to the country, on account of his health and other pressing business, before he received the seals. The prince of Orange having granted this, he went to the country, accompanied by his friends, well mounted, with an intention of joining your Majesty, in case you had come as was expected and wished. But that having failed, to his great regret, he was obliged, on his return, to accept of the seals; which, she told me, from him, he did only in order to serve your Majesty more effectually hereafter.

Having met admiral Russell for the second time, I urged him much about the contents of the letter that he had written to me before my

† In the MS. the pen is drawn through the words within the inverted commas.

1694.
May.

departure, importing that in ten days, he would explain himself further to me concerning the time, the manner, and the place. He answered me, that that was impossible at present, things not being quite prepared yet; but that he would accomplish the design if it was possible.

I acquainted him, that I should be very sorry to bring back an answer so general; that one could not form any design upon it; and that it was necessary to have a plan of what he was able or willing to do. On which he answered me, that he thought he had said a great deal, since he had said, that, by God, he would undertake it; that he would endeavour to gain the officers of the fleet, and would communicate to lord Churchill, from time to time, the progress he made. But, says he, if you was in my place, what would you do? I answered him, that there were several things to be done; viz. to avoid the French fleet, and allow it to pass. To which he answered, that he would not do that, although it was once his intentions: and that he would do the business, but swore he would do it himself alone. I proposed to him, that, since some design would be attempted infallibly upon the coast of France, this summer, which would necessarily draw down troops to Brest, or to other places on the coast, according to the designs upon them, he might send your Majesty information of this, and give you time to prepare transports this summer; and that, towards autumn, when it was necessary to disarm the large ships, and to send convoys to America, &c. he would be a judge of those which it would be proper to keep in the channel, and accordingly might retain those which he had gained in the summer, and either send the rest into the harbours, or employ them as convoys; and being, by these means, master of those that remained, he might join the French to transport the troops, which would be necessary for accompanying your Majesty into England.

He interrupted me several times. But, at last, being unwilling to determine upon any plan, he protested to me again in general, that he would undertake the affair, and that lord Shrewsbury and lord Churchill should be judges of his actions. He gave me repeated assurances of his resolution, and of his loyalty to your Majesty; and we took leave of one another, as I saw that I could not draw any thing more positive from him.

I gave

I gave an account of all this to lord Churchill, Sackville, &c. who were all of opinion, that he had said a great deal, if one could trust him; and, if one could not, that all he could say would have no more effect.

1694.
May.

After this, I waited of lord Godolphin, who explained to me his sentiments towards your Majesty, in the most affectionate manner imaginable. He acquainted me, that there was too much room to fear a peace would be concluded, this summer; and that they were sorry to believe, from the manner in which the prince of Orange spoke of it, that the terms would be prejudicial to your Majesty, since infallibly the prince would endeavour thereby to oblige the most Christian King to send your Majesty out of his dominions. That he thought it was his duty to acquaint your Majesty of this. But that it was his opinion, that your Majesty, in case the peace was not concluded, should come over to England, but with a considerable force: that it would not be difficult for the French to make a descent in England, even without Russell, who ought, nevertheless, to be treated with attention, because, in his opinion, he had said all that could be expected of him, provided one would be sure, that lord Shrewsbury, whom he believed to be sincerely in his Majesty's interest, had an entire influence over him: that Russell would infallibly appear before Brest; the land-officers believing that the place may be insulted, although the sea-officers were of a different opinion: that this would give a just pretext to his most Christian Majesty, to send troops to that place; and that the necessary number of transports might be prepared this summer: that the large vessels would return about the middle of autumn: that the failors would be dispersed, the convoys sent to the different places of commerce; and that the English would have a difficulty in finding thirty vessels of tolerable force: that your Majesty, embracing the proper time, might come over; and that he believed a blow would not be struck after you landed, as nine out of ten of the people of England heartily detest the prince of Orange. He reiterated his protestations, with the greatest loyalty to your Majesty.

The countess of Shrewsbury informed me, that the prince of Orange would go to Holland immediately after the prorogation of the parliament; that he would leave the government in the hands of the princess; but that she would entirely follow the advices of Danby and Shrewsbury.

1694.
May.

Mr. Noseworthy † was sent to France, by the marquis of Worcester and other noblemen and gentlemen, and some bishops, with an account of the state of affairs in England. The paper, which contains his account, has no date, but it is probable, he went about this time.

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 124.

"The present state of the affairs of England, according to Mr. Noseworthy's report."

It is in Nairne's hand, in a French translation, which was probably intended for the information of Lewis XIV.

Translation.

MR. Noseworthy, sent by the marquis of Worcester, the earls of Peterborough, Clarendon, Ailesbury, Montgomery, Arran, Abington, Huntington; the bishops of Norwich, of Bath and Wells, of Peterborough and of Ely; the lords Yarmouth and Fanshaw; Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, Sir John Fenwick, major general Sackville, and several other persons of quality and distinction, says, That the persons now mentioned, having made an exact research through all the counties of England, to inform themselves of the dispositions of the people, have found, that the minds of the nation in general are entirely alienated from the prince of Orange, by the losses they have suffered at sea, by the heavy taxes with which they are loaded, the interruption of commerce, both within and without the kingdom, the general disorder occasioned by an interruption in the circulation of the coin, and by several other grievances.

That four parts out of five of the clergy are disposed to declare for the King.

That the King, with an army of 20,000 men, may render himself master of all England, without the least opposition. But they are of opinion, that, rather than let slip the present opportunity, his Majesty should come even with 12,000. That they have sufficient reasons to believe, that, in that case, a great part of the prince of Orange's troops will declare for the King.

That it is certain, the fleet is in a very bad condition: that though they prepare to put to sea this summer, to make a parade, yet the ships which returned from the Mediterranean have suffered so much by worms,

† The same person called Noseworthy in a preceding paper.

and otherwise, that, being but patched up, they are by no means fit for fighting.

1694.
May.

That the King's friends, who have persevered so long, will be obliged to submit, if the present opportunity is neglected; and to join the government, which will render the prince of Orange much more powerful and more formidable than he has hitherto been.

It was upon Mr. Nofeworthy's arrival in France the following letter was written by King James.

“ To E. A. (probably Earl of Arran), Feb.”

A copy in Nairne's hand.

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. ii.
4to. No. 27.

The state of affairs in Britain; anecdotes of lords Murray, Godolphin, Queensbury, Tarbet, Breadalbin, Sunderland, and Shrewsbury.

YOURS of January the 15th I have received, wherein I am glad to find, that you are recovered of the illness you have lately had. What I mentioned concerning your brother George, his being to be employed, was only a rumour, writ in a news-letter; and, as such, I told you of it. But what you foretold of 322 [lord Murray] was better grounded. I doubt not, but that he enters, in good earnest, in the Pr. of Or. his interest. But how long he will continue so, will much depend upon what he shall think hereafter to be his own interest. But why 253 [lord Godolphin] should take pains to make a convert of him, I am yet to find out the reason. What you say may well enough come to pass, that 303 [Queensbury], 315 [Tarbet,] and 324 [Braidalbine], if they be sensibly disappointed, may turn about towards ME. But I shall follow your advice, not to reject their offers, which I shall think to be sincere, when confirmed by their actions.

The veering about and inconstancy of others confirm me on setting a just value on your steddiness. Nor shall I be moved with wrong judgments of others, who think that, by your influence on E. S. you have procured those *seeming* promotions, for a friend and for a brother.

Mr. Past [Nofeworthy] is at last arrived amongst us, who is the welcomer, because he comes fully instructed with your sense of affairs. I esteem him, as you do, for a man of probity and good understanding; and,

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May.

and, therefore, shall rely much upon what he says. But you may be satisfied, that I shall not impart to him what concerns any advances made to me, by 235 [earl of Sunderland]. I find, by him, as well as by others, that discontents and divisions, amongst all sorts of people, are as high against the government, as any honest man could wish; so that it is to be hoped that 43 [the King of France] will not let so favourable an opportunity be lost. But no certain judgment can be made of a matter, which depends upon so great a variety of accidents and of people's minds that must all concur in it. However, as no endeavour shall be wanting, on my side, to bring matters to a good and speedy conclusion; so I doubt not but that my friends, and you in particular, will do their part, whenever a happy occasion shall offer itself; which is all, at present, from

Your old friend,

SKREE KMA LUXNIA, 50.

When the earl of Marlborough and his wife, by their influence with the princess of Denmark, were accused of fomenting differences between the royal sisters, the earl, it now appears, was in correspondence with the late King. William, probably, though he knew not particulars, suspected in general the secret intrigues of Marlborough, when he sent him to the Tower, in the year 1692. James, from a diffidence of his former favourite, required actions, as the proof of his sincerity. He had done considerable service to the party, before this period. But the most capital instance of his thorough repentance was the intelligence of the design against Breft, transmitted, by him, in the following letter to James, inclosed in one, from colonel Sackville. Marlborough is supposed to have more designs than one, in this part of his conduct. He wished to serve James with Lewis the Fourteenth, and to ruin general Talmash, as well as to be revenged of William. In King James's Memoirs, there is the following memorandum, written, upon receipt of the letter, in his own hand: "May 4th, Lord Churchill informed the King of the design on Breft." Page 521. ann. 1694.

The French translation of colonel Sackville and the earl of Marlborough's letters, from which they are now translated again into English, is in Nairne's hand.

" Translation

*Translation of a letter in cyphers from Mr. Sackfield, Major General of his Brittanic Majesty's forces, to the Earl of Melfort.**

3d May, 1694.

1694.
May.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 120.

I Have just now received the inclosed for the King. It is from lord Churchill; but no person but the Queen and you must know from whom it comes. Therefore, for the love of God, let it be kept a secret, "even from lord Middleton*." I send it by an express, judging it to be of the utmost consequence for the service of the King, my master; and consequently for the service of his most Christian Majesty. You see, by the contents of this letter, that I am not deceived, in the judgment I formed of admiral Russell; for that man has not acted sincerely, and I fear he never will act otherwise.

"A translation of Lord Churchill's letter to the King of England."

I T is only to-day I have learned the news I now write to you; which is, that the bomb-ketches and the twelve regiments encamped at Portsmouth, with the two regiments of marines, all commanded by Talmash, are destined for burning the harbour of Brest, and destroying all the men of war, which are there. This will be a great advantage to England. But no consideration can prevent, or ever shall prevent me, from informing you of all that I believe to be for your service. Therefore you may make your own use of this intelligence, which you may depend upon being exactly true. But I must conjure you, for your own interest, to let no one know it but the Queen and the bearer of this letter.

Russel sails to-morrow, with forty ships, the rest being not yet paid; but it is said, that in ten days the rest of the fleet will follow; and, at the same time, the land forces. I have endeavoured to learn this some time ago from admiral Russell. But he always denied it to me, though I am very sure, that he knew the design for more than six weeks. This gives me a bad sign of this man's intentions. I shall be very well pleased to learn, that this letter comes safe to your hands.

† "Even from lord Middleton" is interlined in Melfort's hand writing.

From

1694.
July.

From one of the earl of Middleton's letters, addressed to Mr. Appleby, a feigned name for a correspondent in England, to be delivered to the Hamburgh merchant (that is, a member of the house of commons, according to doctor Hicke's cypher), there is reason to believe, that, about this time, Marlborough had engaged the prince and princess of Denmark to enter heartily into terms with their exiled father.

July 15th, 1694.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. vii. 4to.
p. 55.
—and ibid.
Col. Sack-
ville's cy-
pher.

I Have received yours of the 23d of May. It is most certainly true, that the merchant who owns the goods, 368 [King James] stands in great need of money, and indeed it is not to be wondered at, considering his great losses and his numerous family; and would therefore be glad if any of his friends or old customers would advance him what they can spare, which shall be punctually repaid, with interest, as soon as he is in a condition to appear on the exchange. In the mean time, he might be put in a condition to maintain his poor workmen, who are in great misery.

I must tell you now, that 368 [King James] has agreed to what was proposed to him by 129 and 130 [the prince and princess of Denmark], in the main; that is, your wife [his wife, according to Mr. Mordant's cypher, means Queen Mary] shall have a jointure well secured to her, &c.

The meaning of the rest of this letter is not obvious.

Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 123.

From the representations of the late King's adherents, one would be apt to imagine, that the nation to a man would join him, as soon as he landed. But an anonymous letter to a friend at Paris, bearing date the seventeenth of August, 1694, gives a very different account of the state of things in England.

The writer of this letter, which consists of several folio pages, was induced, by the different opinions which prevailed, concerning the power and number of James's friends, to travel round the kingdom, that he might be able to give a just and satisfactory account to the court of St. Germans; and he sent it in this letter, as he himself was prevented, by an indisposition, from going to France. He found, in general, he said, that, if all who wished James upon the throne were his friends, he had undoubtedly more friends than foes in England; and that their number was likely to increase every day, on account of their heavy taxes and other

1694.

other grievances, and their aversion from the reigning prince. He discovered this, from remarkable instances of indulgencies shown to the Jacobites, by the lords-lieutenants and justices of the peace, in the several counties, and from the conversation of the gentlemen over all the kingdom. "But, for the common people," says he, "they are still venomous; and the magistrates, in most corporation towns round the nation, no less malignant. They own their present burdens very heavy; yet professed openly, that they would rather carry it on and on, than let popery, by restoring the King, steal in upon them; and, when asked, how they can read the King's last declaration, and observe the promises therein made, and yet doubt either of the establishment or tranquillity of their own church; they answer, that, being certain some of these promises will be broke, they find reason to doubt whether any of them will be kept; and they give for instance that clause, in which his Majesty is pleased to say, that, over and above what hath been promised, if his parliament, when it sits, can find out any expedient, for the better settlement of the nation and security of their religion, he shall assent to it."

After enumerating the several objections, which were made to James's restoration, on account of his religion, he gives several reasons to show, that neither the number nor the power of his friends was so considerable, as he was made to believe; and he instances what he himself had observed. "About two or three weeks," he says, "after his Majesty's declaration was published, being in the country northward, I found all the King's true friends employed to know who, if occasion were, would take up arms for him; and in all Lancashire and all Yorkshire, where I then was, there could be found but very few protestants, that would contribute to our King's restoration, with any other assistance but that of their good wishes. Nor could I find in other counties I passed through, that there was any considerable endeavours made use of to learn either what would or what could be done. So that, had his Majesty followed his declaration, as was believed he would, and landed with a small army, 'tis to be feared, he would have found himself at a great loss, and upon a dangerous pin."

He proceeds to give an account of a conversation he had, upon his return to London, with "a person of very great quality, and a protestant.

1694. I told him," he continues, "our King was informed many thousand of his protestant subjects were in arms, and ready upon his landing to join him. His reply was, that he did both believe and hope our King would not trust to such stories; that Roman Catholics were apprehended to calculate wrong, as to the number of his Majesty's true friends; believing, hands, when time serves, will be as forward to fight for him, as tongues are to wish him back."

This was confirmed to him, by "another person of note, a lieutenant colonel of horse, under our King at Salisbury." This person "was very frequently with the chiefs, and most part of those protestants, who had promised to hazard both their lives and fortunes for the King, when he was at La Hogue;" and he found that nothing was ever determined upon, at all their meetings, though he had often proposed to them, to determine, "whether, when the king landed, they should attempt to break through the enemy and join him, or stay till he had engaged them on the one side, and then fall on the other. But he protested to me, that, though they met daily, nothing was agreed on, even to that very day news were brought, that the French at sea were defeat and their ships burnt."

"I took," says he, "the confidence to ask him (the man of quality) yet further, if those, who put him upon his last declaration and engaged him in such large promises, did not assure our King, that he should be restored to his crown, without any hazard of his person? To which, answer was given, that our King is not the first confiding and sincere prince, that hath been wrong biaffed, by a designing people; who now, by virtue of his declaration, being sure, whenever he comes (for so it speaks), both of their pardon and their privileges, provided only that they fight not against him, who can rationally believe, that they will unnecessarily hazard both their lives and fortunes, by fighting for him?" His opinion, therefore, was, that James should come over with a powerful army; and, immediately, upon his landing, "issue a new menacing declaration. For they must be taught to live and fear, before they will learn to do their duty."

He told his friend, that it was believed, that those who framed the declaration in England and sent it over to St. Germain, had assured the
 6 King,

King, that they would free him from his promises, by authority of parliament. His friend answered in the negative, and adduced several reasons to convince him, that the Roman Catholics behaved imprudently, and that there was no room to expect the hearty concurrence of the protestants, in replacing James on the throne.

1694.
August.

The following paper has no date, but is inserted in the earl of Middleton's copy-book of letters, between letters dated on the 21st and 26th of August this year.

"Mr. Mac Adam's message, and the King's answer to every article."

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. vii. 4to.
p. 64.

"1. **T**HE jealousies and fears the generality of your friends have, that the King of France had no mind to restore your Majesty, having had several opportunities, and made no use of them, the daily ruin of their country, and the little hopes of relief, it is to be feared, that most of them will join with the present government, to prevent the total ruin of their country; and those, either in or out of the government, that have given intelligence of the designs and out-going of the fleet, and the intercepting of the merchant-men, will do so no more.

The King's answer.

In the first place, you are to assure those you come from, and all the King's friends in general, that his Majesty is very sensible, both of their actings and sufferings for him, and hopes they will continue, when the occasion deserves it, to give him their advice and informations, whereby to regulate his own proceedings here.

His Majesty has no reason to mistrust the friendship and frequent promises of the most Christian King to restore him, whenever he is able; and, since it is both his interest as well as for his honour to do it, it cannot be thought that he will let slip any opportunity, which he thinks a good one, to do it.

2. Whereas there was a bill brought in the last session of parliament of the oath of abjuration, they are in a more easy way to oblige the generality to join in the war with them against France, which is an oath of fidelity to the present government, without taking notice of your Majesty

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August.

or the prince or princess of Orange's usurped titles. It is not doubted, but they will go a great length.

Answer.

It is to be supposed the prince of Orange will not consent to an oath, that seems to establish a common-wealth; and it is to be hoped, that nobody can be surpris'd with a new one, that seem'd to scruple the old.

3. In the last session of parliament, there was a bill brought in for a general excise, but could not pass. It is not doubted but it will in the next; that, with the general revenue of the crown, will amount, at least, to six million, and will certainly be paid to carry on the war against France.

Answer.

The King expects, that his friends will use all their endeavours to oppose a general excise; and, if it cannot be prevented, to make it as onorous and clamorous, and for as short a time, as may be.

4. They are daily alarmed, with a general peace, and that your Majesty is to be excluded; which does startle most of your Majesty's loyal subjects to that degree, that a great many of them are designing to leave the kingdom, and some of the better sort has already sent to Ham-
burgh to know the constitution of that place. If there be not some speedy course taken to prevent this, it will be of ill consequence to your Majesty's service.

Answer.

That the King has no apprehensions of a general peace to his prejudice; and that he has reason to believe there is no treaty in agitation at this time. So that the prince of Orange's brags are no more to be believed, upon this, than his promises upon other matters.

5. They desire, that your Majesty may commission some of these that you think most proper for the management of your affairs; and that they may not be left to the indiscretion of the generality of pretenders.

Answer.

That the King approves of their advice, and that he will give directions accordingly, with which they shall be speedily advertised.

6. If

6. If your Majesty thinks fit, they desire to know whether you have any confidence in any of the court-party. Some of them has been heard say as much, though others dare not trust them, without your Majesty's orders, with which they are ready to comply, and to join with them, or any others for your Majesty's service.

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August.

Answer.

That the King thinks it extreamly for his service, that they should endeavour to gain people to his interest, especially, such as are employed by the prince of Orange, as far as they can do it with their own safety; and they can best judge whom they can treat with in such nice matters.

7. They desire, that your Majesty's instructions may be more early sent this session of parliament than they were the last.

Answer.

That besides what is herein contained, and what has been formerly said upon that occasion, the King does not see, that there is any more directions to be given: but in case they, upon the place, have any thing to offer, they shall know the King's mind immediately thereupon; and that, upon the whole, he remits this and all other things to their prudent management.

8. They earnestly beg, that your Majesty may think on some way how to reconcile the church party and these of the dissenters, that are in parliament. It would contribute much to your Majesty's service.

Answer.

If they cannot prevail to reconcile these parties in parliament as to their own divisions, the King recommends, both to them and you, that endeavours may be used to reconcile them to him and to the cause in general.

9. They beg, that your Majesty would be pleased to admit of the chancellor of England into your councils. Your enemies take advantage of his not being in it.

Answer.

The King will be, on all occasions, ready to express the just value and esteem he has for his lord chancellor.

10. They beg, that your Majesty may return me, or whom your Majesty thinks more fit, with instructions what your Majesty will have them

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August.

them do; for, at present, they are at a stand, and do not know what to do.

Answer.

This article is answered already by the former.

11. They desire, that your Majesty may adhere to your last declaration.

Answer.

The King has never given any reason to believe that he will infringe his declaration, and he is resolved not to do it.

12. They desire, that if your Majesty thinks fit to call any of the bishops, that it may be the bishop of Ely. They think it would be for your service, and he is in a condition to live without being burthensome to your Majesty.

Answer.

The King approves of their opinion, and when he calls any it shall be him.

13. They desire, that your Majesty would acquaint the King of France with the condition of colonel Parker and Crosbey. They are afraid it will go hard with them.

Answer.

The King of France has been informed of Parker and Crosbey's condition; but his appearing for them would do them prejudice.

14. They desire, that what orders or instructions they are to receive may be from your Majesty, or from your secretaries only, and not from particular persons, who pretend to have private instructions from your Majesty; and what they send shall be directly to yourself and to your secretaries.

Answer.

That the King approves of their advice, and has given particular directions about it, according to their opinion, and that you are not for the future to give any credit to any person, who shall presume to act to the contrary."

There were two parties in James's cabinet, the compounders and the non-compounders. Middleton was at the head of the first, and Melfort of the last. The compounders advised him to offer a general pardon, in his

his declarations, and proposed to bring him back only upon certain conditions: the non-compounders were willing to receive him, without any restrictions, and to except several persons in his offers of pardon. These probably were James's favourites. But, to please the other party, Melfort was dismissed, as if under some disgrace, and ordered to withdraw from court; and Mr. Caryll was made secretary of state, in his room. Caryll, in a letter to his predecessor, demands the very copies of memorials, which are now extant, among Mr. Nairne's papers.

1694.
September.

Mr. Secretary Caryll to the Earl of Melfort.

September 6th, 1694.

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. i.
fol. No. 128.

“I Am commanded by his Majesty to desire your lordship to send speedy orders, that the copies of the memoirs relating to the design of his landing in England, and particularly that which was given in last year to the French ministers, at Fountainbleau, may be looked out amongst your papers at Paris, by Mr. Nairne, or by whom you shall please to appoint, and delivered immediately to his Majesty, who has present occasion for them. I am also commanded by his Majesty, in answer to what was contained in the letter you were pleased to honour me with, of the 25th August, concerning your return to Paris, to signify to your lordship, that he still persists in the same mind and opinion, which he imparted to you upon leaving St. Germain; which is, that he would not command you not to reside at Paris, but that he did advise and counsel you not to make your residence there, which he still doth, and so much the more, because he has acquainted the King of France and Mons. de Ponchartrain with what he said to your lordship, upon that subject; who were both of them very much of his Majesty's opinion in this matter. Having thus obeyed his Majesty's orders herein, I have nothing to add, but that I am with much respect,

My lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

J. CARYLL.

1694.
September.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 35.

It appears from another letter which Caryll wrote to Melfort, on the first of the ensuing month, that the latter complied with his master's advice, and retired from Paris. He corresponded with Nairne, who was his under secretary, and occupied the same place under Caryll. Nairne has preserved some scores of Melfort's letters; but they contain nothing material. Though Melfort was dismissed, he continued his quarrel with Middleton, of which the latter complains in the following letter, in cyphers, to an unknown correspondent under a feigned name.

Nairne's Pa-
pers, vol. vii.
4to. p. 66.

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Charles Donton.

Decyphered by Colonel Slingsby's cypher, in the same vol.

22 September, 1694.

"YOUR parcells marked 19 [the King] and 10 [lord Middleton], were safely delivered to the owners. The first was received with that just sense of your friendship, which it deserved, and the other, with the most grateful thankfulness imaginable. The owner of the goods No. 19, [the King] denies that he ever said any such thing to ZXWSQN, as what he writ to you, and desires you would write by any other way but that. He earnestly desires, that you and others of the company, would entertain no jealousy of his trading with interlopers. He assures you of the contrary, which I could safely vouch upon oath. It has been started, at first, to breed dissention and to serve some private turns, particularly to load the owner of the goods 10 [lord Middleton]. We shall do all that's possible here to procure the goods that are useful; and it must be left to their judgments, on the place, to proceed as they see cause. You shall have an account of our diligence, as often as there is a good opportunity; nor shall you want directions, when they are requisite. The owner of the goods No. 10 [lord Middleton] assures you, that he never writ any AOSY [whig], except sometimes to XWVPHE, if he is thought one. We go to-morrow to a country-house*, for some few days; therefore, I am now prest in time, and must beg leave to refer to the person that was here, not doubting but you will give entire credit to what he tells you, especially, when he assures you, that I am, with all imaginable esteem,

Your most faithful humble servant,

10" [MIDDLETON].

* Fountainbleau.

Melfort

Melfort was as obnoxious to the French ministry as to James's friends in England; for, on the third of October, Middleton writes to Mr. Carryll, from Fontainebleau, "I wish the lord Melfort does not come to spit in our potage: for if the ministers believe, that he will be acquainted with what hath been proposed, we need think no more of it."

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September.
Ibid. p. 65.

The French ministry, at this time, were not very sanguine in the late King's interest. They consulted it only, when they thought it subservient to the cause of their master, as appears from the following extract of a letter from the earl of Middleton, who had followed the court to Fontainebleau, to Mr. secretary Caryll, who remained with his master at St. Germain. In this letter, he informs him of the reception the French ministers gave to a memorial presented by himself.

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. vii. 4to.
p. 67.

Fontainebleau, September 30th, 1694.

I Dined this day with Monsieur de Pontchartrain. It will not be necessary to repeat the dialogue, since you will easily guess my part of the discourse by his, which was, in short, that though the memorial was short, yet it was full and clear; that all that he could say of it was what he had told the King, my master; that, when the King thought fit to undertake it, nothing should be wanted that depended on him; that for the detail, he desired to be excused from entering into it, because it belonged to Monsieur de Croissy, with whom he would not interfere. I went immediately from him to Monsieur de Croissy, who, after a long preamble of his respect for the King, our master, and his earnest wishes of what was proposed, started several difficulties of a year old, as want of money, the difficulty of the transportation, the want of a place of security, and the danger of their being beaten. To which I returned not only the old answers, but such new ones as the present conjuncture afforded, which will not be necessary to repeat, since I have always acquainted the King, our master, with what I thought might be said on such an occasion. He told me he would represent what I said to the King. I could perceive, that what he objected was not so much from himself, as what he supposed might be by others, which are indeed so very weak, that I cannot but entertain good hopes, notwithstanding Monsieur de Pontchartrain's dry answer. For it cannot be supposed, that they will undertake any thing, till they have seen the disposition of the enemy's forces both by land and

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September.

sea; and, when they do, they perhaps will keep the secret from us as long as they can; nor ought we to wonder at it, after the alarm that was given last spring. I can find by the courtiers, that monsieur de Pontchartrain is the only man, at this time, that has any interest with his master. For my own part, I should be very glad to be confined to Constantinople, on condition the lord Melfort could carry our master home. But it is very probable, that Monsieur de Phillippeaux does not differ in opinion with his father. This court goes into mourning to-morrow; so that I must keep my chamber till I can get mine from Paris. Let our landlord know, that there is here no *noëtes Atticæ* nor privateers aboard. I am most extremely,

S I R,

Your most faithful humble servant,

MIDDLETON.

October.
Ibid.

Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Middleton to M. L'abbé Renaudot.

The same subject continued.

Translation.

Fontainbleau, 2d October 1694.

"THE King and his ministers have approved of your memorial.

Monsieur de Pontchartrain did not choose to enter into particulars, and referred me to Monsieur de Croissy. Monsieur de Croissy started the same difficulties he started last year. I am not, therefore, able to see clearly through this affair. I sent compliments to Monsieur de la Touche, who answered me immediately, that he would come to see me the next morning. But he sent then an excuse, without fixing any other time; and, as there are five days since, I have no hopes of seeing him, and I don't believe that I ought to press him farther, as there may be some mystery in the case.

"It is from your care and prudence, that I expect the success of our affairs."

He writes to him in the same desponding strain, on the sixth of October. "I have received," says he, "your letter of the fourth, and, thank God, I am naturally inclined to follow the course you approve of, which

which is, not to importune any one. Our affair is always in the same situation. It is no longer spoken of; and I imagine, they want to see the disposition of the enemy's forces by sea and land, before they come to any resolution. It is so apparent, that Monsieur de la Touche purposely avoids me, that I think, I should not press him any more. I will not despair, while we allow ourselves to be guided by you."

1694.
December.

The late King's instructions to Mr. Townly and Mr. Tyson. December, 1694.

1694.
December.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 21.

"Instructions to Mr. Townly, sent inclosed to Mr. J. Johnson."

St. Germain's, December 2, 1694.

IN the first place, you must assure all our friends, that have been concerned with you in our service, that we have a just sense of their loyalty, and of the pains they have taken, and the hazards they have undergone in our behalf, of which we shall be very mindful, whenever it shall please God to put us in a condition of shewing our good intentions towards them.

Secondly, you are to desire them, in our name, to keep themselves in a readiness to serve us, whenever a good occasion offers itself; and that, in the mean time, they should be cautious to preserve themselves, as well as they can, and not to stir, till they have particular directions from us; which they shall not fail of, in the proper season, when they may do us effectual service, without needlessly exposing themselves.

Thirdly, they must not expect, that we can name the time when this will be, since it depends upon so many future contingents and not upon our will; but that of our dearest brother, the most Christian King, who, however well inclined he may be towards us, whereof we have all the reason in the world to be thoroughly satisfied, must, notwithstanding, wait for the means and opportunities of executing what we all desire. Wherefore, our friends must consider, that, although they suffer very much by delay, yet none can be greater sufferers thereby, than we ourselves. So that they may rest satisfied, we shall neglect no opportunity of bringing to pass, what is our common concern.

1694.
December.

"Instructions to Mr. Tyson, December 3, 1694."

MR. Piggot being now upon his way to give his friends a visit in the country, Mr. Tyson is desired when he comes, to deliver to him the inclosed paper of instructions, as also the four sealed notes, numbered 1, 2, 3, 4. The No. 1, is for Mr. Vene, the No. 2, for Mr. Powel, No. 3, for auditor Aldworth, No. 4, for Sir John Friend.

Mr. Piggot having informed, with some assurance, Mr. Harrison, [K. James], that Mr. Tyson was both able and willing, by the assistance of his friends, to advance a sum of money, for the use of Mr. Harrison [K. James], of which, at present, he stands in great need; these are, in Mr. Harrison's [K. James's] name, to assure him, that such a service, at this time, would be very acceptable to him; of which matter, Harrison [K. James] desires to be further informed from Tyson himself.

It having been represented from many hands, and particularly by Piggot, that Mr. Perret, the lawyer, has been very zealous and useful in the concerns of Mr. Harrison [K. James] and his friends; you are hereby desired, to give him the thanks of the said Harrison [K. James], who will not be unmindful of him, when it shall be in his power to gratify him.

The French ministry pretended to be still very zealous to restore James. That prince used to employ the abbé Renaudot to procure him intelligence, and to translate the memorials he presented to Lewis XIV. and his ministers. The abbé wrote the Paris Gazette at this time, and was deeply engaged in politicks. To some representations he had made in favour of James, he received the following answer from Mr. de Croissy.

Copy of a letter from Mr. de Croissy to the Abbé de Renaudot.

The King of France still intends to support James.

Translation.

Versailles, 23d December, 1694.

I Have read to the King the letter which you wrote to me on the 21st; and his Majesty finds, that your reflections are very wise, and of great consequence. I am to acquaint you likewise, that he does not propose to

to abandon the good designs of the faithful servants of the King of England, and as the conjuncture may become more favourable than it hath been hitherto, and as there is room to hope, that the King shall have soon more efficacious means than he had formerly, for executing the last enterprizes which were proposed: Besides, as all the rumours of peace are now vanished, and as his Majesty intends nothing now but to carry on the war with vigour, our friends in England ought not to be discouraged; and if they were successful in hindering the prince of Orange from obtaining great supports from parliament, they would soon see the effect of their zeal for the service of the King their master, powerfully seconded by his Majesty.

1694.
December.

I am, Sir, your very humble,
and very affectionate Servant,

DE CROISSY.

The Abbé de Renaudot to Mr. Mordaunt.

Communicating to him the assurances contained in the preceding letter.

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. vii. 4to.
No. 69.

Translation.

S I R,

Dec. 30th, 1694.

IF I have not the honour of writing to you as often as I would wish, it is not for want of attention, or of zeal for the service of our common masters, which I consider to be inseparable. I doubt not but different rumours, which spread from Holland and from France, may have caused great uneasiness among your friends; and such of them as are here may testify to you, how sorry I was for this. Yet I did not think, as things were circumstanced, that I should write much, on account of the danger; and it was also proper not to write any thing precipitately, while you might have imagined, that, if I wrote you that affairs were not as far advanced as was published, I had been ill-informed. But whatever may be said to you, you may be thoroughly persuaded that no step was taken on this side, but as much, at least, was done on the other, and that, if they have alledged, that Mr. Benson [the K. of France] was willing to finish with his creditors [enemies], without troubling himself about Mr. Artlie [K. James], they have advanced a very great falsehood. It was very true, that an attempt was made to settle: but

the

1694.
December.

the factors had not the necessary orders, and would not settle, though they were much pressed to it. At any rate, we propose nothing now, but to carry on the law-suit. It is true, Mr. Benson's [Fr. King] friends are embarrassed to see, that the course of affairs on your side incline one to believe, that Mr. Artlie [K. James] hath no friends. Perhaps, if they had not been in such a hurry to grant every thing to Sawly [K. William], we would have been more expeditious on our side; and all that can be said to assure them, that Mr. Artlie [K. James] has friends still, does not satisfy them. For they say, on the contrary, that they clearly perceive, by what passes, that his friends have not much influence or good intentions. However, we have both here; and, perhaps, convincing proofs of this may be given soon; at least, I am made to hope so.

Mr. Toncroft [L. Middleton], in whom they place here all confidence, and for whom they have all the respect and esteem imaginable, will advise you of every thing. For nothing is concealed from him of what I know. I expect, before a fortnight, to be able to write to you more about these things. I entreat you, Sir, in the mean time, to be persuaded that I shall not fail in any thing that can contribute to the success of our common wishes. I am, Sir, &c.

Middleton inclosed this letter in the following:

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Mordaunt.

S I R,

Dec. 31. 1694.

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D.N. vol. vii.
4to. No. 69.

I Hope the excuse you make for not writing will be received from me since it is certainly true, that there never was so little news stirring. Compliments have been always excluded in friendship; and I flatter myself with a great share in yours. If I should be mistaken you would be very ungrateful.

We have been aguish of late; but because I will not depend upon my own skill in this matter, I send you here inclosed an account of it, from our physician in ordinary, [the abbé Renaudot,] to whom I refer. I suppose you will think fit to communicate it to some of our nearest relations, who are really concerned for the good of the family; who, for that reason only, endeavour to advance the match proposed to the widow,
whereas

whereas there are others, who, without regard to right or wrong, weigh only their own interests. These last may be discreetly managed, but ought never to be trusted; because a bribe from the rival certainly gains them. Mr. Artley [K. James] and his spouse [Queen] bid me assure you of the great esteem they have for you and yours; and that the kindness you have expressed for them shall not fail of a suitable return. I shall omit no occasion of doing you justice; and I shall endeavour, to the best of my skill, to act in every thing, as becomes an honest man, and your most faithful humble servant,

1694.
December.

MARKE TONCROFT.

[MIDDLETON.]

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1695.

1695.
January.

ON the 28th of December, 1694, Queen Mary died of the small-pox; and the friends of James began to entertain expectations of a change in his favour, from this event. The first mention of her death, in Mr. Nairne's papers, is contained in a letter from J. Anderson to Mr. Applebey, *i. e.* from the earl of Middleton to a correspondent in England.

January the 13th, 1695.

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Papers,
vol. vii. 4to.

I Most thankfully acknowledge the favour of yours of the 6th and 13th of December, which I could not do by the last post, by reason of an indisposition caused by a great cold, of which I am not yet quite recovered. However, I could no longer dispense with my writing to you, in pursuance of the directions I have received from our consul, on the occasion of a strong report we have here, that the owner of the goods No. 535 [princess of Orange] being dead. If it should prove false, you are earnestly desired to say nothing of it to any body. But if it should prove true, then you will be convinced, that there will be enough to set all hands to work. We cannot pretend here to enter into the particulars of the acts, which must be done by the factors on the place. But there is one point which seems to be of great importance; which is, whether the merchant who owns the goods No. 551 [the parliament of England] is broken; there are many good reasons to believe it, considering the great dependance he had on the other. This would be the greatest advantage that could happen to the company; because it was he who supported all the interlopers; and, before a new joint stock could be made up, the market would be stopt.

Pray

Pray present my service to your Hamburg partner, and tell him, that I had wrote to him, if I had been at any certainty; and that the accepted bills will be very quickly paid, and that, if he will make a considerable venture now, the return will make him the leading man upon the change."

1695.
January.

The Hamburg merchant, mentioned so often in Middleton's letters to Appleby, is supposed to be the earl of Marlborough. The earl of Middleton wrote another letter of this date, with more particular directions concerning the measures to be taken by James's friends in parliament, upon the death of the Queen. It is addressed to Mr. Syson, to the care of Mr. Jackson.

S I R,

January 13th, 1695.

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Papers,
vol. vii. 4to.

I Received yours of the 10th of December, which I could not answer by the last post, because I was ill. You may easily imagine, that to be well thought of, by one so generally and deservedly esteemed, was no small satisfaction to me. But no more of this for the future. The King has commanded me to write to you, that there is here a strong report that the princess of Orange is dead. If it is false, he desires you would take no notice of this to any body: nor did he think fit to wait for the confirmation of it, because his friends might reasonably be impatient to hear from him on such an extraordinary occasion. Besides that, our post has been very slow and uncertain of late. But he is the less uneasy, because he knows his business cannot suffer thereby, in your hands, since you want no body to prompt or direct you, in the management of it; and that you do every thing to embroil and oppose the usurper's affairs, as occasion offers.

If this report is true, the chief thing to be aimed at is the dissolution of this parliament, for which many strong reasons may be urged; and though I am of opinion, that they will vote themselves still a parliament, yet the contrary ought to be showed in print, for which proper persons ought to be employed. It will serve to baffle their acts; people will be more unwilling to pay taxes, or advance any thing on their security; and, if a succeeding parliament should declare this to have been null, from such a time, what penalties these members may incur, or what actions may be brought against them, or those who act by their authority,

1695.
January.

authority, ought to be showed, in case still that this report is true. I do not doubt but you will communicate this to Mr. Donton and other friends; for I have neither time nor health to do it myself, which would be but a repetition of the same thing. If there is any thing in this that you cannot read, Thomas Adams will do it for you."

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Papers, vol.
vii. 4to.

Middleton received certain intelligence of the Queen's death on the fifteenth of January. He communicated the news immediately, by letter, to the marquis de Torcy; in which, he adds, "The King, my master, does not consider her as his daughter, because she had renounced her being so in such an open manner. There is even reason to fear that she died in her impenitence."

He next wrote the following letter to King James's lord chancellor.

The Earl of Middleton to the Lord High Chancellor of England.

My Lord,

Saturday-night, the 15th Jan. 1695.

THE King has commanded me to let you know, that he desires you to attend him the morrow-morning. The coachman who delivers this, will undertake to bring and carry your lordship home again. The business is to know your opinion, whether, by the inclosed act, the English parliament is dissolved by the demise of the princess of Orange. You may be pleased to consider it as you come along. The reason of this haste is, that the King of France is to be here to-morrow. In case your health will not permit you to stir out, his Majesty desires you would send him your thoughts in writing. I am, with all imaginable respect and esteem,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

MIDDLETON.

Ibid.

On the twentieth of January, Middleton acquaints the marquis de Croissy, that his correspondents in England, who sent him news of the princess of Orange's death, add, "That the most intelligent persons think that this parliament should be dissolved, but that it would not, because the members, being judges and parties, will not fail to decide the cause in their own favour. The King, my master, has already sent his orders to print all the reasons which can prove the nullity of that assembly, in order to discredit it in the opinions of the people."

On

On the twenty-fourth of January he wrote as follows to the abbé Renaudot.

1695.

January.

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Translation.

S I R,

IF my bad state of health had not hindered me from applying to business, you would have heard from me frequently. I now take the liberty to send you reflections on the present state of England, by Mr. Caryll, which have been already sent to monsieur de Croissy. I am sure you will avail yourself of them. It is certain, that the conjuncture is more favourable for an enterprize than it has ever been. But if the King does not engage in it, all will come to nothing. I was a little surpris'd to find, that monsieur de Croissy judg'd, that the prince of Orange's affairs were still in a good train; because the parliament had presented addressees to him. Can any one imagine, that, when there is a man who is acknowledged as King, and his Queen dies, who had an equal share of the sovereignty with him, a parliament then assembled can avoid to make compliments to him upon the occasion? With regard to the stile, it is mere form; and, with regard to the compliment at the end, I infer a very favourable conclusion from it. They promise "to assist him against all his enemies, both domestic and foreign." They might say so, if there had been a civil war. But while all is quiet and obedient, I maintain it is without example.

Here then is an authentic acknowledgment of the two houses of parliament, that there is a party in opposition to the government; and that it must be very formidable, since they think it necessary to offer him their assistance against it. This appears to me to be a stronger proof of the existence of such a party, than any thing we could have said; and this remark being made by you, will have more weight, and will not be suspected. For I apprehend sometimes, that they suspect that we want to impose upon them, which has been always very far from my intention. But, perhaps, we are obliged for this to lord Melfort.

I send you also the London Gazette, where you will find these addressees more exact than any where else. I intreat you to be so good as to continue the honour of your kindness to, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

MIDDLETON.

1695.
January.

Caryll's reflections on the present state of England, mentioned in the earl of Middleton's letter to the abbè Renaudot, and sent by his lordship to the marquis de Croissy, have been preserved among Mr. Nairne's Papers, and are in Nairne's own hand. They appear to have been addressed first to James himself.

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No. 25.

"*A memorial concerning the state of England.* 19 January, 1695."

"*An examination of the P. of O—'s right to the crown at Queen Mary's death.*"

ALL the people of England must necessarily be, at this time, convinced, that the title of the prince of Orange to the possession of the crown is not only unjust, in reference to the King and to the prince of Wales, but also to the princess of Denmark, according to their own new law, though his Majesty was, as they pretend, excluded by abdication; for none of our new law-makers ever pretended, or durst say that the crown of England is elective. Wherefore, though by demise or abdication, or for failure (let them call it what they please) they pretend the present occupant may be dispossessed, yet still it is an undeniable maxim amongst them all, that, in such cases, it ought to descend to the next in blood, against whom no such incapacity lies.

Nor let it be said, that the modern act of settlement creates a sufficient and just title to the prince of Orange, for his present holding the crown: for it is the opinion of my lord Coke and all the ablest lawyers, that an act of parliament, visibly contrary, either to the divine law or common justice, is void in itself: and nothing can be more apparently contrary to justice, according to their own maxims, than to prefer in the succession to the crown, the prince of Orange, a foreigner, and remoter by one degree, to the princess of Denmark, a native and your immediate heir. It is certain, that those very persons, who concurred to the making of this law, did it upon a supposition that the prince of Orange could not out-live his wife; he appearing, at that time, far gone in an asthma, and she of a vigorous and healthy constitution; which made them bestow, in the heat of their kindness, that compliment upon him, not to unking him upon the death of his wife, which then they thought would prove but a bare compliment, though now it falls out otherwise.

Of

Of this neither the prince of Orange nor the English nation in general are ignorant. We are, therefore, to consider what effects may thence naturally follow, and how each of them will be moved to act, according to their several principles and interests: for now, more than ever, he and the nation are perfectly two.

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January.

To make a judgment of what effects it may have upon the English nation, we must consider severally the two great parties into which it is divided, viz. the church of England-men monarchical, and the dissenters republican, by their principles. As to those of the church of England, it is evident, that, by the death of the princess of Orange, and the reigning alone of her husband, they not only lose all hopes of continuing uppermost, as by the laws in force they ought to be, but are in danger of their very being. For they well know, that this prince was bred a presbyterian; and, that since his usurpation, he has sufficiently demonstrated what his inclinations are, by abolishing episcopacy in Scotland, and even in England, by his putting in of late, to all offices and places of trust [bishopricks not excepted], Presbyterians, or Latitudinarians.

Whilst the princess lived, the church of England were at some ease and thought themselves safe, by the countenance and encouragement they received from her, who was educated by them; and also, by the great hopes they had of her surviving her husband. But he now reigning alone, in his own right, it may easily be imagined what their sentiments and apprehensions are; and how they are disposed to free themselves from a dominion, so unsound at the bottom in title, and so little favourable to them.

It ought particularly to be remarked, that in all the times of monarchy, the church of England-party has ever prevailed, in the house of commons, notwithstanding all the efforts, which have not been small, of the dissenters to the contrary; and that house being the bulky and weighty part of the nation, and having the purse, all Englishmen in general naturally lean to their side; so that the episcopal-party, supported by the house of commons, will certainly stand their ground, and prove a dangerous enemy to the prince of Orange, who can only secure himself, by making use of his foreigners to bring both them and their supporters under subjection.

As

1695.
January.

As to the dissenters, their propension to the prince of Orange, is not out of any love to him, but only caused by their opposition to the church of England, and by their aversion to monarchy in general. For they think it an easier step, from a wrong King to no King, than from a right King; and, for the same reason, they will better endure the reign of a woman, than of a man, which will not a little make for the princess of Denmark, if ever she come to a contest with the prince of Orange: for these dissenters being of a true republican spirit, can naturally bear no superiority, either in church or state; and, next to having no rulers over them, the weakest will always be most acceptable to them. But these men must be considered, not under the notion of dissenters, but also as Englishmen; and, upon that national account, they will as violently oppose the domination of strangers, as any other English subjects whatsoever. So that, if the prince of Orange shall think himself obliged, for his own security, to awe the nation by foreign troops, all that is English, even army and navy, will certainly join, as one man, to keep them out.

To this must be added the haughty and morose humour of that prince, which could not fail to extinguish all affection for his person. It is true, the contrary behaviour of the princess of Orange and her popular affability did, in some measure, appease, or, at least, cover the general disgust conceived against him. But she being dead, nothing can hinder an increase of aversion between him and the people; and both must proceed in their own natural ways, he to disoblige and they to resent.

It is easy to judge what the consequences may be of this present state of affairs and disposition of minds in England. The prince of Orange can no otherwise support the weakness of his title, against the manifest right of his Majesty, according to the old true law, or against that of the princess of Denmark, according to their new model, and secure to himself the possession of the crown, but by transporting into England an army of foreigners sufficient to overawe the nation. But this is what no English parliament, though never so much pensionary, no English army, no English fleet will ever endure; and yet it is not more than probable, considering the circumstances of his affairs and his own natural jealousy, that he will attempt to do it, not all of a sudden, but by degrees. But then, by the same degrees will also increase the jealousy of the English,
till,

till, at last, it must break out into open hostility. This opportunity should not be lost by his most Christian Majesty, of humbling an enemy, who has raised and leads all the forces in Europe against France; and of reducing him to an impossibility of doing any more hurt, no more than by the King of England, for the recovery of his crown. That the occasion may not be lost to both, it will be necessary, that a competent number of troops and ships may always be in readiness, upon the first commotions in England, to support the contrary party to the prince of Orange; otherwise, should he prevail in that struggle, and reduce England as he has done Holland, under a perfect subjection, he would become more a dangerous enemy than ever. It is not to be expected, that, upon the first risings, any declaration will be made in behalf of his Majesty, but their pretensions will be to assert the indisputable right (comparatively to his) of a princess born in England, against an intruding foreigner, or rather upon a national account, to preserve England from being overrun with strangers. A ready seasonable support from France, upon such an occasion, will not only have the effect of turning the balance against the prince of Orange, but will also determine the opposite party to him, to declare for their lawful King; whose restoration is, perhaps, the only means of any lasting peace, that can be had with honour and advantage.

1695.
January.

There is no likelihood that Marlborough could have been forgotten, during the intrigues which followed the death of Queen Mary. Middleton, in a letter to his correspondent Appleby, on the 30th of January, 1695, mentions an application which was then made to him. "I suppose you will be surprised to see an old country gentlewoman of your acquaintance, who will deliver you bills for 86 [lord Churchill]. She knows nothing of it. I have no directions for you about them; but to deliver them immediately to whom they are payable; for an honest and wise man never places his favours, but where he has an entire confidence; and you may assure your Hamburgh partner of both."

February.

The old country gentlewoman, was Mr. Radcliffe, who went with letters to St. Germain, on the Queen's death; and from Middleton's answer to a letter which he received from Appleby, after the departure

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1695.
February.

of Mr. Radcliffe, it appears that the **Hamburgh merchant** was the earl of Marlborough.

Ibid.

The earl of Middleton to Mr. Appleby, with one inclosed to the Hamburgh Merchant.

SIR,

February 18, 1695.

"THIS is only to acknowledge the favour of yours, of the 16th of January, with the inclosed, for the Hamburgh merchant*. You may easily imagine, that I can have but little to say now, since there has happened nothing since the lady went from hence. I long to have her home again, and to hear that the bills are delivered, &c."

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No. 5.

About this time, Middleton corresponded with No. 18 [colonel Graham], who was a spy, employed by King William. Middleton was a man of some humour and learning; and he sometimes threw a mixture of both into his letters, on the most serious subjects. It appears from his answers, that Graham, who wanted to make himself of consequence to his employers, complained bitterly, that he received too little intelligence; and Middleton, who perhaps suspected him, protested that he wrote with sincerity and plainness, though he indulged a little innocent raillery, when he had nothing material to communicate.

March.

The letter sent from England, in August, 1694, gave, probably, a true account of the state of things in that country; but it was natural enough for King James to see them in a different light, when the favourites and ministers of King William, betrayed their master's councils, and assured his rival of the success of an invasion.

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No. 26.

"Translation of a Letter from Lord Arran to the King of England.

$\frac{1}{2}$ March, 1695."

The French translation, from which the letter is now translated back into English, is in Nairne's hand.

The Earl of Sunderland in correspondence with King James.—Arran advises an invasion, and recommends dispatch.—Sunderland gives intelligence of the fleet.

I Have received the letter, which your Majesty did me the honour to write to me, on the 24th of February, with the postscript of the 4th of March, precisely as the courier was setting out; so that it was im-

* Marlborough.

1695.
March.

possible for me to answer it, by the last opportunity; and I had some hopes, to be able to send you, by the present, a letter from lord Sunderland; having brought about an interview between him and bishop Layburn. My lord has confirmed to the bishop all I wrote to you in his name, in my former letters, with which I am very well pleased. He has been so much occupied all this week, that he could not write, at this time; but you may depend, that you will have a letter from him, by the first packet: and, at the same time, you may be assured, that I shall neglect nothing which depends upon me, in serving your Majesty. They are the slow measures, which are taking on your side, that ruin every thing, and render your friends timid and distrustful; who, otherwise, would be willing to act and to hazard all, if they saw, on the side of France, a greater disposition to undertake any thing against England. It is not these extraordinary precautions and long delays, that will ever do the business. I am assured, that his most Christian Majesty can never employ his forces more advantageously, both for himself and for your Majesty, than by making an effort on this side, which is not so impracticable as they imagine, either with regard to the number of troops or manner of transporting them. It is true, the greater the number of the troops the more certain will be the success. But it is not necessary to have more, than can be easily transported: for 20 or 25,000 men will be sufficient. That number will contribute more, at present, in England, to finish the war, than 100,000 men employed in any place whatever. But if other measures are taken, there is no remedy. I am persuaded they will repent of them. It is impossible to add any thing to what hath been so often repeated upon this subject. It is not even necessary to urge your Majesty to a thing, that is so much your interest. Since I came from Scotland, I have always beseeched your Majesty, to let me know, what your Majesty's servants and friends in this country, should do, on their part, in order to induce his most Christian Majesty, to engage in this enterprize; for without that, there is nothing to be done. It appears to us, that it is his interest as much as your Majesty's; but of this, he himself is the best judge.

I know, that your Majesty receives exact accounts of all that passes in parliament; therefore, I shall say nothing on the subject. There are great heats and contests among these gentlemen; but that will not hinder

1695.
March.

the affair of the subsidy. The lower house are to choofe another fpeaker to-morrow.

With regard to news, it is certain, that the preparations that are made here for the Mediterranean, are designing for attacking Toulon, if it is poffible. It is lord Sunderland who has given me in charge to affure your Majesty of this; but he told me, at the fame time, that he does not believe the enterprize will take place, becaufe he is perfuaded, that it will not be found practicable, when they come to put it in execution. At any rate, they are refolved, at prefent, to try to execute it.

I conclude, with entreating your Majesty, to permit me here, to affure the Queen of my very humble refpects, and to declare myfelf to be, with all fubmiffion, duty, and obedience,

Your Majesty's, &c.

May.—June.

The earl of Middleton's letters, at this time, are moftly allegorical, and confequently not eafily explained. But it appears, in general, that he was correfponding with fome men of the firft confequence in England, and that the adherents of James were daily increafing.

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pers, D.N.
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On the 13th of May, he writes to Mr. Mordant: "I always told you, that the Angels in heaven rejoiced at the converfion of a finner*; and that every man fhould be rewarded according to his works. I am glad to hear, that an old friend of mine is juftified. It is very plain, that there was a defign of putting a public affront on him: if he bears it patiently, he is much altered."

Ibid.

Middleton writes, on the fixth of June, to a correfpondent, under the borrowed name of Mrs. Dorille: "Frafer can fpeak to Pembroke and Devonfhire, and you can fpeak yourfelf to 1 [lord Abergaveny] and Godolphin; and lady Devonfhire and Bradbury can to the Leaper."

Ibid.

He writes, of the fame date, to No. 7, [the bifhop of Bath and Wells.]

I Am glad of this opportunity of inclofing Mr. Artley's [K. James's] letter to you, to affure you of the great regard I have for your friendship, of which I have had many remarkable inftances, which is confirmed to me

* He means, perhaps, the duke of Devonfhire, who feems to have loft his averfion to James, in fome affront which he received from William.

by several hands. Those of your family cannot be ignorant, that I had the happiness of being born and bred in it; and, if they are not already, I hope they will be quickly convinced, that I have never proved undutiful; and it is a common artifice of people's enemies, to make them jealous of their friends. Unforeseen accidents may defer the best resolutions; but reason and interest will prevail, when it is practicable and those we deal with are convinced, which is the principal point; and, therefore, I hope nobody will despond. All your friends here are in perfect health; and I am most sincerely, &c.

1695.
May.—June.

Mr. Charnock, who had been sent by the conspirators to France, in May, this year, communicated to James the opinions of his friends in England.

June.

“Charnock's paper, June 17, N. S. 1695.”

State of affairs in England, and the dispositions of the people, in general, and of some noble men, in particular, with regard to King James.—Reasons for his invading England.—The number of troops necessary.—The measures to be taken for joining him when he lands.

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“THE persons, from whom I am sent to your Majesty [viz. the earl of Alisbury, the lord Montgomery, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Friend, Sir William Parkyns, &c.] finding by their own experience, and the observation of your Majesty's friends, in all parts of England, that the inclination of the people to the present government, are changed into an universal defection; and, though the grounds upon which men's minds are altered, are different, yet the argument of every particular is naturally reduced to your Majesty's advantage. But, that this may be made obvious, there needs no more than to consider the men of substance, under these two heads. The first, are those of the church of England, who in general, though never so much instrumental in the revolution, and seemingly bigotted, to the last degree, to the interest of the prince of Orange, yet they have, for some time, and more particularly at this present conjuncture, declared, that they were blindly drawn in, and misled into the extremitys that were acted; and are now more

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forward to expiate what they have done, by being instrumental in your Majesty's restoration, than they were at first, in advancing the revolution. Besides, the management of the church affairs, in Scotland, has created in them a reasonable jealousy of their fate at home. The second class is that of the fanatics, who the prince of Orange has broke his word with, in every article; it being his promise, that he would not assume to himself even the pretence of being King, the very name of which, as well as a monarchical government, they hate to an antipathy. But when their principles are rightly weighed, and a calculation made of the slowness of their power, they are apparently too contemptible to be solicited for their assistance, upon any account; for they are a sort of people, whose practices have ever demonstrated, that they have no notion of honour; though this may be said of them, that as they are too selfish to do good to the cause, so it may be very reasonably inferred, they will scarce run the hazard of making an opposition. So that, if your Majesty is secure of meeting with the friendship of the first, and that the other will give no obstruction, the encouragement for your Majesty to take this opportunity will still be greater, when the bulk of the nation (taking it under the title of the popularity) are declared enemys to the present constitution; and, as slender taxes have ever been attended in England, with the discontents of the people, so it is not to be wondered at, when the subsidies are so prodigious, that groans and outcries are spread throughout the kingdom, and to that degree, that it is rare to hear any body speak of the government without a curse, and at the same time, begging for a speedy deliverance.

But besides all this, your Majesty is sensible of the sincere affections and entire zeal of a great number of your subjects, whose loyalty, in this unhappy interval, has never suffered the least taint, and their readiness to obey any of your Majesty's commands has never failed of appearing, and whose whole business it is, to be perpetually employing themselves in engaging others, which has already been effected with such success, that, by a modest computation, the better part of the army in England is sure to serve your Majesty, whenever they are called on, particularly the battalions of foot guards and the royal regiment of horse; and, as there is no room for doubting of the fidelity of these friends of your Majesty's, so their credit, when they make promises to your Majesty, can never fail of weight.

These

These were the preliminaries, that were thought expedient for me to lay before your Majesty. First, then, I was to acquaint you with a resolution, that they had come to, and which they concluded a considerable inducement for your Majesty to make an attempt with a small force, which they esteem 10,000 men to be, 1000 of which to be horse, 1000 with equipage intended for dragoons, and 8000 foot. This is a number which is thought the King of France can spare at any time, especially when the success is so morally certain, and, by that means, your Majesty restored, and his whole difficulty with the allies finished at once.

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What they assure your Majesty of performing on their parts is (if this number can be complied with, and they advertised of the month that your Majesty intends a descent), they will have 2000 horse ready, with men and all accoutrements fit for service, either to march directly to the place where you resolve to land at, or else to march any other way that your Majesty shall order, to give a diversion and an amusement to the troops of the government that may be upon motion. If your Majesty makes use of them to attend your landing, they will, at the same time, engage the mounting the thousand men with horses, which are designed for dragoons; and, though they have fixt only upon this number of 2000, yet I am to let your Majesty know they verily believe they shall make them 4000, and it may be 10,000.

This proposal is made to make things as easy to the King of France as possible, it being their opinion the horses cannot be conveniently spared. Besides that, a great number of horse would take up so many ships, that in the time they were getting ready, the alarm would be taken, and of consequence an obstruction given; whereas, for the number desired, thirty transport ships, with eight or ten frigates from Dunkirk, are sufficient, and there will be no necessity of being embarrassed with more than four or five days provisions aboard, the coast of England being so near, and there being no possibility of wanting wherever you land. If the confederate fleet be an objection to this, supposing a squadron of them to lie before Dunkirk, it is believed, that, if the King of France will give a false alarm at Brest, some time before he thinks of putting this proposal in execution, by embarking 5 or 6000 there, as it may be naturally supposed that the prince of Orange and the government of England will receive a quick advertisement of it, so it will take off any
1
suspicion

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suspicion of what is to be done at Dunkirk, and will of course divert the whole fleet to observe what they will expect from Brest. But, because a projection of this nature may possibly be thought more feasible when the campaign is over, it is necessary to represent to your Majesty the apprehensions we are under, that the prince of Orange will return with an army of foreigners: for he is sensible how many men of quality he has disgusted, by leaving them out of this new commission, and by putting into that power and trust persons of less quality and interest than themselves: so that he has reason to apprehend, that such usage will be attended with resentments; and besides, by some violent proceedings in the last sessions of that parliament, he was with difficulty brought to suffer them to sit any longer; but the pressing instances of some at the helm, and the present necessity he was under for money, besides the reflections that the allies would have made upon his parting with his parliament in a heat, forced him to lay aside the thoughts of dissolving them then. But, that he will call a new one upon his return, is what every body expects and depends upon; and as it has always been an observation in England, that the dissolution of one parliament never produced a better, so the prince of Orange has only recourse to an army to intimidate them into a compliance, since his measures of bribery are like to fall to the ground; and if this should arrive, your Majesty will consider, that then you must come with an army, at least equivalent to what he will have in England.

I must likewise lay before your Majesty an opinion, which is generally received even by the great men in the government, which they have declared upon occasional discourse (supposing the King of France could assist your Majesty before the prince of Orange returns from Flanders); which is this, that if your Majesty were once landed, whoever should oppose you would be rebels; for that all the world knows your Majesty is King *de jure*, and when landed you are King *de facto* too: so that then the prince of Orange is divested of all pretensions, even by his friends. But if your Majesty cannot have this opportunity afforded you, but to have it deferred till winter, when the prince of Orange is there, those in the government will still look upon him to be King in possession; and, in all probability, those who would otherwise have acquiesced, and have given your Majesty no opposition, will be then under an obligation of

of acting to their power, for the prince of Orange. These are the sentiments of your friends, and they are with all submission referred to your Majesty as the best judge."

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The following paper is marked on the back, "A Memorial, 28th June, 1695." It is dated probably according to the old stile, and was presented along with the preceding, for it is in the same hand-writing, and is a continuation of the same subject.

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"**T**HAT some directions be given to such as your Majesty does most particularly confide in, what your friends in general must do, supposing the prince of Orange to be killed in Flanders, or that he should die * before your Majesty can be able to make a descent; it being natural to believe, that either the princess Anne or a commonwealth would be advanced, unless obstructed by the motion of your Majesty's friends just at the juncture.

Ferguson's advice, that your Majesty put out a proclamation at your landing, and that the forces of the prince of Orange in England be encouraged to take part with your Majesty, by promising them their arrears.

He wants your Majesty's orders what he shall write about that time, that he has some little papers ready, but if he receives your Majesty's directions about any particular matter, he will take care to perform them effectually.

Whether your Majesty would have any thing wrote about the last declaration.

That your Majesty would let your friends, who I came from, be satisfied, that they shall be acquainted of the month that your Majesty intends to land in, so soon as you have fixed upon it; that being the only thing they desire to know, in order to be the better able to answer what they have promised.

That it will be necessary, Sir John Fenwick should have a commission, at that time; he having delivered up the last he had to your Majesty.

* This is a delicate way of mentioning the assassination-plot to King James.

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The same subject is continued in the following paper.

"Reasons most humbly offered, why ten thousand men are sufficient and safe for the King in person to make, at this time, a descent upon England; with a proposal for making the said descent."

"1st, THAT the whole force now in England are but 14,000 men, 5000 whereof are to be immediately sent abroad; so that there will remain in England but about 9000. Of this number 3000, at least, must be left to maintain the face of a government at London; and 3000 more are the fewest which can be allowed for the garrisons; so that there will not be above 3000 left to take the field whatever happen, and even of these the King may hope for some share; for amongst the whole there are not above 1600 foreigners."

2dly, That the great alterations occasioned by the princess of Orange's death, hath so broke and divided the strength of the government, that 10,000 men are more now in proportion to its present strength, than 30,000 were before: for the whole church of England party, who were for him only upon her account, are now intirely broke off; and even those of them, who have no inclinations for the King, are fallen into the princess of Denmark.

3dly, That the nation being thus divided into three parts, the prince of Orange's must certainly be the least, for many plain reasons; but especially this, that no man will be so mad as to oppose himself to the King and his son, the princess of Denmark and her son, for the single life of the prince of Orange, since, after his death, they must unavoidably fall into some of their hands, even though they were secure during his life, which no wise man will think himself.

4thly, That, since the design and desire of both parties against him is to destroy him, it is plain either of them would join with the other so to do, and consequently also plain, that both joined would be much too strong for him. What then can give the King any doubt, when he will be joined by the princess's party and his own, which will certainly comprehend every body either from affection or fear?

5thly, That the great confusion and ferment through almost the whole kingdom, upon the princess of Orange's death, is a plain and demonstrative

demonstrative proof, that the inclinations of the people are for the King, and not thinking upon any other change: for the cry in the mouths of the mobs was, freedom from taxes and foreigners, and a restoration of their ancient laws and constitutions.

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6thly, That the present parliament (which is the only support the prince of Orange hath to trust to, even though they should stand by him, upon such a juncture, which cannot be supposed) will be of no great weight for him or against the King: for they are hated and suspected by the people, and not at all speaking their sense, as appears by what follows, viz.

What is the reason that this parliament hath, for these several last sessions, pressed and endeavoured its own dissolution? The answer is plain, because it knows that its dissolution is desired by the people it represents, whose resentments it fears for sitting so long against their intentions. What then is the reason, why the people desires the dissolution of this parliament? The answer is also plain, because they look upon them to be corrupted, and acting contrary to their interest and intentions.

What strength then does the junction of this parliament add to the prince of Orange? No more than he hath a force to give a sanction to: for it is not the sanction of a parliament, which the people hate and wish dissolved, that makes them comply with its acts, but the force that is upon them from the prince of Orange; and consequently, whenever there is a superior force opposed to this force, all that such a parliament can do will rather hurt than save him.

So that, from all these reasons, it is plain the King hath no ground to fear any opposition, that may be made either from the army, the country, or the parliament; but, on the contrary, strong reasons to hope all their concurrence, and consequently can run no hazard, either as to safety or success, in going with 10,000 men.

And to effect the making this descent, since captain Bart is of opinion that, if the shipping were ready, an army and all things necessary might be embarked in 48 hours, which is so short a time, that no alarm could be given; it is most humbly proposed, that his Majesty would be pleased to press, with all vigour, that the King of France would have the shipping ready to wait for an occasion: for several will most certainly hap-

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pen, before the summer be at an end, in which such an army may be safely transported, without any danger from the English fleet: for, if they should but go to the mouth of the Channel, or to Spithead, the common place of their rendezvous (all things being ready at Dunkirk as is proposed), the King might be embarked and over and landed, before even they could have any notice; and so (according to all probability) possess himself of his crowns without any resistance.

And that, which is yet more encouraging for the King to press this proposal, and for the court of France to undertake it, is, that, if any unforeseen accident fall in between this and the executing of it, which may either change against the King the circumstances of affairs there, or prevent the transportation, the further progress of it may be easily and safely stopt, without any considerable loss or noise; the whole expence of preparing the shipping, even upon the supposition of 20,000, being estimated by captain Bart, not to exceed 100,000 livres. But lest this plain easy method of restoring the King may seem liable to this objection, that, though so small a number, by taking advantage of such a surprise, and the prince of Orange being unprovided with troops there, be sufficient for the King to regain his kingdoms; yet they are not of force enough to secure him against what the prince of Orange may be further able to attempt against him. To clear up that difficulty, be pleased to consider, where the prince of Orange may be, what he may endeavour to do, and what may be the success of these endeavours.

As to the first, he will certainly, if alive, be either in England or abroad. If in England, it is not improbable, but he may fall into the King's hands, and so there's an end. But, though he may escape, it will be so mean and ignominious to have been beat out of possession himself in person, considering what he makes be believed abroad of the affections of the people for him, that none of his allies will ever think it worth their while to make a fresh attempt to restore him, though they were in circumstances so to do, which shall, by what follows, be made appear otherwise. But it being more probable, that he will be then abroad, be pleased to take a view of what he may endeavour to do, and what success his endeavours may have.

It may then be supposed, that he will then endeavour to get 20 or 30,000 good troops immediately transported with himself into England; and

and that it is the interest of the allies to grant him such a number. But to shew, that his endeavours will be unsuccessful upon this, be pleased to consider the following reasons: 1695.
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1st, That this will happen when the armies are in the field, a time that such a number cannot be spared, without exposing, for want of them, both the confederate army and their countries, which they cannot be supposed to consent to, especially considering how little they will then trust to above 30,000 British amongst them, whom they will much rather be afraid of than rely upon.

2d, That the allies (were there no other reason) will never consent to exposing so many of their troops on the other side, upon so dangerous and uncertain an event, especially considering what mutual satisfaction will then publicly appear between the King and his people; add to these reasons the hatred bore him in Holland, the enmity between him and the Elector of Bavaria, and the great disposition of all the branches of the confederates for a peace; and then consider, if it be not much more reasonable to believe, that they will abandon him and treat with France: for he will then have no money (as heretofore) to bribe ministers and others, which is the only charm he ever used to keep him and them cemented.

But next consider, that, though the allies should come over, all these reasons (which cannot well be supposed) and resolve to run all hazards for him, and lend him 20 or 30,000 men, yet how can he get them transported, provided or paid; for then the source of his money will be stopped, and not only so, but in the King's hands, to be employed against him; and what little sums he may have left in Flanders will bear no proportion to this matter, for these he hath only from hand to mouth; and all his friends abroad joined together will not be able, at that time, to furnish him with a sum sufficient for this expedition.

But suppose, that all this were possible for the prince of Orange, (which cannot be supposed) yet the very fleet of England now for him will then be against him, and prevent the transporting of any army. For the King then, at Whitehall, in possession of his kingdoms, master of all the strengths and stores, and of the very money given this session to the prince of Orange, a third part whereof will not be collected, will

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most certainly have the fleet in all places declare for him; for though not from affection, they must of necessity do it. Nor can it be supposed, that the fleet will ever go otherwise, than the kingdom, or espouse against their own country an interest upon a Dutch bottom, which they so much hate; and, which is yet more, all their families and fortunes will be in the King's power; so that their joining the King is not to be doubted, and how then can the prince of Orange transport an army though he had one?

So that there is a chain of plain reasons, every link of it stronger than another, which, according to all human reason, renders it altogether impossible for the prince of Orange to make any fresh attempt upon the King, if he were once so restored. Add to all this, what may rationally be supposed to happen, upon the King's immediately sending an envoy into Flanders to offer his mediation for peace and the security of the British troops there, and then consider, if it be not very plain, that this small number proposed to restore his Majesty is also sufficient to preserve him when restored, against all the further attempts of the prince of Orange. There are also many other reasons which might be joined to these, as the whole kingdom being then desperate with the prince of Orange, the great number of known friends to the King, who never took the oaths to him; all which his Majesty might arm upon any occasion, and who would as certainly fight for him, when on his throne, as they suffered and ventured their lives and fortunes for him when in exile.

In a letter written in cyphers about this time, by John Anderson to the Hamburgh merchant*, [or Lord Middleton to a member of parliament,] we have a fresh instance of Marlborough's intrigues.

June 20th, 1695.

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NOTHING could be welcomer than yours of the 21st of May, and Mr. Smith [King James] was extremely satisfied with what related to him: but alas! the profit of what you insinuate is very remote, and depends

Ibid.

* The Hamburgh merchant is frequently mentioned in Middleton's letters to his correspondent Appleby. On the 13th of May, he writes to him: "I the more earnestly desired

depends on great uncertainties; for if either 368, or 20, or 86 [the King, or the princess of Denmark, or lord Churchill] give it over to be 163 [are dead] before 534 [the prince of Orange], then we might shut up shop, and three to one you know are great odds. Why should not these factors, who have in their hands that bail of goods, No. 176 [England], be called upon to deliver it? This is a critical time; no stone should be left unturned. I shall not pretend to set down the means, nor need I conjure you to bestir yourself, since I know you are both able and willing to restore our trade. Farewel.

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From this time we meet with frequent mention of the earl of Sunderland's intrigues with King James. The following letter is from John Anderfon, or the earl of Middleton, to his correspondent in England, under the name of Appleby.

June 20th, 1695.

SINCE my last of the 16th instant, I received two of yours together, the 22d and 29th of May. I cannot guess nor imagine how [lord Sunderland] should come to know any thing of 20 [the princess of Denmark]. Things of that nature are often spoke at a venture, and not out of any certain knowledge; either out of malice, or to value one's self on a discovery. However, it is impossible to make any true judgment of a matter, that one is entirely ignorant of; and you will oblige me in

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desired yours, that I might be the more particularly informed concerning the Hamburgh partner, from whom I have not heard of a great while, which you may know, for I never had any of his letters but under your cover. I shall not write to him, till I hear further from you. If you think of any particular thing, that you judge proper for me to say to him, pray give me a hint of it; for some matters must be managed with great caution, and you can best judge on the place. I wonder the less, that I should be ignorant of his contract, since you are. Though I am confident he means well: yet I beg you would let me know what you can observe; nor is it fit to show him this."

He writes to him again, on the 27th of May: "I most thankfully acknowledge the favour of yours of the seventeenth of April. Things are here just in the condition when I writ last to you. But, in your town, by this time, matters must have another face, because of the new magistrates: for which reason, I think it would be fit, that the Hamburgh partner should give the consul an account how far the interest of the company may be concerned in it, and of what may be adviseable in this conjuncture; and, in the mean time, to bestir himself."

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letting me know what you can learn of it hereafter. As to what was said by 534 [the prince of Orange] I am not at all surpris'd, that one that is capable of doing any thing, should say what is for his interest, though never so false; and nothing can be more so, than what he said. There never was less appearance of it, nor we more reason to be satisfied, and the owner of the goods 368 [King James] had appeared on the Exchange long ere now, I mean half a year ago, but for the difficulty I formerly mentioned.

The Earl of Middleton to Monsieur de Pontchartrain.

Translation.

“SIR,

St. Germain, 27th June, 1694.

“I Have received the order for the three thousand livres for Mr. Floyd, our correspondent for the marine, who will be very useful. Last night I received a letter from him of the 15th instant, with a very exact account of the enemy's fleet. You will see thereby, the disposition of all the forces, and you may particularly depend upon every information which comes from him.

“All the other letters from England never say any thing, but to make haste to come over; you shall be made very welcome. Every thing is arranged and prepared for that purpose*.”

Middleton

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* At the same time that Middleton wrote in this style to the French ministry; he endeavoured to excuse them to his correspondents in England, who grew impatient at their delays. He writes to Appleby, on the sixth of June: “As to the bale of goods, No. 219 [Fr. fleet], if you will consider and believe what I write to you concerning it, I need say no more of it. However, I shall only add, that, till it is brought into its proper warehouse, which depends on accidents, it can never turn to good account.”

Ibid.

He writes to Chapman, on the 29th of June: “I am concerned, that I cannot answer our wishes at present; and merely for the reason I have so often informed you of: for I find no other objection made; but, on the contrary, very great forwardness, when that is removed; and then you may begin to look out sharp, if things continue in the same situation they are in at this time.” On the 12th of July, he writes to Appleby. “I could wish, with all my heart, that the account you have of the goods 219 [Fr. fleet] were true. It is not likely that the owner of them would let them rot in the warehouse, at a time when he could dispose of them to so great advantage.”

Ibid.

On the 17th of August, he writes to Chapman. “Our friend Benson [Fr. King] has put his money out to use at present; so that he cannot advance ten pounds. Whereas, his

Middleton had some suspicion, at this time, of the sincerity of Sunderland, as appears by another letter from him under the feigned name John Anderson to the Spanish merchant, a member of the house of peers.

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August 2d, 1695.

“I Received yours of the 16th of July. Those who do not doubt your will, must regret your want of power. What engaged you to bid for the goods No. 781 [lord Sunderland] we cannot tell, being wholly ignorant of that matter. The goods you desire cannot be sent

his rents will come in again, after Michaelmas quarter-day; and, about that time, all his goods will be in the proper warehouses; so that there will not be the same reason for putting off for the future.

Of the same date he writes to Cleland, *i. e.* Waugh. “We are at no certainty yet, when our long law-suit can be brought to a trial. But we are in good hopes, since the excuse our lawyers made will be removed very quickly.”

Middleton's correspondents in England seemed to have been afraid at this time, that their intrigues might be discovered by a person who had come over from St. Germans. His lordship writes to Ward, [col. Sackville] on the 18th Oct. “You cannot imagine how vexed I have been to hear of a rogue's being in your parts, who lived some time here: for I am very sensible that he may do a great deal of mischief. But, because some good-natured people may make fine stories, I shall only mention these short facts. He had no leave, nor ever asked it. If he had, care should have been taken to have hindered him. He was offered service; but he declined it, choosing rather to work at his trade; for which purpose he was supplied with what he asked. But it seems that honest way of living appearing too painful, he stole away to follow his inclinations.”

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On the same day, he writes to Green [Sir Andrew Forrester.] “We never heard that the blacksmith you mention was gone from hence, till it came from your parts. Many others, you know, are gone from hence, because they could subsist no longer; and I hope no body will be so unjust, as to make any here responsible for their actions. What I am most concerned for is, the indiscretion of one I mention to you in very general terms, by order of the president [K. James], who gave him no commission; and all I said to him was reserve, caution, and circumspection. But he has been so far from following my advice, that his discourses have been returned hither, by persons whom I am sure he has seen, and cannot be suspected of any malice; and there are charitable people, who do not stick to say, that what he has said was by my direction. Pray do not let him know that you have any thing of this from me; but only endeavour to gagge him for the future.”

Of the same date he writes to Mr. Cleland [Waugh]. “You cannot imagine how vexed and concerned I am for you, lest a rascal, who stole from hence, should be able to hurt you. God protect you.”

now;

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now ; for the danger at sea is so great, for want of a sufficient convoy, that nobody will ensure them. Mr. Smith [King James] is well, and remembers him kindly to you."

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The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Croissy.

News from England.—Expectations from Sunderland's credit and from the discontents of the nation.

Translation.

St. Germain, Nov. 5, 1695.

WE have just now received letters from England of the 26th October, N. S. by which we learn, that the prince of Orange has dissolved the parliament, and called another to meet the 2d of December.

The two greatest difficulties in the enterprise against England, consist in the safety of the transports, and in the means which the English, who are loyal, may find to assemble themselves together, after the landing, in order to join their King or make a diversion : and now that Rooke is failed, the coasts are without shipping, and all the people met together for new elections, which would be the best pretext that could be wished for ; but, above all, the great credit of lord Sunderland, who has been always the first to deceive himself, and the first to betray. But all these advantages will become useless, on account of our being unprepared to profit by them.

They write likewise, that the prince of Orange is to travel through the counties for twenty-six days, in order to acquire applause, and to contribute to the election of his creatures. They say, that eight millions sterling will be demanded of the parliament, and that the settlements of the crown will be changed, by preferring the children which he may have to the princess Anne of Denmark ; and that lord Danby will be disgraced, *sed de futuris contingentibus non datur determinata veritas.*

I am, SIR, with great respect, &c.

MIDDLETON.

The Earl of Middleton to Sir William Bruce; concerning the affairs of Scotland.

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December.

"This letter was put in cypher, and sent to Sir William Bruce the 23d of December, 1695. It is inserted after the letter dated January 3, 1696."

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SIR,

I Have received yours of the 26th of August and 23d of September, which came to my hands about ten days after the other, and both of them within these three weeks. I am sorry for the good reasons you give me, of not hearing oftener from you and the worthy persons you name; and I am very sensible both of the difficulty and danger you are in when you do send; and it is for that reason you do not hear oftener from me, because of the hazard of intercepting my letters, which to you might prove troublesome: for, though in other matters you may imagine us in great misery, yet in this we are, both in sending and receiving, in great security, and therefore I shall be always very cautious in exposing of you, but when there is good cause for it; and when that is, I will not fail of giving you timely advertisement, and that with as much security as I can contrive.

Be not, therefore, anxious in exposing yourselves by writing often, or expecting often to hear from me. When there is any thing material upon your side, I know you will let us have it; and for what is common, such as the state of the present forces of the kingdom, may be done by way of a common News Letter, without exposing any body, and yet as much said as we shall want to know.

The King is very sensible of your great endeavours for him; and you may be persuaded that, upon all occasions, I shall give a just account of you and others as I am informed. Doctor Cockburn has left his cyphers with me, and you may, as you have occasion, continue to write by them. I am glad to hear of my lord Strathmore's good inclinations before his death, and of the good opinion you have of his son, as I am of Tarbat and Queensberry's good behaviour in the parliament, which should be encouraged; and that the discontents among our enemies prove for our advantage, and that our friends persevere, which, in a great measure, is beholding to the good management of you and your partners.

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Y y y

The

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December.

The King is very sensible of the good behaviour of the clergy and the bishops; and I have taken particular notice what you say of the bishop of Edinburgh. The King intreats all of you to continue and dispose of every thing for the best; that, when it pleaseth God to give the opportunity, things may be found in a readiness.

I do not remember that the two priests said any thing of your affairs; and I am sure doctor Cockburn gave me no letter of the 25th February from you. I keep very carefully all your letters that I have received from him, and I find none of that date amongst them.

I have told you formerly, that the King was resolved to have no secretaries of state for Scotland, till he be on the other side, as you have advised him, and you may depend upon it; for he is still of the same mind.

People coming from hence is not our fault; we have not wherewith to maintain them. But if there be any amongst them that pretends to have been trusted, or to deliver messages, do not believe them. You have been at this sport before, and may remember of the straits you were in; and that it was no more in the King's power then, than it is now, to help it. As for scribblers, if you can fix any thing upon any person here, it will be good service. But I assure you the little affairs we have is in so few hands, that you may depend upon it, if you be not deceived by the persons you trust, you shall not by any means of ours.

Sir Andrew Forrester went from hence by his own choice and desire; the condition of his affairs obliging him to it.

I take what secretary Johnston said to you to be pumping and no more; and I think it's easy for you to consider what letters could be wrote to you from hence. I understand mine came safe, and you may know if Dr. Cockburn's did or not, or if you had any other correspondents. By examining, in this matter, you will easily find what letters could come to you, and so will the rest; and I will be so cautious in bringing you into danger that way, that you may all be persuaded I will only trouble you when it is material and absolutely necessary; and I intreat all of you to believe me your most faithful humble servant,

MIDDELTON.

Nego-

Negotiations at Rome.

Cardinal Howard corresponded with James and his ministers in the year 1693. Bishop Ellis likewise wrote them several letters in the course of that and the following year; giving an account of his negotiations and solicitations at Rome, and endeavouring to make himself pass for a man of consequence. He frequently insinuated that Caprara, who, as agent for the Queen, managed her concerns at Modena, and without asking any reward, or being invested with any character, exerted himself in promoting James's interests at Rome, was suspected of favouring the Austrians. Ellis, however, was never authorised to appear in any public character; and he was ordered to repair to his diocese soon after the earl of Perth arrived this year. There are copies of answers to some of his letters from James and secretary Caryll.

1695.
December.
Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 19.

Ibid. D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 129.

The duke of Modena, brother to the Queen of England, was succeeded by his brother who was a cardinal. The Queen thought she had pretensions to something on the death of her brother, and James sent the earl of Perth to Modena to settle them with the cardinal duke. His credentials and instructions are dated the 3d of November, 1694.

The earl of Perth, who had been lately freed from his imprisonment in Scotland, and was now travelling abroad, begins his correspondence with Caryll and Nairne from Modena, the 14th of April, 1695. From Modena he was directed to go to Rome, and credentials and instructions were sent to him in the beginning of March. He was instructed to consult in every thing Dom. Guilielmo Lesly, to convince the Pope that James lost his crown for professing the Catholic Religion; and that his Holiness was therefore bound to oppose a peace which might prejudice his interest. He was also desired to consider which of the cardinals James should nominate to be protector of the British dominions, and to solicit money.

Ibid. D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 36.
Ibid. D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 129.

The earl of Perth's first letter from Rome is dated the 9th of May, 1695.

Ibid. D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 36.

" I AM trying, by Dom. Guilielmo Lesly's informations, how this court is inclined; and I find that artifice and juggle has so misrepresented the state of the affair of the usurpation, that, as if men had resolved either to appear such fools as to be imposed upon by mere open villany, or such professed wicked persons, as to own to support all the monstrous injustice done his Majesty, and the persecutions brought

1695. upon his catholic subjects; they will appear persuaded, that to humble France, by any means, was not only lawful, but a necessary duty."

June 6th, 1695. Monseigneur Caprara is full of business, and speaks very seldom to me of affairs, especially the King's. I find he has no hopes of the King's restoration, (if he deals sincerely by me;) and really all here (if one should take six for one to be the all), are very cold in our concerns. Press them with the injustice the King meets with. You will get a cold, "Yes, he is ill dealt by: but what shall we do to get a peace? For the prince, if he lives, will reign, no doubt: but how turn out the prince of Orange? He is in possession. He is brave and wise, and has got the way of managing England. He is master of Holland: he is the cement that glues together the different interests of the confederacy. If, at last, the collegati should fail him; if England should grow uneasy, he has money laid up, an army at his devotion, and will trouble Europe, if he get not leave to live out his usurped possession?" This is the common talk; and even some we look on as our firm friends, insinuate this to be reasonable.

I can easily perceive, that all who are well affected to the house of Austria, try, by all means, to persuade the Pope, that the prince of Orange is no enemy to the catholics; but only strives to maintain his acquisition of the government of England. Monseigneur Caprara, the other day, when I was to see him, told me, that he had acquainted his holiness with my design to pay my duty to him; and that, although the prince of Orange had obliged me not to go to France, he had allowed me to come thither. I told Monsieur that it was not so; but that I was banished absolutely. I might go to France if I would. The danger flowed from a late act, not from any prohibition: that the prince of Orange had no mind I should be here: that his love was no greater to the Pope than to France. O! but, said he, you must not tell him so. I told him I would; and that any, who had a mind to make him pass for a friend to catholics, injured my master and the truth at once. O! said he, but the old man seemed so glad, that you had leave to come thither, and you must not contradict what seemed so acceptable to him. I told him plainly I would undeceive him, and let him know how our missionaries were banished (a matter which father Leslie has handled too nicely, as I have told him roundly enough; for I was forced to say, that

no Jesuit in Britain would have done as he did); that the addressees carried, that he had banished popery and tyranny, meaning a catholic King for being catholic, and that he made it an instrument of supporting his usurpation, his boasting of his being an enemy to popery; and this I will do, although one told me indirectly, that, if I endeavour to make the Emperor appear, as a favourer of heresy, I would draw a mischief on my head. But, by the grace of God, I'll fear no event, in the pursuing of the King's interest, with my most zealous endeavours.

1695.

“ Gives an account of the first audience of the Pope.”

Rome, 7th June, 1695.

June.

“ I Said all I could think of before him [pope], that could move him to have a true sense of the state of the King's sufferings; demonstrating, that no earthly power could have hurt the King, save by the concurrence of catholic princes, and not they neither, if the King had been of the religion of his dominions. This he seemed firmly to believe, and called the King a faint. This being so, then, I said, that all that his Holiness could do for him was but too little: that there was now in Rome a great talking of peace, and upon such terms, as if consented to, or even permitted, would be a stain upon his Holiness's reputation, and a reflection upon the apostolique chair. He said it was true. But what can we do? I have done and will do, what, humanly speaking, is possible: but catholic princes will not hearken to me; they have lost the respect that used to be paid to popes: religion is gone, and a wicked policy set up in its place. But, I said, that he could still prevent a peace with the King's exclusion in it. God knows, he said, to restore the King, I would give my blood; but Christians have lost all respect, even to us; to us! said he. But can it be believed, continued his Holiness, that I should ever consent to any peace, that excludes that good King from his just right. God forbid! God forbid! But what will become of all this? The prince of Orange is master: he is arbiter of Europe. The Europeans and King of Spain are slaves, and worse than subjects to him. They neither will nor dare venture to displease him; and here he struck twice with his hand upon the table, and sighed. If God (said he), by some stroke of omnipotency, do it not, we are undone. I pressed him

1695.
June.

him to reflect, that this was really a war of religion. He said, that they were blind who did not see that. Last of all, I laid before him the pitiful case of the poor catholics, who, having followed their master, were now reduced to extreme misery. God help them! said he; but what can I do? If I should do any thing, I am cryed out upon, as favouring France, who are pushing to be masters of all. However, he said, he was convinced, that all I said was most reasonable, and that he would think upon it. In the mean time, I am very confident he will never consent, or even wink at any peace, by which his Majesty may suffer in his just rights; and this is one great point; and for the money part of it, I hope, with him, we may obtain somewhat. Meanwhile, I fancy nobody has spoke directly to his Holiness of any truce."

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 129.

Mr. Caryll's Answers to these Letters.

June 6th, 1695.

"I Doubt not, but you will find there [at Rome] all the outward civilities, that you can expect, both from his Holiness and from the cardinals: but to get any money from him to supply the great necessities of his Majesty's suffering subjects, for their loyalty and religion, I fear will be a difficult, if not impossible task; and yet to satisfy those that are in want, or at least, of his Majesty's endeavours for them, it shall be attempted in the proper season, when you shall judge his Holiness best prepared to receive an address of that nature. But, before any thing of that be done, his Holiness ought to be made sensible of his Majesty's devotion to the see apostolick, and how much he has suffered for it: that any general peace, that shall exclude the King and own the usurper, will, in every respect, be like that between Herod and Pilate: That, who endeavours it, or contributes towards it, upon these terms, is a betrayer of the catholic religion, and makes a sacrifice of it to worldly interest: that, as the church is built upon a rock, so the piety and zeal of his Holiness, for the house of God, ought to stand firm against all human respects and politick insinuations to the contrary. I fear his Holiness stands a little in need of such representations as these to be warmly made to him, in regard of the violent inclination he has to procure a peace in Europe, at any rate; that he may be freed from the fear
of

of the Germans, who are at his door, and also of the confederate fleet, in the Mediterranean: So that we have nothing but conscience to plead with him against interest, nor will he want false directors to tell him, that a part must be sacrificed to save the whole; that Europe must be preserved by making peace, and England left to the providence of God; forgetting, that what is unjust and irreligious in itself, ought not to be done to save the whole world.

1695.
June.

The Earl of Perth writes.

Rome, 28th June, 1695.

“IF one had here the Monthly Holland’s Mercury, and the Lethe Historique, there are passages in them sometimes, that would let the Romans see what people they are so fond of: for here the prince of Orange has more friends, than either in England or in Holland; and the King is so universally hated, that I look upon it as a felicity to get a compliment on his Majestie’s account. Ruffel, since he came into these seas, is cried up as the only hero, and a Frenchman is look’d at with contempt.”

June.—Aug.
—Sept.
Nairne’s
Papers,
D.N. vol. ii.
4to. No. 36.

Mr. Secretary Caryl to the Earl of Perth.

My Lord,

July 4, 1695.

YOUR lordship’s of the 6th and 7th of June are happily arrived; giving, in the first place, a very natural account of the temper and disposition of the court of Rome, where, as your lordship very well observes, interest does not reign, but tyrannize, and truly it requires a virtue no less consummated and try’d than our master’s; and give me leave also to add, your lordship’s not to be scandalized, at so much of the scribe and pharisee so near the chair of Moses. In the mean time, it is no small comfort to every true Christian to find, that his Holiness himself, of all the court of Rome, is the least tainted with that corrupt policy, which makes a sacrifice of justice and even of religion to worldly interest. But these sages at Rome, as clear sighted as they think themselves to be, will shortly find how much they are mistaken, in their calculation of affairs. For I dare affirm to your lordship, upon very certain grounds,

July.
Nairne’s Pa-
pers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 129.

1695.
July.

that this confederacy cannot hold two years to an end; and that the King of France has it now in his power, to be once more the arbiter of the peace of Europe. To make this evident, I need only shew, that England, the main support of the league, cannot possibly any longer bear the weight; and that this summer's campaign, by land and by sea, is the last effort, which our nation can or will make, because their present aversion to the government of the prince of Orange is as great as the necessity and want of money, which that government has brought them to; and to confirm all this, I send you here an authentic account of the present state of England, together with a copy of the letter, which accompanied it, writ to me by the bishop of Norwich; which I desire your lordship to shew to nobody, except cardinal Janfon, but to make what use you shall think best of it.

His Holiness needs not be discouraged, at the unjust reproaches of the Austrians, stiling him a partizan of France, because he will not make one with them, in a league with heretics. For he will have very shortly the satisfaction to see the Divine Providence no less in the French interest, than himself; and that scandalous league, thought so invincible at Rome, suddenly fall to the ground. I confess, I cannot be but astonished at the maxims of the good assistant of Germany at the Gjesu, who will have every thing to be lawful and holy, which the Emperor does. But I would fain know of that conscientious divine, if Teckeli should make himself King of Hungary, and dispossess the Emperor of all his other dominions, what he would think of any English Jesuit, that should maintain, that for the sake of peace, Tekeli, though a Calvinist, ought to be let continue in his usurpation; and yet the other catholic princes must insist upon any treaty of peace, to have him so continued? Let those directors of conscience look to it, and look to themselves; for a day of reckoning will come, when a wilful mistake, or an affected ignorance of matters of fact will not serve their turn. But I hope, before that time, God will mercifully open their eyes and touch their hearts, that they may see and repent. The auspicious entrance, which your lordship made, in your first audience with his Holiness, very much leads thereunto; and, to say the truth, you have already, in a manner, finished a work, which was of the greatest importance to his Majesty's concerns, in leaving a true idea of his Majesty's case in his Holiness's mind; and, consequent

consequent thereunto, a resolution in him never to abandon his interest, nor consent to a peace prejudicial thereunto.

1695.
July.

There seems nothing more to remain for your lordship to do, but to preserve and confirm, in his Holiness, these his just and pious sentiments towards his Majesty, to whom I must leave it, to let you know, under his own hand, how acceptable to him the service is, which you have now done him with his Holiness, which you may expect the next post; for he and the Queen are, at present, both absent from St. Germain, but will return this night, having spent four or five days severally in a ramble of devotion, the King at La Trappe and the Queen at Chaliot. The prince and princess are in perfect health, and grow up to the wonder of every body.

Your lordship's of the 14th, is now come to me, which containing no business, will oblige me to add no more to what I have above written; but that I am, with true respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient, and most humble servant,

Namur, we hear, is invested,

J. CARYLL.

by the prince of Orange.

Caryll writes of the 29th of August, 1695: "Yesterday I received the favour of yours of the 9th, by which I find, that we agree in our sentiments, or rather in our apprehensions, concerning a peace. The truth of the matter is, that all the world crys out for it, and no where more than in France, not only amongst the people, but the greatest in court; so that, without a particular providence and protection from above, we are likely to be made the sacrifice of it. However, I know, that what your lordship has received from the mouth of his Holiness, that he will have no hand in the wrong shall be done his Majesty, will be of great comfort to him and the Queen, who having God and his vicar still on their side, doubt not but the happy hour will come, when the powers of darkness must yield to righteousness."

August.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 129.

Lord Perth, in his letters, from the beginning of August, 1695, to the beginning of January, 1696, gives an account of the dispositions of the different factions at Rome.—The influence of the prince of Orange and

1695.

the Austrian party.—The conjectures about the fate of the siege of Namur;—and the rumours of a peace.

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 36.

SEPTEMBER the 6th, 1695. "At this court, our affairs will never thrive, until we be in a better condition in the world; for it is not what is due to his Majesty, as rightfully King of his Majesty's dominions, or as having lost the possession of them for the catholic faith; but what his friendship can import to Rome, that is the measure of the favour of this court."

September the 27th. "The confederates confess, that, had the prince of Orange been driven from before Namur, they would have abandoned him; but now he is saviour, protector, and idol; all the heroes of antiquity are but his precursors; and, to triumph over the King of France's foresight and counsel, and over the Marshalls of Villeroy and Bufflers, is so great a support to his reputation, that all here conclude, that he will unite the league (if a peace be not struck up very soon) and get from England to their bodkins and thimbles. Now all our conversations are bringing the King to Rome, which God forbid, and establishing the prince of Orange in England for all his life, be it long or short; and some, who appeared very fixed, begin to say, that the prince of Orange must be a great man, who never gives over but pushes on, though repelled again and again, and that, at last, such a one must accomplish his designs, which is to humble the King of France, and to transfer all the glory of this King's fortunate reign to himself, by reducing him to his own terms. But, upon the other hand, both the emperor's people and the Spaniards here, begin to look about them. They see, that the prince of Orange is absolute master in their parts of the low countries: he is so too in Holland. If the King of Spain dies, he can give him a successor, and fortify the protestants so in Germany, as to reduce the Emperor to do what he pleases, and some of them pray to God heartily, that he were knocked on the head.

"But happen what will, I hope the King will never come thither, where, except his holiness and a very few cardinals, and (in proportion) far fewer of other people, he has but few friends, and many to insult over his sufferings; and really, it's scandalous to hear what is said every day publickly, when they make comparisons betwixt an heretical, unnatural, usurping tyrant, and his Majesty."

October

October 3d, 1695. Mr. Caryll writes to the earl of Perth: "Your lordship has sometimes taken notice, with a great deal of truth, how violently the Italians are bent for a peace, upon any terms, without any consideration of us. I must not conceal it from your lordship, though it be a last secret, and only fit for your breast, that the ministers here are not one jot behind them in that point. They long and labour underhand incessantly for it; nor will our concerns be any remora to the conclusion of it, whenever a formal treaty is set on foot. According to *Ragione de Stato*, it cannot be expected, that they, who offer Strasburg, Luxemburg, and whole countries besides, to purchase a peace, should stick at giving up us into the bargain."—"The great affair of gaining a declaration from his Holiness, that he never will concur in any peace that excludes his Majesty from his just right, was wholly reserved to your lordship, and has accordingly been happily effected by you, though much apprehended by some, as very difficult to be obtained, than which nothing could be of more comfort to their Majesties: That although all the rest of the world should be unjust to them, they shall have no reason, at least, to complain of the unkindness of their holy father, to whom they owe obedience and respect."

1695.
Oct.—Nov.
D. N. vol. i.
fol. No. 129.

November 7th, 1695, Lord Perth writes: "Get me a sure account of what is doing in relation to hinder the children of Catholics from being bred up in the catholic religion; and you would furnish me with a new occasion of stirring up his Holiness to mind the conversation of that little remnant of truth that rests amongst us. We hear they begun with Ireland, by hindering, by act of parliament, the breeding up of children beyond sea. This is understood; for, by your law, no schools for Catholics are at home. Now, if this were done in England likewise, what may we hope for as to the preservation of religion; and still Rome is silent, and lets all go to ruin?"

Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 36.

On the 21st, he writes—"You may believe, that this court will stand by his Majesty, as far as ever they dare; but (as the Pope often tells me) Orange is master of the world, and commands all the catholic princes like slaves; but he still adds, that, by God's grace, he will let all the world see, that what may be done against our master's right is disapproved on by him; and his ministers seem no less zealous."

1695.
Nov.—Dec.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 129.

Caryll writes to the earl of Perth, November 28th, 1695. "I suppose you have been informed of the violent proceedings of the Irish parliament against Catholics, which tend to the extermination of religion in that country. Now, if this be done whilst the league subsists between the house of Austria and the prince of Orange, what may we not expect, when, by a peace, that prince shall be left in quiet possession of all his usurpations, and has no Catholic confederates to comply with or depend on? This may be very well worth the consideration of his Holiness and his ministers; and which, I presume, your lordship both has and will represent to them in their proper colours."

Ibid.
D. N. vol. ii.
4to. No. 36.

The earl of Perth writes the 12th December, 1695: "Rhetorick cannot persuade this court, that Catholics are persecuted in Britain and Ireland, or that the prince of Orange has any design to root out our religion, where his usurped power can reach it. To me, people speak fair; but l' Abbé Scarlati Colora and others at London are so positive, in their accounts of affairs, that they are produced as witnesses of the prince of Orange's generous carriage towards Catholics, although he pretends to know that they cannot be gained to his party. This makes me wish we had such relations, and so attested, as might alarm us here: for, although some are very positively disposed to favour us, others care not for the injustice our royal master and mistress suffer, and would have it pass for a maxim, that, while religion does not suffer directly, they may look on it with indifference."

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1696.

A Mistake, in a conversation between Lewis XIV. and the late King, defeated the invasion, intended for this year. Mr. Powel, who had been sent, by the adherents of the latter prince, from England, through the vehemence of his zeal, produced this mistake. He seemed to insinuate, that the Jacobites in Britain were first to take arms, and then expected to be supported by France. On this state of the case, his most Christian Majesty proceeded to make preparations, for transporting a force into England. The orders given were so well obeyed, that things were in great forwardness, in the beginning of the year. James, therefore, and his servants employed themselves in forming plans for an invasion. The following is a scheme for a descent in the neighbourhood of Newcastle.

"A Memorial, the 8th January, 1696." In Nairne's hand.
Translation.

THE town of Newcastle, one of the most considerable in England, is situated at the distance of a league from the sea, on the river Tyne, which separates the county of Northumberland from the bishoprick of Durham. At the mouth of this river stands a large village, called Timmouth, with a fort, which commands the entry. But it is in bad repair towards the land. Vessels of 500 tons can enter the harbour.

The town is surrounded only by an old ruinous wall, without ramparts or ditches; and is commanded by heights, on all sides. It is in this neighbourhood they dig the coals, which are so well known throughout all Europe, and without which the city of London could not subsist. This might cause a terrible desolation in that town, and consequently an extreme disorder throughout all the kingdom, as coals are shipped only from thence, and from Sunderland, a small town at three leagues distance,

1696.
January.

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 5.

1696.
January.

tance, which is scarcely known, but by the nobleman, who takes his title from it.

From London to Newcastle, there are seventy leagues of as fine a country as is in the world; fifteen from Newcastle to Scotland; and twenty to Lancaſter. In the counties of York, Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, Northumberland, and in the biſhoprick of Durham, are all the excellent ſtuds; conſequently the cavalry and dragoons might be eaſily mounted. Beſides, 20,000 carriage and cart horſes, which carry coals from the mines to Newcastle and Sunderland, will be found in that country, and may be uſeful for carrying the baggage of the army. But a more important conſideration is, that the greateſt part of the inhabitants of theſe diſtricts are well affected towards his Majeſty, and may join him without any hinderance. The length of the navigation is the only objection that can be foreſeen; to which it may be answered, that the difficulty conſiſts in failing from Dunkirk and leaving the coaſt; but that ſhips, when they are once at ſea, have nothing to fear, and it is immaterial whether the deſcent is made on the ſecond or on the fourth day. It is proper to remark, that the favourable wind for this paſſage is the S. and S. E. which will hinder the ſhips in the Downs from putting to ſea."

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. i.
4to. No. 5.

John Anderson to Mr. Ward; i. e. The Earl of Middleton to Colonel Sackville.

SIR,

Jan. 11th, 1696.

"WE are much divided here, in Holland [France], about the Scottiſh Eaſt India Company; nor can we well ſee how that matter can be ſettled, without a diſpenſing power, in a caſe where people's properties are concerned, which was never yet pretended to; nor is it credible, that the Scotch can be hectored into ſuch a ſervile compliance, as to ſacrifice their moſt undoubted right, manifeſt intereſt, and boaſted independence.—I muſt needs tell you a ſtory, which I had from a factor of this Eaſt India Company, when they had the news in India of the Revolution in England. The general of Batavia ſent an ambaffador to the Mogul, who, among other things, told him, that they had drove away the Engliſh King, and ſent a ſervant of theirs to rule that people; to which old Aurengzebe replied, That he was glad of it: that the Engliſh

lish had wickedly defrauded his subjects of what was justly due to them; and, against the public faith, had plundered them at sea; and, now, that they had subdued them, he expected they should make him reparation. Depend on it, this story is seriously true †."

1696.
January.

The earl of Middleton wrote several letters, in the course of this and the ensuing month to Chapman, Syson, Ward [Sackville], Clelland [Waugh], and Green, [Sir Andrew Forrester], giving them hopes of an immediate invasion. In one of his letters to Chapman, dated the 24th of January, he speaks of Powel's journey to France. "I am not sorry, that Mr. Powel thinks of visiting us: for he will be quickly undeceived, in what you suspect; and be able to set all matters in a true light, at his return, if his sincerity is equal to his capacity."

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 5.

On the 26th of February, he writes to Ward. "Mr. Smith [K. James] bid me tell you, that his partner [Fr. King] has the money ready; but that he will not pay it, till the company [the adherents of James] has taken up the goods No. 953 [arms]; and, upon the first notice of it [insurrection], he will immediately dispatch away Mr. Smith [K. James] to conclude the bargain. Pray let us know your opinion of this matter; for as it is important, so it requires haste; and, if this opportunity be lost, it may prove fatal to the company."

February.
Ibid.

The King of France insisted, that James's friends, in England, should take arms, before the French troops embarked. The following letter, from lord Middleton to his correspondent Syson, relates to this circumstance. It is dated the 26th February.

Ibid.

"This is only to acknowledge the favour of yours of the 5th instant, since it will not be necessary to repeat what you have from the best hand."

† It was upon this occasion, that an envoy from the English company is said to have claimed a precedence over the Dutch envoy, alleging that he was the servant of a great King, like the Emperor himself, and ought to be heard before the representative of a parcel of merchants. The representation had some weight with Aurengzebe, till the Dutchman made this reply: "It is true, he is the servant of a great King, but that great King is one of our merchants. The English could not carry on their own business, and, therefore, we sent one of our factors, to command them and settle their accounts." This mercantile inference, says tradition, settled the point of precedence, for that time, in favour of the Dutchman.

Besides

1696.
March.

Besides that, old Watt Freeman [probably D. of Berwick] must have seen you before this comes to you. He can best inform you, though, perhaps, not satisfy you: for there is one of the marriage articles which appears very difficult to perform; and, though something ought to be ventured, yet what is altogether unreasonable ought to be considered as impossible; but of this you can only judge."

Mr. Charnock, in May 1695, and lord Ailesbury, soon after, were sent to France to persuade James to invade England the next winter, with a French army, and to acquaint him with the insurrections then intended in different parts of the kingdom. The duke of Berwick came over, in the beginning of this year, to concert a plan of operations with his friends, and to head the insurgents. James left St. Germain before the return of his son. He met him however at Clermont, and carried him back to Calais. Having 20,000 men under his direction, in that neighbourhood and near Dunkirk, he drew up a declaration, in which he conceals that diffidence of success, which Middleton betrays in the preceding correspondence. For the intrigues of Charnock, Sir George Barclay, Sir William Perkins, captain Porter, and others, were not yet discovered in England. The declaration, however, was not published, for the reasons mentioned by the earl of Middleton, in the following letter.

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pers, D. N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 32.

The Earl of Middleton to Secretary Caryl.

Calais, March 19th, 1696.

"THE King has commanded me to tell you, that he finds many difficulties in the manifest proposed by the court of France, for the same objections lie against publishing it, as the declaration; for to say more, cannot be intended; to say less, is against his interest; and to come just up to it, is the same thing, only with a new name. To say only, that he was invited, by a great part of the nation, can be of no advantage to his Majesty; but, on the contrary, a great prejudice to his affairs, by raising the persecution higher against his friends, who may thereby be put out of a condition of serving him; and it would be a plain proof, that there was a plot, though not such a one as is pretended, which may beget abjurations and greater penalties on non-swearers. But, perhaps, the proposition may be mistaken; and, in that case, the surest and shortest

way of clearing it will be, to make a draught of that paper to be laid before the King. But, if the Queen thinks the above said objections to be reasonable, then it will be necessary that they, and such others as occur to you, should be represented to Mons. de Croissy, in writing, that they may be read in council: and, because that court may be alarmed at the proceedings in England, it may be fit, in another paper, to shew, by many instances, how frivolous addresses are; that whilst there is one acknowledged King, the common style must be observed; and that many of our master's secret friends may appear the forwardest, in this matter, for their own preservation.

1696.
March.

I send you Mr. Stafford's credential †, which you may be pleased to seal and deliver to him, when the Queen thinks fit. L'Abbé Renaudot may be an useful tool in this conjuncture. Flattery must not be spared: that is his foible.

Pray, let me know, if my paquet of the 10th came to you. I have just now received yours of the 17th. I am, &c.

MIDDLETON."

At Calais, on the 5th and 6th of March, James gave commissions to the marquis of Harcourt, as captain general, and to Richard Hamilton, as lieutenant-general of his forces; and on the 22d of March he appointed Hamilton to the place of master of the robes. On the 23d he went to Boulogne, from whence Middleton wrote several letters to Mr. secretary Caryll, about declarations and manifestoes to be published in England, and memorials to be presented to the French ministry. He also wrote several letters from hence to the marquis de Pontchartrain and Monsieur de Barbesieux, one of whom had the marine, and the other the war department by land. They wished to put off the embarkation until James's friends in England were in arms; and Middleton endeavoured to convince them of the necessity of an immediate invasion. All his letters to them and to Monsieur de Phelypeaux, and the Mareschal de Boufflers, during the course of this month, relate to the same subject, and to the difficulties of getting intelligence from England, and the other obstacles which opposed their design.

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 32.

Ibid.

Ibid.

† To be James's ambassador at Paris.

1696.
April.
Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 33.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Croissy.

The same subject continued.—The difficulty of receiving intelligence from England.

Translation.

S I R, Boulogne, 7th April, 1696.

" I Have been very sorry, that I have not had any news to send you since we were here, because the bad weather has prevented our boats from landing, and the frigates of the enemy cruize along the coast. The letters, by post, from Holland, have been all examined; probably those which were suspicious retained. We shall send you immediately the first messenger or packet that arrives.

Mr. Caryll has already explained to you the reasons, why the King of England does not think it is his interest to publish his declaration, nor any manifesto, in his name, before his landing in that country; and you have seen, by the answers, which I have made to Mons. de Pontchartrain, what I had to say concerning the navy and the expences."

Ibid.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Pontchartrain.

James is determined not to expose the army.—It is difficult to have intelligence.

Translation.

Boulogne, April 7, 1696.

" THE King, my master, commands me to tell you, that he agrees to all that is contained in the letter you did me the honour to write to me the 4th instant. He hopes, that the King is persuaded, that he will never propose to undertake any thing *mal-a-propos*; and, indeed, to desire to expose, without reason, this army, which he considers as the only bridge by which he can find his way to England, would be not only to make bad acknowledgments for his Majesty's kindness, but to act contrary to his own interest.

We have not been able to procure any intelligence of the enemy's fleet since this alarm. They write from Holland, that all letters are examined in England and there also; and that they retain those which appear suspicious, and our boats have been hitherto prevented from landing, sometimes by meeting the enemy's frigates, but oftener by the bad weather."

We

We can scarcely conceive a situation more disagreeable than that, to which James was reduced at this time. Detained on shore, and deprived of intelligence from England, by contrary winds; dreading every moment to hear, that the two fleets of the enemy had joined; and warned constantly, by the French ministers, to be cautious in exposing their fleet and army. Middleton mentions this in his letters from Boulogne and Calais.

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April.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Harcourt.

Translation.

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Papers,
D. N. vol. i.
4to. No. 33,

SIR,

Boulogne, 8th April, 1696.

"I Thank you most humbly, for the letter you did me the honour to write to me the 4th instant. The Queen had already acquainted the King, her husband, with the success of your negotiation; and I want to confirm to Mons. de Pontchartrain what you have already said to the King, that it was not the design of the King of England to expose the King's army, if it should be inferior to that of the enemy. But, in this case, a judgment should be formed of a superiority rather from the quality and condition of the ships, than from their number; and we are extremely sorry, that we have not been able yet to procure information of these particulars. All the attempts of our boats to land have been fruitless. The letters, that come by the way of Holland, are opened; and those which look suspicious are retained, and no person is allowed to come over without a passport."

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Secretary Caryl.

News from England about the execution of the conspirators.

Boulogne, April 13th, 1696.

Ibid.

"THOUGH it is very probable, that Jones has sent you a copy of the paper given in, by the three persons lately executed; yet, in case he has not, I send them, that you may see what they have declared, with their last breath, which may be of use. Pray let me know, if you would have Mr. Sheridan's and the abbot's papers returned; and let us know what you hear of Chateaurenaut and Rooke."

1696.
April.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 33.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Croissy.

No news from England.—The French ministers were discouraged at the execution of the English conspirators, and at the addresses and associations formed in England.—Middleton endeavours to persuade them to persevere.

Translation.

Boulogne, 14th April, 1696.

“WE have not yet any news from England, our boats not having been able to land in that country; and the news, by those which can cross over from Holland, come straight to you. You will also hear from Calais what passed there yesterday. By the noise which your enemies make on all sides, they appear to be driven, by rage and despair, to make the last effort to cover the weakness of a sinking cause: for it is impossible, but England, which furnishes supplies to the rest, must, however rich, be now entirely exhausted. You are too well instructed in the affairs of that country, to judge of the affections of the people from the addresses and associations that are now formed. Without speaking of the addresses that were presented in former times to the earl of Essex, general of the rebels, and to what is called the long parliament, and afterwards to Cromwell and to his son Richard; those which were presented to the King my master, on the birth of the prince of Wales, and on the designs of the prince of Orange, when every thing was disposed for a revolt, prove convincingly how little stress can be laid on such fallacious appearances.”

Middleton proceeds to convince de Croissy, that his master has a strong party in England. He shows the necessity of their seeming to acknowledge the prince of Orange as King; and maintains, that the restraint now upon them will excite them to revenge themselves of their enemies, and to assert their independence, when an opportunity offers.

“Therefore, Sir, I see nothing, that should divert the King from his great design; and, I hope, that, by his prudence and usual magnanimity all things will succeed to his glory and advantage, which the King, my master, desires as much as his own.”

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Secretary Caryll.

1696.

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Papers, D.N.
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SIR,

Boulogne, April 14th, 1696.

“LAST night, we had advice from Calais, that they had been bombarded from one till five in the afternoon: that three hundred and thirty bombs had been shot, without any conflagration. Some few houses and two vessels had only been pierced. Since that time, the wind has silenced them.

I send you a copy of my letter to Mr. de Croissy, for her Majesty's perusal; for it is necessary to entertain them, though with repetitions; for they are sometimes apt to forget: and I humbly conceive it would be for the King's service, if you would be pleased to represent to them your reflections on all emergencies. I am,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

MIDDLETON.”

Middleton endeavoured to show, in several letters he wrote to monsieur de Croissy at this time, that the expedition should not be laid aside because an attempt, in which only a few individuals were concerned, was discovered in England; and that the execution of the conspirators, and the present low state of the Jacobites, were not sufficient reasons to despair of the cause. He desired Mr. Caryll to write a memorial, setting this forth in the strongest light to the French ministry. In a letter he wrote on the same subject to the Abbé Renaudot, he adds, “I am in great pain about lord Ailesbury. All the evidences are strangers to me.”

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Pontchartrain.

The design of invading England laid aside.—James wants to know whether he is to continue on the coast.

Ibid.

Translation.

Boulogne, April 28, 1696.

“I Have given to the King my master the letter which you did me the honour to write to me the 25th of this month. He commands me to tell you, that he wished you had acquainted him with the King's sentiments,

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timents, with regard to his staying in this place, or his returning to St. Germain, that he might conform himself to them.

It is true, I have already had the honour to write to you, that the preparations at Dunkirk, when the King's army was at sea and the troops on the coast, would so far disconcert the measures of the prince of Orange, that he would not know to what side he could direct his attention. But, at present, when he sees nothing of this kind, it is not to be believed, that the King of England's stay in this place can embarrass him in any manner; yet his Britannic Majesty believes, that he ought to stay here until Rooke arrives, rather than return precipitately, and furnish our enemies with subject for remarks; and all they can say afterwards is, that the enterprize is disappointed thereby; although I am persuaded, that it is only delayed for an opportunity of executing it with success. These are the sentiments of the King, my master, who cannot ever come to any determination, without knowing those of the King. It is for this reason, he begs of you to inform him of them."

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vol. i. 4to.
No. 33.

The Earl of Middleton to the Abbé Renaudot.

Vexed that the expedition is put off.

Translation.

S I R,

Boulogne, April 29, 1696.

" I Have just now received your letter of the 27th, and I have, since my last, received a long dispatch from monsieur de Pontchartrain, showing the necessity of putting off the enterprize to a more favourable conjuncture, on account of the superiority of the enemy at sea, and the use they had for the troops intended for embarkation; leaving it to the choice of the King of England to remain here, or to return to St. Germain. At the same time, monsieur de Barbesieux wrote to the officers to go to take care of their own affairs. Thus, you see we are in a frightful solitude. Although I was sensibly affected with this resolution, as you may very well believe, I was not at all surpris'd at it. In my answer to monsieur de Pontchartrain, which I send you, I avoided to plead a cause which was already finally determined."

The

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Pontchartrain.

James prepares to return to St. Germain.

Translation.

Boulogne, 30th April, 1696.

"HAving wrote to you, in the letter which I had the honour to send you the 28th, that the King of England could not come to any resolution about his stay in this place, without being made acquainted with the King's sentiments; and the Queen having written since, that the King told her, at Marli, that the King of England should not stay here, since all the officers were gone, I consider myself bound to acquaint you, that his Britannic Majesty has resolved to set out soon, on his return to St. Germain."

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April.

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Papers, D. N.

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No. 33.

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Caryll.

Expects to see him the next Saturday.

Boulogne, May-day, 1696.

"I Have wrote to monsieur de Pontchartrain, to acquaint him with the King our master's resolution to return, on what was said to the Queen at Marli. We are to be at Abbeville next Thursday; at Clermont, Friday; so that next Saturday I hope to have the honour of assuring you, by word, that I am, &c."

Ibid.

May.

The conspirators in England were seized, tried, and executed. The English fleet put to sea, while contrary winds detained the French fleet in their harbours; and James returned to St. Germain to make fruitless representations to Lewis the 14th and the Pope, against the peace. The first paper on this subject, in Nairne's collection, is the following memorial, which is in his own hand. It appears from it that James's friends had advised him to be satisfied, if the succession was secured to his son, after the death of King William.

"Copy of a Memorial sent to the Pope's Nuncio, the 27th July, 1696;
to be sent by him to his Holiness."

Translation.

"AS his Holiness has always given conspicuous proofs of his justice, and of his zeal for the good of the church, it will be unnecessary

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Papers, D. N.

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No. 133.

July.

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July.

to employ arguments to persuade him of the iniquity of the prince of Orange; nor to excite him to embrace, with warmth, the interests of his Britannic Majesty.

One cannot see, without astonishment, so many catholic princes in a league to strengthen the enemies of their holy religion; his most Christian Majesty having alone supported that cause, and, by his generosity, which will render his glory immortal, protected his Britannic Majesty, who is oppressed by a violence and barbarity which disgrace the name of Christians.

The two crowns of the North are in a profound peace; and the princes of Germany are powerfully armed, while the Catholics are ruined; and the church was never threatened with so much danger as it is now since Julian the Apostate. It is not, therefore, doubted but his Holiness will think himself obliged to employ vigorously all the power with which God hath invested him, in order to withdraw the Catholics from such pernicious engagements, by representing to them, in the most lively colours, what they owe to religion; that their salvation is at stake; that they should not persist in rendering themselves accomplices in the injustice of the prince of Orange, by supporting his usurpation, and by rendering him the arbiter of all their concerns; and that they cannot expiate their faults, but by contributing to the re-establishment of his Britannic Majesty.

But if, to punish them, God abandons them to their blindness, and that the state to which Europe is reduced will oblige it to conclude a peace, without doing justice to his Britannic Majesty, he hopes that his Holiness will not allow himself to be surprised by the artful expedients which the mediators may propose; as his Britannic Majesty will never consent that his incontestible right should be called in question.

For instance, it cannot be denied but, by receiving a pension from the prince of Orange, though there were never so much cause for it, his Britannic Majesty would tacitly renounce his right; and if he consented that, after the death of the prince of Orange, his royal highness the prince of Wales, his son, reigned in his life time, that would be a formal renunciation; and the prince of Orange could only promise a thing

thing which he is not able to perform; because the parliament, who conferred the royal authority on him, settled the reversion of the crown on the princess Anne of Denmark. But, supposing further, that the prince of Orange could and would oblige the English to revoke that settlement, it would be always on condition of bringing over the prince of Wales into England, without their being able to give any security for his conscience or his person; and it is firmly believed, that his Holiness will never give his advice or consent to a measure which may have such fatal consequences.

1696.
July.

The prince of Wales, by succeeding to the prince of Orange, yields his sole right, which is that of his father; and, being obliged to the people for his elevation, would not reign, but during their pleasure; and, if his Britannic Majesty was capable of consenting to so disgraceful a proposal, he might be justly reproached with ruining the monarchy, which has been always hereditary, by rendering it elective, and with sacrificing to an enemy all that is most dear to him.

Nevertheless, his Majesty has so much regard and affection for his loyal subjects, that, when a treaty of peace is begun, he intreats his Holiness to endeavour to make some stipulation in their favour, which may protect them against the cruel persecutions they have suffered in the time past, and which may restore them to their estates; and that, at least, they may be at liberty to return home in safety, without being obliged to enter into illegal engagements; and that those who, according to their duty, would attach themselves to his service for the future, may not be treated as criminals.

By attentions so just and so generous, his Holiness will secure the reverence of posterity to his pontificate; and, by acquitting himself of his duty towards God, will be able to give a good account of his ministry.

The preceding memorial was sent, with the following letter, by the earl of Middleton to the marquis de Croissy.

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July.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Croissy.

Translation.

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. i.
4to. No. 5.

S I R,

St. Germain, 20th July, 1696.

" I N a conversation, which the King, my master, had with the Nuncio, he found him very ill-informed of his affairs, and even a little prejudiced, by what the Austrians advance at Rome, and their partizans every where. He, therefore, thinks it necessary to inform his Holiness exactly of his intentions, and to endeavour to engage him to exert himself for his interests. But, as he does not choose to do any thing without the approbation of the King, he intreats you to communicate this memorial to his Majesty, and to inform him of his sentiments on the subject, in order that he may conform himself to them. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

MIDDLETON."

In the month of August, the same year, King James sent the following letter to the Elector Palatine.

King James to the Elector Palatine.

Translation,

August.
Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 133.

BROTHER,

August, 1696.

" T H E very obliging offers of your friendship, which you made me by monsieur Arden, assure me, that I shall be sensible of the effects of them, on the first opportunity which will present itself; and, as it is likely that such an opportunity may soon arise, from the present posture of affairs, I have sent the bearer of this, a Jesuit, to explain to you more particularly the means by which you may oblige me very sensibly; intreating you, at the same time, to give an entire belief to whatever he shall say to you, from your good brother,

JAMES R."

Ibid.

In the memorial mentioned in the preceding letter, James addresses himself to his Electoral Highness, in the same strain in which he addressed the Nuncio. He upbraids the catholick princes for supporting a heretic in his usurpation; and makes use of the same casuistry he had employed

ployed in his memorial to the Nuncio, against leaving King William in peaceable possession during his life, and securing the succession to the prince of Wales.

1696.
August.

After the execution of the conspirators in England, James found it difficult, upon his return to St. Germain, to renew a correspondence with Britain. The first attempt towards it is mentioned in a letter from the earl of Middleton to Mr. Nowell, on the 30th of June.

“ I Was very glad to find, by your letter, that you were in safety. His Majesty approves of what you have done, and proposed for his service; and would have you give him an account of the persons designed to carry the packets to and from the water-side, and what is to be given to each person respectively who are to be concerned in the management of this affair.”

Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 5.

On the 4th of August, he wrote to Mr. Pigault, merchant at Calais, “ I desire the favour of you, that you would let me know the particulars of what you proposed for restoring our correspondence in England: as for instance, the place on the other side, the name of the person who is to receive and carry the packet to London and bring it back from thence. Pray present my service to monsieur le president, and concert this matter with him.

On the 13th of August, he wrote again to Mr. Nowell. “ The King has commanded me to acquaint you, that since he cannot at present, set up the correspondence, he is willing to allow you five hundred livres a-year to remain at Calais, that you may make the best interest you can among the sailors; and procure him, by that means, the best intelligence you are able, that when occasion offers for his service, you may be in readiness.” It seems Middleton suspected Nowell; for he wanted another to act in his place, as appears by a letter he wrote of the same date to monsieur Bretagne. “ The great difficulty,” says he, “ we find in setting up our correspondence, is the want of a person, such as we had before, to take care to deliver what is sent. If you can help us in this, you will oblige.” He likewise cautions Mr. Pigault, in two different letters, against a Mr. Griffith, “ who seems to be very busy in this matter of the correspondence, without any warrant from the King their mas-

1696. ter; and the general rule, in such cases, is never to believe, without seeing something in writing from his Majesty, or by his order."

The Earl of Middleton to the Abbé Renaudot.

Alarmed at the news of a general peace.

Translation.

"SIR,

St. Germain, October 4th, 1696.

October.
Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i.
4to. No. 5.

I Have shewn your letter of the 1st inst. to the King of England, who was agreeably surpris'd at it, and desires he may speak to you, before his journey to Fontainbleau, which will be on Wednesday next.

I have nothing now to tell you, concerning England, since all our intelligence from that country contains nothing, but accounts of its weakness. It is impossible to add any thing to what has been already said on this subject. By the last advices, all honest men are confounded at the rumour of a general peace. I beseech you, Sir, to come here, in order to give us all the necessary light for conducting ourselves at Fontainbleau, in a conjuncture which must be decisive of our fate."

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. de Thosse, president of the admiralty at Calais.

Ibid,

Concerning one Berkenhead, who escaped from England.

St. Germain, 20th October, 1696.

"IT is impossible to commend sufficiently your goodness to our friend Birkenhead. He will explain to you what must be done for James Hunt, and those who are expected from the other side. He will deliver you the order for getting them cured."

St. Germain, 28th October, 1696.

"MR. Berkenhead, who will have the honour to deliver this letter to you, having informed the King of England of your politeness to him, his Majesty has commanded me to thank you from him, and to tell you, that he hath given him in charge to propose to you what is necessary to be done for Hunt, and for other two, who are still expected from the other side."

Along with this letter Middleton sent the following order from monsieur Phelyppeaux to monsieur de Thosse, at Calais. "I desire you, as soon as you receive this, to arm, in all diligence, a shallop at Calais. Let her be a good failer, and put one Bett on board of her, who will go to the coast of Suffex, near Shoreham, to take up two men, of whom he will hear at the house of Mr. Young."

1696.
October.

The Earl of Middleton to the Abbé Renaudot.

Berkenhead's escape.

St. Germain, Oct. 30th, 1696.

"I DO not know if Berkenhead has been lucky enough to find you: but he wishes much, for reasons that I shall tell you another time; that what follows may be inserted in the Gazette.

"Mr. Berkenhead having escaped from the prison of Newgate in London, came to the shore, where he luckily found a French vessel; and, the next night, he came a-shore, near the house of one Hunt, who had given information to the government against him, and against several others; and having landed with eighteen men, after having broke open the door of the house, notwithstanding the resistance of Hunt, who fired a pistol at him, he carried him away by force, and brought him to Calais."

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. ii.
4to. No. 5.

It was universally believed, that all Europe was now on the eve of a general peace; and James, who began to despair of his own restoration, was desirous of making some stipulations in favour of his Queen and of his adherents. The two following memorials relate to this subject. They are in Nairne's hand.

"Memorial concerning the appanage of the Queen of Great Britain."

October, 1696.

ACCORDING to the most ancient laws and customs of England, which are still in force, Queens have their full right and power, in their own person, their estates and revenues, independently of the Kings, their husbands, by virtue of which, they have always had officers of their revenue, who depended entirely on them, and all their acts have

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bee.

1696.
October.

been valid, without the consent or concurrence of the Kings their husbands.

As the Queen of England brought a very considerable sum, as her portion at her marriage, the King, her husband, on his accession to the crown thought it was reasonable for him to make an establishment of fifty thousand pounds sterling, of an annual revenue, on her, which was passed under the great seal of England, and afterwards, for the greater security was confirmed by acts of parliament, which have not been repealed to this day; infomuch, that the Queen has an incontestible right to all the arrears of this revenue, which are due since she left England, as well as to those which shall be due hereafter.

Her Majesty only asks this, simply and purely, as a private debt, which is incontestibly due to herself; and of which she only sets forth a state, lest it should be unknown to those who have the power and the will to do her justice."

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 142.
Ibid. D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 40.

" *A Memorial concerning the idemnity, which is proposed for the faithful subjects of his Britannic Majesty.*"

Translation.

" **A**S all Sovereigns ought to consider the cause of his Britannick Majesty as their own, one must believe, that justice and reason will inspire them with the design of bringing about his restoration.

But if, to punish England, God leaves it to complain, some time longer, under the yoke of an usurped dominion, we are persuaded, that all Christian princes will concur unanimously, in protecting, from the fury of their enemies, men of honour, who have acted from no other motives, than those of duty and of conscience; and the catholic princes are most interested in providing for the safety of those poor catholics, who are most exposed, on account of their religion, to the malice of their enemies, who may resume and complete the design they had formed and commenced, 18 years ago, to ruin all the catholics. We have seen a great deal of innocent blood shed, on pretence of crimes of state, and upon the false testimonies of some villains.

It is therefore proposed to these princes, to send orders to their plenipotentiaries, to stipulate, in the treaty of peace, an indemnity to all his
Britannick

Britannick Majesty's subjects, for all they have done for his service; and to obtain, that all the sentences passed against them may be reversed, and each of them restored to his estate.

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October.

And, as it is absolutely necessary for his Britannick Majesty to be attended by his own subjects, it is proposed to stipulate also in this treaty, that those who now attend him, may be allowed to remain, without being liable to be called to account for it afterwards.

Examples of such indemnities are not wanting, in most of the treaties of peace, particularly in those of Westphalia and the Pyrenees, with this difference, that in other treaties, criminals have been pardoned; and that, in this, it is proposed only, that loyalty should not be punished."

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1697.

1697.

THE late King was greatly alarmed, at the earnest desire, which all the belligerent powers now discovered to conclude a general peace. He endeavoured, in vain, to dissuade the King of France from it; and was obliged to content himself, with asking some stipulations for his Queen and his adherents. There is a memorial on the subject which has no date, but which appears to have been addressed to the French ministry, during the congress at Ryswick.

Nairne's Pa-
per's D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 138.

JAMES, in this memorial, endeavours to show, that France can derive no security from a peace, if the prince of Orange shall be permitted to establish himself in his usurpation: that he hath been always unsuccessful in war; but, that he has never failed, by his intrigues in time of peace, to stir up all Europe against France; and would continue to do so, while he was allowed to govern England and Holland. "It is but too evident, that all Europe are now in the same dispositions towards the French, in which they were formerly towards the Spaniards. They would, undoubtedly, wish to see them humbled; and it is not to be wondered, that the greatest part of the English, from a jealousy, which is usual among neighbours, should be of the same sentiments. But it ought to be remarked, that a King of England, who is a catholic, whose subjects are protestants will always have occasion for the friendship of France, in order to maintain his authority, and defend himself from the insults of his own subjects, of which he will be in continual danger, on account of their inveterate aversion to whatever they call popery."

From these and several other reasons, James infers, that any kind of peace with the prince of Orange, would be to France, "but a fire covered

covered with ashes." But that a peace would be both advantageous and permanent, if he was once re-established on his throne. He repeats, in the remaining part of the memorial, reasons, which he had often mentioned, for invading Britain. The same things, with some exaggerations of the present distresses of England and Holland, are differently expressed and enlarged upon, in another memorial. It is in Nairne's hand, and marked at the top, "Mr. Caryll, 1697."

1697,
January.

Middleton's letters to the French ministry and to the abbé Renaudot, at this time, are full of similar representations: they contain likewise an account of two memorials for James; one to the catholic princes engaged in the confederacy, and another to the protestant princes and states. Both were written by Renaudot, and were printed at the time. It appears that the first, entituled, "A summary Memorial: containing the reasons, which oblige the confederated catholic princes to contribute to the re-establishment of his Britannic Majesty," was sent by the marquis de Torcy to Rome, from which it was returned with his Holiness's sanction and emendations. The second, "containing the reasons, which should oblige the protestant princes and states to contribute to the re-establishment of his Britannic Majesty," was published, as soon as approved of, by the marquis de Torcy himself. Middleton in one of his letters to Renaudot, about these memorials, and the protestation which James intended to publish against a peace, desires him to answer one of "Burnet's libels."

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. i. 4to.
No. 5.

Ibid. D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 33 & 34.

Ibid. D. N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 5.

Though James was, at the time, accused by his enemies of abetting plots for assassinating King William, it now appears, that he never harboured any such design. The following may serve as an additional proof of the innocence of that unfortunate prince, upon that head.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.—James informs the King of France of Vane's offer to assassinate King William.

Translation.

St. Germain, 8 May, 1697.

May.
Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. i.
4to. No. 5.

THERE is an Englishman arrived here, who calls himself Vane, without a passport and without recommendations; and there is not one man in the place, who knows him. This fellow has had the im-

pudence

1697.
May.

pudence to propose to me, an attempt on the prince of Orange's life; and, as I rejected this proposal, with aversion, the conversation finished. But when I gave an account of it to the King, my master, lest the man should make his escape, he spoke to the count de Druis, to secure his person, until the King's orders about him should be received. It is for this reason, the King of England desires you to inform his Majesty of this adventure immediately; it being his opinion, that the said Vane should be closely imprisoned; but in other respects, well treated; because we cannot prove whether he has been instigated to this, by our enemies, or by an indiscreet zeal."

July.

The Marechal de Boufflers, in a conference with the earl of Portland, was supposed to have settled the place of James's residence; and he actually obtained a promise of a dowry for his Queen. James sent Monsieur Dem, to negotiate his own affairs in Holland. The time of his departure, and the date of the letters written to him by Caryll and Nairne, are marked on the back of a copy of his instructions.

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 43.

Instructions to Mr. Dem, on his going to the Hague, the 18th of July,

1697.

"1st, **YOU** must have a care in your carriage and conversation, to appear only as a domestic of Monsieur de Croissy, and not as a person commissioned or employed by his Majesty.

2dly, In your conferences, with Monsieur de Croissy himself, you must not appear to be anywise inquisitive about matters relating to his negotiation, or in his master's affairs; but must only treat with him concerning the particular concerns of his Majesty, according to your instructions.

3dly, You must endeavour to keep it as a secret, even to those at Monsieur Croissy's family, that you come from St. Germans, or that you have any dependance on his Majesty, unless by Mr. Croissy's own appointment, you be directed to confer with any secretary of his, about the matters you are intrusted withal.

4thly, You must regularly, twice a week, give an account to one of his Majesty's secretaries of state, of all matters that come to your knowledge,

ledge, either concerning his Majesty's own affairs, or the treaty of peace in general.

1697.
July.

5thly, The affairs of his Majesty, which you are to treat upon, with Monsieur de Croissy or the other plenipotentiaries of France, are this: first, her Majesty's appanage, for the doing of which, you are referred to the paper concerning it, already sent to the plenipotentiary, of which you may carry along with you a copy. Now, in case the prince of Orange's agents should deny or question any matters of fact, as they are set down in that paper, which so plainly prove the Queen's right, even according to their own present law, you must aver, that both your patent under the broad seal and the act of parliament, which settle and confirm that estate upon the Queen, during her life, are upon record in the registers of the crown-office and of the parliament, to which we appeal: and that the Queens of England, independently of the King, have a right to their estates so settled upon them, the plenipotentiaries of the prince of Orange themselves, cannot be so ignorant or so wilful, as to deny. Though her Majesty has an equal right to the arrears, which being a just debt, ought to be paid upon demand, as well as to the rent, which shall henceforward become due; yet, if the difficulty of paying so great a sum, all at once, should frighten them from doing her justice therein, a temperament may be proposed for paying the arrear by so much a year, as shall be agreed upon, till the debt be all discharged."

Additional Instructions.

"1st, **I**T is desired, that, upon the conclusion of the peace, a general indemnity may be obtained for all his Majesty's subjects, that have been in his service, since the Revolution, both as to their persons and to their estates, since such amnesties never have been omitted or refused in treaties, of a general peace, in relation to forfeitures incurred, during and by reason of the war, as may be seen by the Westphalia and Pyrenean treaties, where even those, who had born arms against their lawful sovereigns, were indemnified; and this is much more reasonable and just, in the case of his Majesty's subjects, since all parties agree, that he was their lawful king, when they first bore arms and followed him.

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 44.

1697.
July.

2dly, If this demand, though reasonable in itself, should meet with difficulties not to be overcome, it is desired, at least, that such as are domestic and menial servants to the King and to the Queen, may enjoy such indemnity as is above mentioned. For, I believe, his greatest enemies will not think it just and decent, that their Majesties should live without servants, and without those of their own country, that have long served them, which barbarity would be a necessary consequence, from the refusing such indemnity; at least, the refusers thereof contribute, as much as lies in them, to deprive their Majesties even of servants, by making it so highly penal, to serve their persons even for those who have been so long in their service.

3dly, But, should this demand also find an unreasonable and obstinate opposition, which certainly would astonish the whole world, let it, at least, be endeavoured, that, since her Majesty, in her own person, lyes under no forfeiture or disability, even by any law made since the revolution, those servants that are of her family may not be treated as criminals of state, against whom no other guilt can be pretended or proved, but serving their Queen and mistress, and not leaving her in her adversity. It will appear in the eyes of the world very strange, to make that a crime so highly punishable, especially, since the prince of Orange himself, when he first came into England, gave leave and passports to the Queen's servants to follow her Majesty into France; and, for their so doing and for nothing else, they have been indicted of high treason, upon a general accusation of adhering to the King's enemies; nothing else being sworn against them, at the finding of the bill, but that they were at St. Germain's; and for not coming out of France into England and appearing to answer the indictment, within the time limited, they were outlawed; though, at the same time, there was a law in being, which did prohibit, under the severest penalties, all passing out of France into England."

October.

Necessity obliged James to accept of a dowry for his Queen. But he was much at a loss, about the proper manner of receiving it. His difficulties are explained in the following letter.

The

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.
Translation.

5th October, 1697.

1697.
October.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 5.

"AS his most Christian Majesty has been pleased to obtain, by his mediation, a promise from the prince of Orange, that the Queen of England shall be paid what is due to her, we are persuaded, that his Majesty will be sorry that she should be deprived of it; and, as we have too much reason to distrust the prince of Orange's sincerity, it will not be difficult for him to invent quirks for eluding his promise. For instance, if the Queen is desired to sign the discharges, they may be drawn up in such a form, that she will not and cannot sign them.

Again, if officers named by the Queen, are put in possession of her estates, and if the tenants and others refuse to pay, they cannot be forced but in a court of justice: and the Queen will neither plead before their courts nor acknowledge them. Besides that, the prince of Orange might think himself freed from his promise, when he pleased, from a pretence, that the money was employed against him.

So that there is no expedient, but that the prince of Orange should oblige himself, by a secret article, to pay the sum mentioned to his most Christian Majesty and his successors, during the life of the Queen. If the prince of Orange acts sincerely, he will accept this proposal. If it is rejected, the affair, in all likelihood, will be of no consequence; and yet there is no doubt, but his most Christian Majesty is very careful to put on a solid foundation, a thing so honourable to himself and necessary to the Queen of England."

To obviate these difficulties, the following proposals were sent to the abbé Renaudot, to be conveyed to the French plenipotentiaries.

Instructions for the French Ambassador.

They are in Nairne's hand.

Translation.

Ibid. D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 46.

"1st, IT is desired, that my lord Rochester and my lord Godolphin, who are the commissioners named, by the letters patent and the act of parliament, empowering them to receive the revenue of the
Queen's

1697.
October.

Queen's appanage, may have orders from the prince of Orange to execute their trust, as being the persons who can give legal discharges for what they receive.

2dly, That, since it becomes payable, at least, since the time it has been promised at Ryswick, and since, according to the first settlement it should be paid at quarterly terms, of which Christmas is one, it is desired that the first quarterly payment should be made Christmas next.

3dly, That, in case they fail to pay punctually every quarter as it become due, it is desired application should be made to the prince of Orange for redress, by the ambassador of his most Christian Majesty.

4thly, As to the interests of Catholics in general, it is desired, that the ambassador may advise with bishop Leyborn, concerning what may be most expedient for their relief and protection; that bishop being a person of great prudence and experience, and knowing well that, at this time, the interests of France and of religion are the same.

5thly, It would be agreeable that endeavours should be made to obtain a suspension of the penal laws against Catholics, as well in Scotland and in Ireland, as in England, where they have shewn some sort of moderation for some years. But in Scotland, their laws are executed with rigour, by imprisoning and banishing all priests, merely because they are priests; and in Ireland, the great severity of the new laws passed there, gives reason to fear the same rigour in their execution.

6thly, Also all the King's friends who are ordinarily called Jacobites, are recommended to the ambassador's protection, lest they should be oppressed merely for having been loyal to their Sovereign, while they live peaceably, without giving any offence to the present government.

7thly, It is further desired, that the publick faith engaged in the capitulation of the city of Limerick, should be maintained in all its articles; and that all who were without the town, as well as those who were within, and laid down their arms upon the faith of these articles, should be allowed to enjoy their fortunes, according to the said capitulation.

There are other three articles, recommending to the ambassador to obtain the liberty of colonel Macelligot, Sir Nevil Paine, and the son of Sir William Jennings."

Lewis the XIVth sent this memorial, with the following letter, to his plenipotentiaries, at Ryswick.

1697.
October.

Translation.

October 7.

"**Y**OU see, by the memorial I send you, the difficulties which the Queen of England has reason to foresee, if she shall be obliged to receive, in her own name, the revenue which she has a right to enjoy in consequence of English acts of parliament. To prevent these difficulties, she would chuse that you could agree upon the expedient proposed in this memorial. You may speak about it to the English ambassadors; and, as I doubt not but the King, their master, is sincerely inclined to pay what shall be due to this princess, the form of doing it should be a matter of indifference to him. You are to concert with the ambassadors the different expedients which may be adopted. But, before you fix upon any, you are to give us an account of what they propose."

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 48.

The Marquis de Torcy to the Earl of Middleton; with a copy of the preceding letter, and one of the act which was signed by the English ambassadors.

Ibid.

Translation.

October 15, 1697.

"**I** Send you the copy you asked, of the act which the English ambassadors have passed for securing the Queen's pension; and I join, at the same time, what his Majesty has written to his plenipotentiaries, when he sent them the memorial which you gave me. They have not yet answered that letter, and I shall not fail to acquaint you with what they shall write on the subject. They have orders to make representations in favour of the Roman Catholics in Ireland, for executing the capitulation of Limerick, of which I have sent them a copy, by his Majesty's orders.

Original.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

DE TORCY."

The

1697.
October.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 5.

The Earl of Middleton's answer to the Marquis de Torcy.

Translation.

October 21, 1697.

“ I Have received the letter which you did me the honour to write to me from Fountainbleau on the 15th instant, with the extract of the mediation, and the instruction for his Majesty's plenipotentiaries, with which the Queen of England is entirely satisfied, and she has ordered me to thank you. But there is a gross mistake in the extract, which you will undoubtedly judge necessary to correct; because acts of parliament are never sealed, and have no other sanction but that *it is the King's pleasure*. This may give a handle to the English to use shifts, and to say, that they are not obliged to make any payments, unless a sealed act is produced, which is impossible. I have marked the words in the extract which I return to you, and below I have written those which ought to be substituted in their place. I am persuaded they will agree to them without any difficulty, because they will be ashamed to acknowledge an ignorance or a villany, equally insupportable. It was merely to avoid these difficulties that the King, my master, proposed to send one of his subjects to Delft, as it is impossible that these particulars can be known to others.”

Ibid. vol. i.
fol. No. 144.
and vol. i.
4to. No. 5.

“ *An extract of the Protocole of the Mediation held at Ryswick the 20th September, 1697,*” as amended by Middleton.

Translation.

“ THE ambassadors of the King of England have declared that the King, their master, has promised that the annual pension of 50,000 l. sterling, or such other sum as shall be found settled “ by act of parliament, sealed with the great seal of England *,” in favour of the Queen, Mary D'Esté, shall be paid for the future according to the said act †, and that they consent that the mediator should insert this in his protocole, and give an authentic copy of it

* Instead of these words, the following are to be inserted: “ By letters patent, sealed with the great seal of England, and confirmed by act of parliament.”

† “ To the said letters patent.”

to the French ambassadors ; in the presence of whom, and also of the Dutch ambassadors, the said declaration has been made.

1697.
November.

LILLIEROOT.

All the apprehensions of James and his Queen about her dowry must have been removed, by the following letter from the Swedish mediator.

Monsieur de Lillieroot to Mr. de Harlay.

A copy in Nairne's hand.

Translation.

November 23, 1697.

"AS I am not well enough to go to Delft, and have the honour of delivering, by word of mouth, to your excellency, the answer which I have received from the King of England about the act for the Queen's pension now in question, I take the liberty to write to you about it. I spoke of it yesterday to his Majesty, according to my promise, and he confirmed to me what his ambassadors had declared so often ; that the mistake which has crept into the act, shall be of no prejudice to the principal object ; that he is willing to stand faithfully by what has been promised ; and that, for that purpose, he shall order his ambassador who shall go to the court of France, to regulate there the time and the manner of paying this pension ; so that there is no reason to be uneasy about it. I am convinced, Sir, of the sincerity of this promise, and I am, with great zeal and sincerity.

SIR,

Your Excellency's most humble and most obedient servant,

N. LILLIEROOT."

James published a protestation against the peace to be concluded at Ryswick, and the following paper is indorsed,

Ibid. vol. i.
fol. No. 141.

"Instructions to be sent with the King's protestation."

Ibid. No.
140.

In Nairne's hand.

"AS we have looked on our people as our children, even with a hearty and sincere desire of retaining the disobedient, we have always reck-

1697.
November.

oned the sufferings of the dutiful among the most sensible of our afflictions; and we had nothing more in view by our constant endeavours to recover our right, than to have rewarded those who had contributed to it.

The misfortune that happened to the French fleet at La Hogue in 1692, made such an impression on that court, that ever since, the difficulty of transporting a considerable force was thought to be insuperable; and, therefore, from that time, applications were made to all the neutral nations to set a treaty of peace a foot, as may appear, by the date of their memorials given to the northern crowns; and they were the more solicitous in pursuing that design the year following, by reason of the famine and mortality that happened in their country, which stopt even the circulation of the money; so that nothing prevented the conclusion of the peace then, but that there were still means left to support the Prince of Orange's aversion to it, which we made use of, amongst other arguments, to engage them to attempt our restoration, as being the shortest way of obtaining an honourable and lasting peace. But the tide turned. France recovered, and the confederacy declined; so that they hoped to compass their purpose without venturing any thing. The conjecture was so singularly unlucky, that our enemies' disadvantages advanced this peace. Had Namur been relieved, we cannot doubt but it would have been concluded the winter following; since we see, that the separate treaty with Savoy has produced that effect, which certainly gave the French all the advantage imaginable over their enemies.

At last, when we were convinced that nothing could divert them from their peaceable resolution, and that the treaty was actually begun by M. de Calliere, our only care then was the preservation of our loyal subjects; and, in order to that, in October, 1696, we insisted earnestly that there might be an indemnity stipulated for all those who had rendered themselves obnoxious on our account: That all outlawries against them might be reversed; and they restored to the full and quiet possession of their estates.

This was frequently reiterated with all the proper arguments and undeniable precedents, both to the French court and to that of Rome; that by the last, it might be conveyed to all the catholic princes and states.

It was proposed at Ryfwick by the French, but rejected by the English. The fear of embarrassing their own treaty, and lest the same favour might be pressed for the Huguenots, were the reasons why it was not further insisted on by the French.

1697.
November.

We cannot suppose that any of our good subjects can harbour such disrespectful thoughts of us as to imagine that we were consenting to this peace. If any have such, we pity them, as the ravings of distempered people; and, without doubt, will be set right by reading our protestation.

There is nothing we desire more than the quiet and safety of our good subjects: But every man must consult himself in that point. If they do what we cannot allow of, we would not have them think that they have incurred our displeasure thereby. We can freely pardon what we cannot approve. We cannot consent to the taking of an unlawful oath in conscience; besides, it would look like absolving them of their allegiance to us, which might be interpreted an abdication. We have a sensible compassion of the pressures they lie under, and shall still depend on their service, when we have occasion for it."

SIR,
I am informed that one Mr. Piggott, a late printing fellow, so say no word of him, pretends to many people to have directions and messages from hence, which I can assure you is most false. Therefore you cannot do our master better service than to give them a caution of it; and that they should trust none but such as they have an entire confidence in, or produce a credential. I hope to hear from you sometimes; and, as often as I have occasion, I shall endeavour to convince you that I am most really, &c."

Berkenshead and Hunt, who are both mentioned in the following letter, are already known, by the earl of Middleton's correspondence with

Mont

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1698.

1698.
January.

THE treaty of Ryfwick had restored peace to Europe. William the Third sat securely on the throne of Britain. The enemies of his government seemed now cautiously to avoid all correspondence with the late King; and those who offered their services to the court of St. Germain, were but a few indigent persons, who meant, probably, to raise their fortunes by betraying their employers; at least, Middleton seems now to have had this opinion of a man, with whom he himself had entered into correspondence two years before*, if Piggott and Pigcault are the same name.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 5.

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Biddiford, at Calais.

S I R,
St. Germain, Jan. 2, 1698.
“ I Am informed that one Mr. Piggott, a fat squinting fellow, to say no worse of him, pretends to many people to have directions and messages from hence, which I can assure you is most false: Therefore, you cannot do our master better service than to give them a caution of it; and that they should trust none but such as they have an entire confidence in, or produce a credential. I hope to hear from you sometimes; and, as often as I have occasion, I shall endeavour to convince you, that I am most really, &c.”

Berkenhead and Hunt, who are both mentioned in the following letter, are already known, by the earl of Middleton's correspondence with

* See Middleton's letter of the 4th of August, 1696.

Monf.

Monf. de Thoffe and the Abbé Renaudot, in the month of October,
1696*.

1698.
January.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Translation.

Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 5.

"SIR, St. Germain, January 16, 1698.
"MR. Berkenhead writes to me from Calais, that one Hunt, whom
he brought here, as you know, is resolved to go back to Eng-
land, and to recommend himself, at the expence of all those who came
over to France during the war; and, among the rest, lord Aylesbury
will undoubtedly be beheaded. Against so great an evil there is no re-
medy, unless the King will be graciously pleased to send him silently to
the Antilles, St. Domingo, or Canada, with an order to the governors
to confine him; and by this means, if he is demanded, it may be an-
swered with truth, that he is not in France. The evil is immediate;
and, therefore, the King of England beseeches you to represent this to
the King, and to let him know his Majesty's intentions."

The earl of Middleton, in a letter to the marquis de Torcy, on the
19th, desires that the same precautions should be taken against a Mr.
Goodman, who had been an evidence against several in England; and,
particularly, had informed against the duke of Powis, who, however,
bribed him to retire to France. Goodman now seemed impatient to
return. Middleton suspected that his intention was to put himself under
the protection of the earl of Portland, when he arrived; and therefore,
in his master's name, desires he should be secured with Hunt. It ap-
pears, from another letter to De Torcy, written some months later, that
Goodman was sent a prisoner to Dauphiny, where his wife, in a petition
to the Queen, desired to be imprisoned with him. Middleton, in the
meantime, endeavoured to renew his former correspondence with some
of his friends in England. There is a letter from him of the 16th of
February, to Clelland (Waugh) containing general expressions of kind-
ness and regard. He was then greatly alarmed that some letters of con-
sequence might be found about Mr. Crosby, who had been assassinated
in the streets of Paris. Crosby had carried on a correspondence, for
some time, with James's secret friends in England, and Middleton was

Ibid.

* See above, page 565.

afraid

1698. afraid that he might have had letters about him which would involve many in troubles, if they fell into improper hands.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 11.

The clergy and people of Ireland presented a memorial, this year, to a congregation at Rome, complaining that the Catholic princes had concluded a peace, without making any stipulation for the distressed Catholics of Ireland, England, and Scotland, and without consulting the Holy See. They intimated their suspicions, that the intrigues of the prince of Orange extended to the court of Rome itself. They had undergone, they said, a severe persecution for upwards of one hundred and seventy years. They were now laughed at by the protestants, when they saw them abandoned by those from whom they expected protection. They enumerated the several laws which were enacted against them, and which must, in the end, extirpate the Catholic religion. They humbly proposed to the Pope to send legates to the courts of all the Catholic princes, in order to persuade those princes to forbid all commerce with Great Britain, until the Catholics in the three kingdoms were freed from all restrictions in the exercise of their religion.

Ibid. No. 15.

The Pope wrote a consolatory letter to them, exhorting them to patience and perseverance, and promising them the assistance of his fervent prayers. At the same time he wrote a letter in their favour to the Emperor.

Ibid. No. 14.

It does not appear, that his Imperial Majesty, in consequence of this letter, made any representations to the court of Great Britain. But before he received it, he must have sent instructions to his envoy at London; for the Pope's letter is dated the 21st of June, and the following letter from the envoy to the Pope's nuncio is dated the 9th of May. It appears from it, that he had received instructions from the Emperor to make representations to King William, in favour of the Roman Catholics in Ireland, and obtained his Majesty's promise that the penal laws lately enacted against them should not be rigorously executed.

* See above, page 262.

" Copy

"Copy of a letter from Count D'Aversperg, Envoy Extraordinary from his Imperial Majesty at London, to the Pope's Nuncio."

1698.

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. i.
4to. No. 12.

Translation.

9th May, 1698.

"ALTHOUGH I have not done myself the honour of writing to you for some time, I have not, however, forgot my promise to acquaint you, when the opportunity offered, with every thing that happened here concerning the affairs of Ireland. I don't doubt, but you have been informed of the laws, which have been past during this session of parliament, against the Catholics, and particularly against monks, bishops, and all those who have any ecclesiastical dignity. And as his imperial Majesty, my august master, has been informed of them, he has been pleased to order me to speak about them to his Britannic Majesty. I did not fail to do so, as well as I could, and to such purpose, that his Majesty sent yesterday the chancellor of that kingdom to me, to tell me, that it is true these laws were past, but that they would not be rigorously executed: that all the monks would not be banished, although it was almost impossible to tolerate them longer, on account of their great insolence, and their little respect for the present government. Yet some of them would be allowed to remain, particularly those, who, on account of their great age, were incapable of leaving the kingdom. That all the bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries would be allowed to remain; and that the Catholics might have as many secular priests as they pleased, in towns, as well as in villages and other places. As complaints were made, that the capitulation of Limerick was not kept, the chancellor explained this to me in such a manner, that I don't see there is any reason to complain. I was informed likewise, that the parliament had passed a law, by which all the Catholics were obliged to educate their children in the pretended reformed religion. But the truth is, that they did not even think of such a law. The question now is, to see that all, that hath been promised to me, shall be punctually performed. I shall take care of this. At the same time, the Catholics must behave in such a way as will enable me to be of service to them. I was willing to communicate this to you, in order to shew you, that no opportunity

1698. tunity is neglected of maintaining our holy religion. I entreat you, most humbly, to be persuaded, that I am, &c.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 19, 21,
22, 23, 27.

The court of Rome disputed with James the power of nominating bishops in Ireland. His agent, M. Caprara, presented two memorials, on the subject, to the propaganda. The bishop of Limerick gave in his objections; and James was obliged to defend himself in a long and laboured reply. Notwithstanding the enthusiasm of this prince, and his submissive obedience to the see of Rome in spirituals, it appears, that he never intended to acknowledge the Pope's supremacy in temporal concerns. The Irish bishops were sensible of this, and, though he had lost his crowns for his attachment to their religion, they told him plainly that he was under a *sentence of excommunication*; and that he must be publicly absolved, before he could interfere in their affairs. Their reasonings to prove this are no less curious, than the absurdity of their pretensions. They are contained in the following paper, entitled,

Ibid. No. 18.

"How to treat with the Pope."

"WE must lay, for an undoubted foundation, that the Pope will do nothing, but according to the canons. Therefore, it is in vain to treat with the Pope, unless we resolve to be guided by them.

It is certain, that England was heretofore excommunicated, according to the canons; and the kingdom lies, at this day, under the excommunication.

So, no Englishman can, by the canons, appear as a public person, in name of the community, till the excommunication is taken off.

For, although many English Catholics are, by special privileges, absolved in particular; yet the absolution serves not to make them capable to deal, as public persons, with his Holiness. But they must be publicly absolved, amongst the rest.

Therefore, the public excommunication must be taken off, before the kingdom can be capable of treating publicly with his Holiness; and it is his Holiness alone that can take it off.

Which

Which being so, the King ought to look upon the Pope as his superior, and upon himself as a person not yet lawfully qualified to treat publicly with his Holiness; who is, therefore, to be privately demanded what the canons require should be done in this case, until the whole kingdom may be disposed to receive a public solemn absolution.

1698.

In my judgment, this ought to have been done before the crown was set upon his Majesty's head: and now, that very ceremony ought to be brought into consideration, to the end that the subject may, for the future, live under a catholic crown.

No doubt, but the Pope will be forwarder to grant, than we to demand, as long as we keep within the bounds of the holy canons.

If we swerve from them, we cannot expect the Pope should be otherwise than hard, uneasy, inflexible."

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1699.

1699.
November.

THE late King, having discontinued all efforts for regaining his crown, ever since the year 1697, applied his whole attention and time to acts of devotion. He, in some measure, ran his own life, against that of King William, and refted his whole hopes upon his project of throwing himself in the hands of his former subjects. In this disposition of his mind and affairs, the correspondence, with his adherents, seems to have been greatly interrupted; which circumstance renders the present year peculiarly barren in secret intrigues. This situation of things prevented not a renewal of profligate propofals for the affaffination of King William.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Charras offers to affaffinate King William.

Translation.

St. Germain, Nov. 17, 1699.

“ **I** Send you two informations; the one from a chaplain of the King of England, and the other from one of his phyficians. Although Char-
ras faid he would come and call upon me, he has not done it, but left the place while I waited for him; probably the phyfician’s difcourfe frightened him. The King, my mafter, is defirous that he may be apprehended and questioned; it is probable he may be caught at his brother the apothecary’s, or by watching the ftreets in the corner of the town where lord Manchester lives.”

Nairne’s Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 5.

The

The information of Mr. Constable, the King's Physician, mentioned in the preceding letter.

1699.
November.
Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. ii.
4to, No. 62.

Translation.

Nov. 17th, 1699.

"**Y**ESTERDAY, the 16th of November, a porter came two or three times in the morning, desiring very earnestly to speak to me. At last, between 11 and 12, he brought me a note, which I sent to her Majesty by Mr. Innes, the chaplain, who is acquainted with this affair. The bearer of the note told me, that he had the strictest orders from the person who sent it, not to permit any other to see it.

I went immediately to the person, who had written the note to me. I found him in a little dark room, in the publick-house called The prince of Wales, and saw a young man, whom I recollected to have known, but of whom I had a very imperfect remembrance. He told me, that his name was Charras; that he was brother to the apothecary of the same name, at St. Marget's-street, near the abbey of St. Germain, at Paris. After some compliments, he told me, that he had an affair of great consequence to communicate to me, which required great secrecy: that he had an expedient of rendering an essential service to the King, our master: that, although he was a stranger to his Majesty, he had an entire affection for him: that he had always lamented the injustice which had been done him: that he was determined to surmount all the difficulties which might occur: that he had only two or three friends; and that these were domestics of the prince of Orange's, but devoted to the interests of King James: that a number of accomplices would render an enterprize of that kind always hazardous; and that the last affair failed, merely because too many were acquainted with it.

All his expressions indicated, that he cared little for his life, providing the King might be restored. He enlarged upon the subject; and was willing, I imagine, to discover to me the expedient, which he mentioned. But I assured him, that the King, my master, had principles of religion and honour, which would never permit him to countenance such an attempt. This answer embarrassed and seemed to confound him; but, recovering himself, he enlarged upon the recompense, which such an heroic action would deserve; and observed, that, although he and his

1699.
November.

comrades should perish in the attempt, the action would be always reckoned glorious, and that the advantages, which their relations might derive from it, would be a sufficient recompense for the loss of their lives.

He told me also, that he had communicated this affair to Mr. Innes, which I now find to be false; and that Mr. Innes desired him to come to me. He assured me also, at the same time, that he would make it known to one or both of the secretaries of state. But, as soon as I came home, I saw from the window of my room, that he left the inn, being dissatisfied, as I imagine, with my answers; and concluded, that I would make a discovery to the King and to both the secretaries of state; and I have since learned, that he left St. Germain's, though he told me, that he would not, and that he had chosen that lodging, in order to be more private, and that he would not see any body, until he had concerted this affair, which he would easily do, without noise or danger. This is the substance, and almost all the circumstances, of what he told me; and I am ready to declare so upon oath, when called upon."

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1700.

WHILE James devoted himself to the austerities of religion, his ministers continued, in some degree, their intrigues with their friends in England. In Mr. Nairne's collection, we have some letters, under feigned names, which passed between them this year.

1700.
October.

The Earl of Middleton to his correspondents in England.

Wednesday, the 20th Oct. 1700.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 1.

“**I** Have so full and so good an answer to give you from Mr. Mons, that your heart cannot think or wish for a better. But how to do it, without the key [the cypher] of the cabinet where the papers lie, is impossible. Wherefore, upon receipt of this, send me the key. I am very glad the colonel * minds his business. His letters will be acceptable, since the people he has to do with are in a full disposition to take advice. Do not you think, that the credit of our trade will increase every day, when it evidently will appear, that we go upon fair and just things, and will be a motive to good men to deal more freely with us; and the greatest service can be done us is, to persuade such to do so? For we are disposed to give an entire and full satisfaction to every body, and we aim at nothing but peace, rest, and quiet, and to leave people to cut out their own happiness, in their own way, and by their own instruments.”

SIR,

Wednesday, the 3d Nov. 1700.

“**M**R. Mons [the King] desires to be kindly remembered to you, and bids me tell you, that you may, in his name, inform the gentlemen you mention in yours, and any other you judge convenient, that

* Probably Colonel Sackville.

John

1700.
November.

John Murey [the King] is fully resolved to give all the satisfaction to his creditors [people] of all sorts, that their hearts can wish or desire: that the old debts [the passive] shall be first considered [forgiven], and then the new [the active] rewarded; and that all other things shall be left to the arbitrement of the arbitrators [parliament that shall be immediately called]. In the mean time, it is desired from his friends, that may be in or out of town [parliament], to guard against any thing, that may be proposed, relative to the sale of lands [the succession] at all. But, if they find they cannot obtain that, and that they will take it into consideration rather than any other should be named, to endeavour that Mr. Murey's best friend [the prince of Wales] have the preference."

November 17th, 1700.

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Papers,
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 1.

" I Received yours of the 24th October, which was our 6th of November, with one inclosed from the colonel; to which I give you the trouble to give him the inclosed, for answer, which I should have done, by the last post, but could not by reason of a meeting I had with some friends, which took up all my time for that day. I am very sensible of that gentleman's good intentions to do us all the good he can, and I believe he will do me that justice to say, I was always so from the first day I had the honour to know him; and, by what I say from Mr. Mons, he will see how much he thinks he is obliged to him. If you have received all mine of the 3d instant, you will perfectly see, that John Murey [the King] does not intend that words, but deeds, should convince both his friends and his enemies: for, as he reserves nothing in his power, they have nobody but themselves to blame, if every thing be not done to their contentment; and, if that cannot do, you know the proverb, "You can have no more of the cat but the skin." However, if there be any thing to be expected from his creditors [the people], he is very desirous to give a meeting to any one, that will come from them, and he does not doubt but to give them all the satisfaction they can expect; and if the thing be rightly understood, they must see the great advantages, that is upon their side. Whereas, he has nothing before his eyes, but to have every thing, by arbitrement of the arbitrators [parliament], disposed of to the best advantage of his creditors [people]; and nobody can imagine, but the longer it is delayed, the greater will be their loss. For, if the sale of lands

lands [succeſſion] be neglected, you will allow the loſs will every day be the more. Therefore, let me intreat you to preſs the having all theſe things taken into conſideration.

1700.
November.

As for news, you had the contents of the King of Spain's will in the laſt Paris Gazette, viz. The duke of Anjou is named to the entire ſucceſſion of the whole monarchy, failing him the duke de Berry, and failing him the archduke, ſecond ſon to the emperor, and after him the duke of Savoy.

The bees [city] you mention have been and are ſtill very troubleſome, and that you will ſee confounds all and makes us deſpair of all the reſt, when ſo little a thing cannot be removed. So that all I can ſay is, that, if you could get the bees [city] recommended by the worthies you mention in yours as injurious to them, in the preſent conjuncture, and that, at ſuch a time, when they are ſetting up for good management, every thing ſhould appear by actions, as the parting with ſuch as have waſted by their profuſeneſs, and deſtroyed by their councils all the improvements that might have been made: that it is not agreeable with good management to put ſtrangers over a family, that reckons they have wiſer people of their own. The oldeſt of the bees [city] is ſupported by nothing now, but the ſhame of acknowledging a fault, and it's he only that ſupports the reſt; and inſtructions upon that, from theſe people, would be well taken, but from no other, ſhewing them, that perſevering in bad things is the greateſt fault, and coming out of it makes the greateſt amends that can be for any fault: that, whiſt they think to cover it, by their perſeverance, the meaneſt capacities of their ſervants ſee it, and conſequently deſpiſe them for it.

Since I begun to write this letter, I have got yours of the 28th, and I thank you for the account you give me of that worthleſs fellow. I am ſatiſfied of the truth of it; for theſe letters have been ſhewn on this ſide, as well as on yours; and yet for all that, and all we could ſay of the affront and injury done to the perſon of honour, which Mr. Mons repreſented very warmly, the M. i. i. f. c. y. and his gang carried it, and he was juſtified. If that gentleman knew what Mr. Mons ſaid upon that head, he would be well pleaſed; but he was answered, that it was otherwiſe: that, far from doing him prejudice, he had ſerved him. In a word,
he

1700.
November.

he has qualified himself to be thought capable of serving what I am satisfied he sets up for; and he certainly was sent thither for that end."

It is probable, that some of those members, in both houses of parliament who moved for the severe addresses to King William, on the treaties of partition, in March 1701, were acquainted with the sentiments of the court of St. Germain, on the subject of the Spanish succession; as the addresses themselves seem to be the echo of the following letters, written by the earl of Middleton to England.

SIR,

24 November, 1700.

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No. 1.

"IN my last, I gave you the account of the King of Spain's death, and that the entire succession to these great dominions were given to the duke of Anjou, &c. and now what may be the consequence of it, is, at present, the great subject of our discourse and reasoning. The French reckon themselves much obliged to the league they lately made with Holland and England; and, indeed, so they may: for that, and that only, has put a constraint upon Spain to put aside the arch-duke; seeing themselves under a necessity either to do that or have their dominions torn in pieces by the partage. I long extremely to hear how this will be taken by the parliament, and by the wise people of England. For here was a league made, without advising and consulting them upon the matter, and certainly very much to the prejudice of trade and interest of the nation, which, no doubt, would have been examined into by the parliament; and, indeed, if it was reasonable to do it then, it is no less reasonable to do it now, upon what has happened. For, in all respects, this settlement has, at least, as bad an aspect towards England, as the other. Humanly speaking, here is a friendship betwixt the two crowns of Spain and France for fifty years, taking in a grandfather, a father, and a brother's friendship to a King of their own setting up. What trade can England propose to have in the Mediterranean, and in all the Spanish dominions, if France vie with them for it, though there be no war; and if there be, how can they maintain a fleet, without the assistance of the Spanish ports and harbours? And it is evident, that this, and whatever worse consequences may arise from it, it is this triple league that is the occasion; since it brought them upon the necessity
before

before mentioned. The duke of Bavaria has writ to the King of Spain, and the general of their forces in the Netherlands will be at Versailles the morrow: so that you see here Flanders consenting already; and in what a condition would the Hollanders be, though Spain never made war upon them, but only were, in case of a war betwixt France and them, consenting to their troops marching through Flanders? And what would become of that bulwark which England and Holland have formerly thought their interest to maintain, though at their own charges, and which, in all appearance, is now lost by a league of their own making with the King of France? Doctor Davenant will not need burn his book against the league, but add an appendix, to show that it has had the same evil consequences, or rather worse, than it could have had, if all things had stood as they were when it was made, and the execution had been made accordingly."

1700.
Nov.—Dec.

SIR, Wednesday, 1st of December, 1700.
"I Have yours of the 14th of November, O. S. and I am sorry you had then so little time to write; for there are two things I hoped to have had from you. One was the account of the Scotch parliament; the other, how you reason upon this great affair of the Spanish succession, whereof you had my opinion, upon the 24th of November, N. S. Of both, I hope to have something from you by the next. As to the Scotch parliament, by other letters, I am glad to find all goes for the court. You know my opinion as to John Murey's [the King's] affairs, is the same with yours; and yet, if it were possible to persuade people to accept of what he offers, it would bring every thing into the same channel that we propose it to run in, by a more natural way than all other overtures can make it; and, by this method too, you see he does not desire to be trusted: for he gives all out of his own hands. But this is an argument that I would not have you make use of with the colonel; and yet it is the best thing could happen, both for him and his friends. But all propositions any other way, in our parts, that is downright, will be to no purpose; and yet, upon your side of the water, they would naturally of themselves consider this and press it, where there is occasion. The bees [city] are a dead weight upon them, and look more like a judgment than any thing else; they being an abomination

December.
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1700.
December.

to all the rest of mankind but themselves; and this case truly stated, by the colonel's friends, would be of great use for them and us too, and I am persuaded they suffer, at least, as much by them as we do.

Yesterday, the Dutch ambassador was at Versailles, to demand an audience of the King, and was refused. It is said the King of France should say, that, when he had the audience of the King of Spain, he should have it of him. Whether he said this or not, I cannot be positive. But it is certain he was refused, and that to the seeing of as many as were about the King's apartments at the most public time of the day; and, it is believed, the English ambassador will be served just so. Thus, you see what that secret treaty is like to bring us to. How seasonable it may be to think upon John Murey's [the King's] proposition, I leave you to judge."

SIR,

Wednesday, 8th of December, 1700.

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No. 1.

"I Have seen yours of the 27th of November; and I am glad you are got safe to London. I find you are alarmed there with the duke of Anjou being declared King of Spain, and, no doubt, you have reason; for the consequences of it may be still greater than your apprehensions of them are. It is not probable, that the duke of Bavaria will remain long governor of Flanders, though he sent his compliments to the King of Spain, and done all other marks of joy and acknowledgment upon that subject. The general of the Spanish forces in Flanders was likewise with the King of Spain before he went from hence; and was immediately sent back, upon an express from the duke of Bavaria, upon some apprehensions they had of the Dutch garrisons. It is certain that the King of France asked the Spanish ambassador what their debt was to the Dutch, for which they had the possession of these towns. He answered, six million. Well, says the King, if the councils of Spain think fit to free themselves of these garrisons, I will make good the money. So that you see there is made good what you seem in England to fear, in the most material part. Besides, the governor of the French Flanders has orders to send the duke of Bavaria or the Spanish general what troops they shall demand, upon any occasion.

When I think upon the consequences that this succession to Spain may produce, I cannot but reflect upon the means and instruments that have

been made use of to bring it about. To say, that England and Holland should be these instruments, is strange, and yet certainly true. For that secret treaty, made by the King of England and the Dutch with France, has put the Spaniards upon a necessity of doing for themselves the wisest thing they ever did, calling the duke d'Anjou to be their King: for nothing but this necessity could have made them lay aside the Austrian family. They saw, by this secret league, their territories divided, their monarchy torn in pieces, a power set up against them, France, England, and Holland to make good their division, too strong for them, and all they could expect to assist them; and so, by giving it to the duke of Anjou, humanly speaking, they have secured to themselves a peace with France for fifty years, entailed upon the life of a grandfather, a father, and a brother, who will think it their glory to maintain a son of France in these great dominions; and it is not to be doubted, but the children of his body will be as good Spaniards as ever were before them; so that Spain has acted a wise part.

It's dangerous for any state to be governed by a head that is notional; for such are generally given to try experiments. What greater security could England have, than in the Augsburg league? Why was not that renewed, which would have kept the kingdom in peace for hundreds of years, in all probability? But this treaty, amongst other things, has destroyed the credit and friendship the Austrian family can have for our King hereafter. So that, by this *tour de baton*, he has lost his new friends and his old ones together.

Your cousin [the King] is very well. I never saw so great a change upon a man, in so little time. I was with him, at Versailles, when the King of Spain parted; and I dare be bold to say, that, if you see him three or four months hence, you will admire the alteration, with great joy. My friend and his partner give you both their humble service; and they do not doubt but you will mind them upon occasion. I am,

SIR,

Your most faithful and most humble Servant.

1700.
December.

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1701.

1701.
June.

THE earl of Marlborough and his friend Berry will be frequently mentioned in the course of the following correspondence. Berry's name occurs in some of lord Middleton's letters, during the years 1696 and 1697. But Marlborough's correspondence with the court of St. Germain's was carried on, at that time, through the means of colonel Sackville, and we find him now, for the first time, mentioned with Berry.

Marlborough is mentioned, under the feigned names of Gourny, Gurney, Gurny, Armsworth, and the lawyer. The following copy of a letter, from Berry, concerning that lord and his friend Godolphin, is in Nairne's hand. It is neither signed nor addressed, but it is marked on the back by Nairne himself.

"Extract of a letter from Berry, concerning Gourny."

Translation.

"June, 1701."

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 49.

MR. Berry has been, some days ago, by appointment, with Mr. Gourny [Marlborough] and his associates, from whom he has had all imaginable assurances, that they have been induced to enter into commerce with Bailly, merely from a view of being able, in the proper time and place, to pay the debt due to Mr. Goodall [King James]; and it does not appear to me, that there is any room to doubt but Mr. Gourny will be soon in condition to satisfy all the creditors, by providing a reasonable composition with regard to the concern of Whitely [the Queen]. And as to Mr. Goodall's debt, I am assured it will be the first which will be discharged. There are many reasons which induce me to believe so; being daily more and more convinced that we shall follow the good example

ample which Mr. Richard has lately given us; for which all the parties concerned seem to prepare themselves. The principal associates in the direction of this affair, are Mr. Gourny [Marlborough], Mr. Gilburne [Godolphin], Mr. Travers [Tunstal], and Mr. Loffield. I could not hinder myself from sending you this news; knowing how agreeable it will be to you to know it, as well as to your friend Mr. Gerrard, to whom Mr. Arnot will write about it more fully, when he is at leisure. It is, therefore, unnecessary to communicate more to you about it at present.

1701.
June.

Death and Character of James II.

"**T**HE King publicly, and by name, forgave all his enemies. He had often declared, that he was more beholden to the prince of Orange than to all the world besides. The King of France came to wait upon him. He lighted at the castle-gate, as others did, to prevent the noise of coaches from disturbing him. Just before he expired, he mentioned by name, with a loud voice, the prince of Orange, the princess of Denmark, and the Emperor; and said he wished they might be acquainted that he forgave them all. The King of France, the third time he came to see the King, declared he would own the prince of Wales King of England. He had hesitated long. The dauphin, the duke of Burgundy, and all the princes thought it unbecoming the dignity of the crown of France, not to own the title of the prince of Wales. He first acquainted the Queen, then the Prince, of his resolution. He came, at last, to the King's bed-side. "Sir," said he, "I am come to see how your Majesty finds yourself to-day." But the King not hearing, made no reply. Upon which, one of his servants telling him, that the King of France was there, he roused himself, and said, "Where is he?" Upon which the King of France replied, "Sir, I am here, and I am come to see how you do?" The King thanked him for all his favours. His most Christian Majesty replied, "Sir, what I have done is but a small matter. I have something to acquaint you with of greater consequence." The King's servants began to retire. "Let nobody withdraw," said the King of France. "I am come, Sir, to acquaint you, that whenever it shall please God to call your Majesty out of this world, I will take your family into my protection, and will treat your son, the prince of Wales, in the same manner I have treated you, and acknowledge him, as he then will

Macpherson's Extracts, from the continuation of James the Second's memoirs, Scotch College.

1701.

will be, King of England." All that were present, whether French or English, burst at once into tears, expressive of a mixture of joy and grief. Some threw themselves at his most Christian Majesty's feet. All seemed so much affected, that the King of France himself burst into tears. The King of England was endeavouring to say something. But the confused noise was so great, and he so weak, that he could not be heard. The King of France went away. But as he passed, he called the officer of the guard, and desired him to treat the prince of Wales as King, whenever his father should expire.

The next day, the King was something better. The prince of Wales was permitted to see him, which he was not often suffered to do; it being observed, that when he saw him, it raised such a commotion in him, as was thought to do him harm. When he came into the room, the King stretching forth his arms to embrace him, said, "I have not seen you since his most Christian Majesty was here, and promised to own you when I should be dead. I have sent my lord Middleton to Marly, to thank him for it." He was taken next day with continual convulsions and shaking in his hands; and, on the day following, being the sixteenth of September, he expired.

He was something above the middle stature, well-shaped, very nervous and strong. His face was rather long, his complexion fair, his countenance engaging. But his outward carriage was a little stiff and constrained. He was not so gracious as he was courteous and obliging. He was affable and of easy access. He affected no formality, though no one knew the ceremonial better, nor was more exact in the observation of them when necessary. In his conversation and arguing, he endeavoured rather to convince with good reason than fine expressions; and having some hesitation in his speech, his discourse was not so graceful as it was judicious and solid. He abhorred the duplicity of a refined courtier. He was an assured friend, if he professed it; and when he could not serve a man, he let him instantly know it. His temper was naturally hot and choleric. But, in his latter days, he got the better of that; and, even in his younger days, it seldom so much overpowered him, as to make him do any action unbecoming. Though he was diffident of men, he was no less unsuccessful, when he reigned, in detecting his enemies, than he had been, the most part of his life, in choosing

choosing his friends. He was a great lover of walking and hunting. But no diversion made him neglect business; to which he had so great an application, that it seemed to be of the number of his diversions. He was so distinguishable for this, that, during his younger days, notwithstanding the unsettledness of his condition, while he lived in exile, he had not only performed his duty with great exactness, but kept an account of all occurrences; and he has obliged posterity with better memorials under his own hand, than perhaps any sovereign prince has been known to leave behind him before.

He was, all his life, a great enemy to drinking, gaming, and indeed to all diversions which commonly render men incapable of business. He avoided always the loss of time, which he counted precious, and ever managed with great circumspection. Even women, of whom he was fond, never induced him to neglect his business, run into extravagant expence, or totally forgetful of his duty. He was a kind husband, notwithstanding his love of women. His affection for the Queen was mixed with a respect and deference. He was the best father in the world, and the most unfortunate in some of his children; the best master, yet the worst served; a most constant friend, yet never prince found fewer, in his greatest necessities. He was so fond of his children, in particular, that when he found the princess of Denmark had deserted him, upon his return from Salisbury, he only seemed anxious about her health, and fears for her miscarriage."

"The attestation of Sir David Nairne, concerning what he knew of the life and virtues of the late King of Great Britain, James the Second."

Translation.

Paris, 1734.

AS I have the honour of having been near thirteen years, in the service of the late King of Great Britain, James the Second, of blessed and holy memory, and having followed him, in that time, to Ireland, La Hogue, and Calais, and of having been every where a witness of his holy life, particularly at St. Germain, where I had likewise the misfortune to be present at his last sickness and death; it is supposed, that, old as I am now, at the age of seventy-nine years almost complete,

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Papers,
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1701.

complete, I may be still able to recollect some circumstances of the life of that prince. Accordingly, it is just now intimated to me, that I shall be summoned one of these days, with some other old officers of his Majesty's household, to give each of us, an authentic testimony of his life and manners; and I am advised, at the same time, to put in writing, for the sake of greater exactness, whatever I can remember.

This then I am going to do, with all the sincerity I can, and as in the presence of God, before whom I must appear; being very sorry that my memory (which was never very good, and which is less so to-day than ever) cannot second my zeal upon this occasion so much as I would choose. For the present King of Great Britain (in the service of whom, and of the late King, his father, I have the honour of having passed upwards of forty-six years) knows, that it is on account of my great age and of my infirmities, that he was pleased, last year, to grant me permission to retire from his court at Rome, (where I was no longer fit for business) and to come to finish my days in quietness in France. But yet, notwithstanding my want of capacity, I shall obey the orders, which have been intimated to me, as faithfully as I possibly can.

To begin, I can attest with truth, that I have always observed, in King James the Second, of happy memory, a great fund of goodness and religion, an upright mind, a good heart, a great regularity of life, a paternal affection for all his loyal subjects and servants; and, above all, an inviolable attachment to the holy see, and to the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, to which he had already sacrificed his three crowns, and was disposed to sacrifice further his life, if necessary, as he often protested.

I attest, that during the residence of that prince at St. Germain's, he heard ordinarily two masses every day, one in the morning, and another towards noon. That he performed his devotions, on all the great festivals, and likewise on several other days of the year, and then heard, for the most part, three masses; and if, on these days, there were vespers, sermon, and exaltation of the host, at the parish church, or at the chapel of the castle, or the church of the Recoletts, he was there, and, in every lent and advent, he had sermon in his chapel thrice a week, and he never failed to go there regularly, attended always by the Queen, his religious

religious confort, who was likewise, as every one knows, an example of piety. They went likewise together, every year, on foot, to the procession of the holy sacrament, with the parish, over all the town of St. Germain. On the day and octave of Corpus Christi, and at the return of that long procession, they staid to hear high mass, at the parish church; and, on every evening, during the octave, they were present at the exaltation of the host; and, as there was scarcely a Sunday or a great holy-day, during the year, but there was an exaltation at the parish church, their Majesties were always present; and when there was no established fund for saying mass, they ordered one to be said, which kept up a great deal of devotion in the place, and edified every one.

1701.

In other respects, this pious prince so divided his time, between the duties of his station and those of religion, that the one never interfered with the other; and that all his hours were regulated, both for giving audience to his ministers and others, and for sleeping, rising, eating, and walking, as well as for praying and pious reading and writing, insomuch, that he was remarkable for his great exactness.

He was very charitable; and, as there were a great many of his poor faithful subjects, at St. Germain, who had lost their fortunes to follow him, he was touched with their condition, and retrenched, as much as he could, to assist them. He used to call, from time to time, into his cabinet, some of these bashful, indigent persons, of all ranks, to whom he distributed, folded up in small pieces of paper, five, ten, fifteen, or twenty pistoles, more or less, according to the merit, the quality, and the exigency of each.

He charged some of his chaplains to take care, that none of his catholic servants failed to perform their devotions regularly at Easter; and, as he was the mildest and best of masters, and loved all his servants and desired their eternal happiness, he lamented the misfortune of such of them, as had been educated in the protestant religion, and through prepossession, or a false point of honour or human considerations, persisted in it. He prayed to God, with all his heart, for their conversion, and sometimes took occasion to exhort them, to think seriously of inquiring whether they were in the true church or not, since upon that depended their eternal salvation; and he gave them sometimes good books to

1701. read. But he always spoke to them with mildness and discretion, letting them always understand, that he never meant to force the consciences of his subjects; believing himself obliged to be a common father to all, independently of the differences of religion.

He, as well as the late Queen, his consort, was much addicted to the continual adoration of the host, established in the parish of St. Germain; and for that purpose, he set apart his hour and day of the year for going after dinner to the parish church, to continue an entire hour in prayer and meditation on his knees before the august sacrament of our altars; a devotion, to which the King, his son, continues to be much addicted, with the Queen, his consort.

He practised, from time to time, spiritual retirements, for seven or eight days, in some religious house at Paris, from whence he went every day incognito, with a few attendants, to visit churches and to be present at sermons, masses, and salves; and when it was Easter-week, he went to the passion sermon and night offices. He was likewise three or four times in retirement at La Trappe; one of which times I remember to have been, as he was on his way to La Hogue. He staid there usually three days, practising nearly the same abstinence with the monks, and being present at a great part of their service."

Nairne, having given several particular instances, of James's constant and unwearied attention to excite the same spirit of devotion in others, proceeds to give an account of his sickness and death.

"I attest then, that, in this sickness, he edified all those who were about him, as well protestants as catholics, by his great patience in his sufferings and by his perfect resignation to the holy will of God, as to both life and death: that he confessed and communicated more than once, during his sickness, and manifested always an extreme sorrow for his past sins, and a sincere design for continuing to do penance for them, not only in this world, but also in purgatory, if it was the will of God; for so he explained himself.

That his great charity appeared, in this respect, that God gave him grace to forgive cordially all his enemies, and to pray for them; and, by name, for the Emperor and even the prince of Orange, saying aloud, that he was, in some measure, obliged to his enemies for the mercy which he hoped

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God would show him; because, if he had remained on his throne and continued always in prosperity, he would not, perhaps, have ever thought of the great work of his salvation, as seriously and as efficaciously as he ought. 1701.

That his paternal affection for all his faithful subjects and servants, who had followed him in his exile and remained constantly attached to him, seemed to redouble, in proportion as he drew near his end: so that it might be said of him, *in finem dilexit eos*. Accordingly, he recommended them all, in the same manner with his royal family, to the protection of the most Christian King, when his Majesty came to see him in his sickness; and he had the consolation, before his death, to know, from that great and generous Monarch's own mouth, that he would acknowledge the prince of Wales, his son, for King, as soon as God had disposed of him. He spoke, in short, with so much goodness, to the principal noblemen of his court, when he saw them about his bed, that they were all tenderly affected by it, seeing the zeal and real affection, with which he spoke to them of God, and exhorted them to think of their salvation and of death and eternity.

Here, I imagine, I ought not to pass over, in silence, a fact, which is public and which is very remarkable, viz. that the earl of Middleton, secretary of state to his Britannick Majesty, who was then a protestant, a man of polite learning and of great genius and capacity, as well as of honour and loyalty to his lawful King, was one of those, to whom his Majesty had spoke of religion, on his death-bed. Now the consequence has shown, that what his Majesty said to him then, on the subject, had made a deep impression on his mind. For a little time after the death of the King, God, in mercy to that nobleman, touched his heart, in such a manner, that, when it was least expected, he retired, on a sudden, to the English seminary, at Paris; where, after having finally satisfied himself, in some doubts which remained with him concerning our religion, he abjured his own, and was received into the bosom of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church, in which he always persevered while he lived, and died a good and zealous catholic. Every one ascribed this to the prayers of the King, his master, and to the blessing which God gave to his exhortations to him before he died.

1701.

I attest, finally, that his Majesty, more than once, declared, on his death-bed, that he died a son of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church; and gave, to his last breath, incontestible proofs of the strength of his faith, of his inviolable attachment to the holy see, and to all the truths of our holy religion, and of his filial obedience to our most holy father, the pope. In these truly catholic sentiments I have seen this great prince die, after having received all the sacraments, with an exemplary devotion, and having edified all the beholders by his patience and humility, by his entirely detaching himself from this world, and by his ardent love to Jesus Christ, in whose merits he placed all the foundation of his hopes for eternity; and lastly, by all the marks of a compunction, the most lively and most suitable to the contrite and humble heart of a penitent and holy King.

Thus died, the real death of the righteous, and with a great reputation of sanctity, James the Second of blessed memory, King of Great Britain, at the castle of St. Germain, the sixteenth of September 1701, after a sickness of several days. His body was transported, three or four days thereafter, to Paris, and deposited in the church of the English Benedictines, in the suburbs of St. James, where the people of Paris, convinced of the sanctity of this prince, and persuaded that the church would declare its opinion in this respect, at a proper time and place, began immediately to revere his memory before-hand, and to go in crowds to the church where his body was deposited, to celebrate masses and neuvaines, for asking several favours of God, through the intercession of this good King. Accordingly, there is found, to this day, in the registers of that church, a particular account of several miraculous cures, or such as appeared, at least to be so, wrought upon sick persons, through the intercession, as was piously believed, of this holy King; and afterwards, of the masses, which were said in that church, agreeably to the intention of these persons. Among others, there is an attestation, that my deceased wife had a neuvaine celebrated in that church, for my son, who was then about five years of age and troubled with a rupture, of which he was cured, a little after the neuvaine was finished; and he has felt nothing of that inconveniency ever since. However, I attest nothing here but facts, as it does not become me to enter into a discussion of what is or is not miraculous. I shall only say, that

the public have considered, as a real miracle, the sudden and remarkable cure of a fistula lachrymalis, wrought at that time, on the late Monsieur Roquette, bishop of Autun, nephew to the famous Mr. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, after prayers addressed to God by that prelate, through the intercession of our King. This fact may be verified still, by the authentic testimonies of it, which are to this day preserved.

These are all the particulars which I can recall to my remembrance of the later years of the life and also of the last sickness and death of King James the Second, of Great Britain, with regard to his life and morals. I shall only add, with regard to his Christian sentiments, that I know he has left, written in his own hand, incontestible proofs of his piety, in many of his manuscripts, of which I have seen, read, and copied a great number. It is from the great confidence, which the two Kings, father and son, were pleased to place in me, that I am now able to attest still this last great proof, which is preserved, of the solid piety of this great and virtuous prince, whose soul, we have reason to hope, is now recompensed a hundred fold in heaven, for the great injustice which was done him on earth, and for the kind of martyrdom which he suffered for the faith.

In witness of the truth of all that is said above, I sign this attestation, at Paris, the third day of July, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-four; after having received, this morning, a citation to appear, on the fifth of this instant month of July, at the archbishopric, to make oath, before the judges appointed to examine the witnesses, summoned in the cause of the deceased King of England, James the Second of blessed memory, and to receive their deposition.

DAVID NAIRNE.*

The

* If the Stuart family had been restored, and continued in the Romish faith, James would probably have been canonized; for care was early taken to collect such printed proofs as would have been then sufficient to procure him that honour. "The surgeons and the guards who attended when his body was opened, could not be prevented from carrying away some parts of it as relicks; and since that time, several persons from all quarters have, from the same motive, applied in the most earnest manner to have something belonging to him. A forward and too early zeal prompted them to this, without waiting for the judgment of the ecclesiastical tribunal, which has a right to regulate and preside over this kind of devotion. But, without anticipating the decision of the church,

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Papers, D.N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 5.

1701.

1701.
September.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 151.

The late King, with great formality, bequeathed the British thrones to his son, and appointed his Queen regent during the minority. The young

we may lawfully and usefully favour the public with relicks more precious than those of his corruptible body, viz. the relicks of his immortal soul, his papers, &c*."

It seems to have been seriously intended to apply for James's canonization. His superstitious votaries had begun to collect such proofs as had been always thought sufficient to obtain a place in the Romish calendar. This appears sufficiently from Nairne's attestation, and from the following extracts.

Ibid. vol. ii.
No. 4.

"An Extract of several miraculous cures performed by the intercession of the late James the Second, King of Great Britain."

1. The bishop of Autun, at the age of eighty, was cured of a fistula lacrymalis, with which he had been troubled for forty years. The superior of the Carmaliteffes, in the Fauxbourg, St. Jaques, at Paris, told him that the deceased King's first miracle would be in his favour. A nun of the convent of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary at Chaillot, where James had frequently resided, gave the good bishop the same assurance. Both of them promised to pray for his cure, through the intercession of the holy Monarch. The superior of the Nuns of Chaillot invited him to say mass for the repose of the King's soul, on the twenty-sixth of September, and he found himself cured when he came out of the church. The bishop gave a minute account of all this in a long letter to the Queen, of which a copy, in Nairne's hand, is annexed to this extract.

2. Gilbert Marais, a surgeon at St. Pourcain, in Auvergne, and brother to the curé of the parish, both natives of the place, was cured of a palsy in both his legs, through the intercession of the King of England, on the twenty-eighth of October, 1701. The miracle is attested by the curé, in a letter to the archbishop of Vienne, who inclosed the curé's letter, and a minute detail of all the particulars of the cure, signed by the curé, and by Gilbert Marais himself, in a letter to the superior of the nuns at Chaillot, to be communicated to the Queen. All these vouchers, in Nairne's hand, are annexed to the extract.

3. Passart de la Rotte, King's counsellor in the supreme court at Metz, was cured of a retention of urine, on the fifteenth of November, 1701. The particulars of the miracle, in Passart's own attestation, annexed to the extract in Nairne's hand, are as follow: On the fifteenth of October, 1701, as he was setting out from Paris on his return to Metz, Passart was seized with a retention of urine. He was bled eight times; he remained in great torment for eight days, and was assured by the ablest physicians in Paris, whom he

* It appears there was once an intention of publishing James's meditations. The originals are probably still in the Scotch College at Paris. Nairne made a collection of them, though a very small part of it is found among his papers. Besides what has been thrown above into James's Memoirs, there are four other pieces, viz. "Advices to a Nun: The Necessity of frequent Communion: Motives of Conversion to the Catholic Religion: and Advice to Converts." The first two are short, but the two last are of some length.

young prince was immediately proclaimed King of Great Britain, under the name of James the Third, and acknowledged as such by Lewis the XIV. and by his grandson, who had mounted the throne of Spain. Lewis attempted to justify this measure, in a memorial which he ordered to be dispersed in all the courts of Europe, and in which he declared that he had no intentions of disturbing King William in the peaceable possession of his dominions, and that he thought himself bound to do no more by the treaty of Ryfwick. After the proclamation John Anderson, *i. e.* Lord Middleton, consults Mr. Applebey, a correspondent in England, about the measures that were to be taken.

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September.

consulted, that though his life was in no danger, he could not be cured in five or six weeks. He was alarmed at the prospect of remaining so long in pain, and prayed to the deceased King for his intercession, making a vow, that if he should be cured through the holy Monarch's intercession, he would perform his devotions in the chapel where the body lay, the first day he could go out. His prayer was heard, and the next day he performed his vow.

4. Philip Pitel, a Benedictine Monk, of the Abbey of Beuilly, in the diocese of Tours, was cured of a suffocating cough, on the sixth of December, 1701. He was seized with a fit of the cough as he went from his father's house to the Sorbonne, and lost all sensations instantaneously. Bleeding, and the usual remedies, were tried in vain. A swelled throat for many days prevented him from taking any sustenance, and almost from breathing. In this distress, he felt a sudden and unaccountable impulse to prefer the following prayer: "O God, I beseech thee, mercifully to cure me, and to grant me health, through the merits and intercession of King James; and I promise to have a mass said, as a thanksgiving, in the Benedictine church, where his corpse lays, and to touch the mort-cloth, which covers it, with my tongue." The patient soon felt a profuse sweat breaking out over all his body, and in due time his recovery was completed. His own attestation of these particulars, signed in the presence of his confessor, the curé of St. Sulpice, is in Nairne's hand, annexed to the extract.

5. Le Brun, a priest of the oratory, and professor of theology and ecclesiastical history, attests, that Catharine Duprè was cured of deafness.

6. The prior and three monks of the English Benedictine Convent at Paris, with other two, sign as witnesses to the declaration of Francis L'Epervier, dancing-master to the duke of Saxe Gotha. L'Epervier declares that his wife was cured of a rheumatism, by the intercession of the deceased King; and her surgeon and his apprentice declare that they did not contribute to the cure. There are some other cures attested in the same manner. The account, at length, of the miraculous cures wrought through the intercession of James, consists of thirteen quarto, and thirty-two folio pages; but as there are very few now a-days who read the legends of saints, or can relish compositions which resemble those of the tenth and eleventh centuries, it is supposed the reader will think the above a sufficient specimen.

The

1701.
September.
Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. 4to.
No. 5.

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Appleby.

September 27, 1701.

"**T**HOUGH I am sure you have heard of what has happened to the owner of the ship in which were loaded the bales No. 369 [King James], yet I cannot forbear telling you of it, that you may let his executors know what your opinion is; and whether his debtors [people] should not have formal notice of it, by the account, No. 1047, whereby the heir may assert his right, claim what is due to him, and to promise them all the ease and security they can reasonably expect, which is expressly enjoined by the last will of the deceased. In this you will consult the learnedest counsel and ablest traders, and give advice thereof to yours," &c.

October.
Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. i. fol.
No. 147.

Without waiting for an answer from their friends in England, the Queen as regent and her council published a declaration, setting forth the pretensions of the prince of Wales after the death of his father. There are two letters concerning it among Mr. Nairne's papers.

Ibid. 4to.
No. 5.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Translation.

October 7, 1701.

"**I** Send you, by the Queen's orders, the French translation of the manifesto addressed to the English. You will be pleased to remark, that there is not a word in it which can be considered to regard the King; and the Queen begs of you, Sir, to mark precisely the changes which the King will judge proper to be made, and to obtain a permission to print it in English and in Latin, in order that foreigners may be informed of the truth, and that false reports may be prevented."

Ibid.

The same, to the same.

October 11, 1701.

"**T**HE order is sent to Liege for printing the manifesto, and every thing shall be executed according to his Majesty's intentions."

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1702.

THE editor intends from this period to contrast the papers of the family of Hannover with those of the house of Stuart. The correspondence of the first is not so important in the early part of Queen Anne's reign as it became afterwards, when a near prospect of her death rendered them and their friends anxious concerning the succession to the throne. The intrigues of the excluded family having languished, during the last years of the life of James the Second, were not yet renewed with any degree of industry under his son. The adherents of the Stuarts were, however, not entirely idle. Immediately upon the death of James, they began to sound some of those who had made the greatest professions, and now possessed the most power to serve their cause. Among these were the earl of Marlborough and the lord Godolphin, who renewed to the son the assurances which they had made to the father. But the death of King William, by bringing the possession of the throne one step nearer to the old stock, cooled the zeal of the abettors of the hereditary descent of the crown. In this state of affairs, the correspondences of the court of St. Germain's could not regain their former importance, though they contain several anecdotes, as curious in themselves as they are altogether unknown. The Stuart-papers in the present year are prior in date to those of the family of Hannover, and therefore they are placed first; an order, which, for the sake of regularity, shall be observed throughout the collection.

STUART PAPERS.

1702.
January.
Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 55.

Mr. NEV. PAINE's Memorial.

"A brief memorial by way of preface to some proposals for your Majesty's service."

The Church of England against the Hannover succession.—They agreed to it from an opposition to France.—They dread the Presbyterians.—The Independents enemies to both.—They are republicans, and against an episcopal or Presbyterian King.—The conduct and opinions of the Quakers.—The Nonjurors are zealous.—The Roman Catholics are timid.—The reasons and necessity of taking some measures before the prince of Orange dies.—The prejudices against him.—State of Scotland.

IT seems to me absolutely necessary, first to weigh well and consider the present temper England and Scotland are in, before any just judgment can be made of what is necessary to be done, for uniting the several interests of the two nations to concur in his Majesty's service.

As for England the parties most to be considered are;

First, the episcopal, which being in possession of the bells is by far the most numerous, though not the most active; for being at their ease and possessing not only the tythes but the magistracy and profitable employments of the nation, they flatter themselves with an opinion, that upon any emergency or change of state, they shall be able to give the law to all other interests. And it is not improbable they might, could they find out a way to settle the crown upon any solid basis. But that not being possible to be done but in the right line, that party rather suffers than approves of what has been done, by adding the house of Hannover to their weak and trembling entail, which, as it was the project only of the prince of Orange and his Dutch council, is by many suspected, but despised by more, nor could have passed the house of commons, but that they were

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told it was the only way to express a contempt of the power of France, and by that means to make the people believe that they feared nothing thence, and likewise to oblige that monarch to apprehend their power to be much greater than indeed it is, to stave off a war they more apprehend and dread themselves than he needs to do, notwithstanding all the rabble and trading part of the nation are universally for it.

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January.

The next party requires consideration is the Presbyterian, which consists of a malicious, sower, and subtle part of men, who are more united in malice than the former, and do with their demure countenances and outside pharasaical righteousness draw from the churches to their meeting houses the most hypocritical part of the trading people; so that their numbers are wonderfully increased of late years, to the terror of the aspiring part of the episcopal parsons, who dread that bishops, deans, and chapters, are tumbling down again, knowing bare competencies too weak supports for their dissolute and scandalous lives.

The next to be considered is the Independents, under which denomination may be included that rabble of divers sects, which, by above fifty several whimsical societies, ingross in the whole a greater number of dissenters to the prelatical church than the presbyterians do, and are mortal enemies to both, including within them that sort of men which are most properly called republicans or commonwealth men, a restless, bold, and busy-spirit, easiest to be gained to your Majesty's interest, it being become a maxim amongst the wisest of them, that since it appears impracticable to unite and settle all interests in a commonwealth, it is absolutely necessary to restore your Majesty and the right line, to keep off the necessity of a perpetual war, which these botching entails apparently threatens the nation with. Nay, in their maxims they go farther, and say, that it were better for the kingdom in general, but most for themselves in particular, that the rightful Monarch should be a catholick rather than of the episcopal or presbyterian ways, which will ever in their several turns when united to the crown, persecute or at least discountenance them.

The numerous party of the Quakers cannot be reckoned under the last head, and are not to be disregarded as mad men, as they seem to many to be. For, generally speaking, they are your Majesty's friends, and in all discourses with their opposers charge them with their inhuman and unjust dealing with their rightful prince; an argument that non-

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January.

plusses all, and converts some to see the wickedness of their ways. Besides, to my certain experience, there are many capable of being agents and negociators amongst them, as willing as able if well directed.

Lastly, the non-jurant party of the nation may be thought of, though not numerous enough without the catholicks to make any considerable strength or appearance in the field. These, however, are respected as men of honour, that the penitent or discontented may safely open their minds to and can confide in, so that properly instructed they are safe agitators dispersed in every corner of the nation, who too, upon occasion, will to a man appear in the field for your Majesty's service.

As for the Catholicks, though I am sorry to say it, they seem the most desponding and least useful party in the kingdom; nay, which is worse, they are the only people who encourage the interested and atheistical to stick to the prince of Orange, though they both despise and hate him as much as any; for the avowed despair the priests have brought those to is so universally owned, that it discourages the waverers from declaring themselves to be for their duty, and confirms the malicious in their insolence, so that some course must be taken for altering their conduct and conversation, or they will prove the greatest remora to any good design may be set on foot.

This, in short, is the posture I left England in, and may serve for a plan by which your Majesty may judge, in some measure, what may be expected from such proposals as have or may be made for your service, ever premising that the principal adversary has not one Englishman that loves him or his personal interest, whatever they may the use of his power; and therefore I conclude it to be much more easy to push him out of the saddle, and procure a restoration in his life-time, than by expecting his death. Let a descent be cast according to their malicious entail: for if the princess of Denmark or any other come to mount the throne, it will require some considerable time to render hers or their government as odious as his now is become.

To this I know may be answered, that in his fall the interest of Holland will be disunited from that of England, and thereby the King of France will have a much easier game to play for your Majesties service. Too tender a point I confess to be handled as it ought to be by me, who cannot penetrate into the mysterious behaviour of that court; and therefore would propose a method to restore your Majesties without the necessity

cessity of any armed force from them, which perhaps, as the ministers may manage the matter, might prove of greater detriment than advantage to that main end, let their King's good-will and candour be never so great, for I do not in the least doubt the integrity of so glorious a prince, nor question his earnest desire of being the chief instrument in so great a work, that he might add that one branch to his many laurels.

But it will be much easier to induce his council to consent to the embroiling of Britain in a civil war than to grant your Majesties sufficient forces for making a full conquest, which is the only thing can ever make the Kings of England strong or great, and may, I conceive, be brought about with little help from them, if your Majesties sitting still at St. Germain's will but employ proper agents to foment the present animosities in both nations, and by your secret influence bring the several jarring parties to an open rupture. But till I understand your Majesties will be willing to lend an ear to some propositions to that purpose, I am silent.

For it may be the tenderness of your Majesties, for the subjects must necessarily fall into such a war, may prove a scruple you will not easily get over.

Or, perhaps your Majesties ministers may have promises from some great ones in both kingdoms that the business will be brought about some other way, to which it is not proper for me to oppose my weaker judgment, though I confess myself an absolute infidel to all such notions, and will be bold to say, had it not been for such chymeras as I think them, your Majesties might have been freely settled on your throne long ere this time, by a national force unresistible by your Majesties most inveterable enemys.

As for Scotland, the ferment there has been so great, and the rage against the prince of Orange so violent for two years past, that I stood amazed till I came thither, that no use had been made of it. But now I discern the mystery, but cannot applaud the wisdom of those who have occasioned such a stagnation of council in such a turbulence of humours as has providentially offered themselves for the King's service, of which I can find no man here yet knows any thing to the purpose, except they unnecessarily conceal from me their true sentiments of that matter, and are wiser therein than I conceive they need to be. All which is humbly submitted, by

NE: P."

Lord

1702.
January.

1702.

January.
Lord Caryll's
letters to En-
gland and
Spain from
1702 to 1710.
vol. v. fol.
Scotch col-
lege.

Lord Caryll to Mr. St. Am. i. e. Berry, concerning Gourney.

January 20, 1702.

—“I FIND that your cousin Wisely [the Queen] is very well pleased to hear, that the bill you mentioned in your last is accepted, and that a correspondence is settled between you and Gurney [Marlborough]. To tell the truth, your friend Young [princess Anne] cannot be too wary both as to his health and otherwise; for I believe Wanly [the Whigs] watches all opportunities to do him [her] and his [hers] an ill turn. I am very sorry his [her] hands at present are tied; but he [she] has a good heart, and that in time will set all things right to his [her] own and his [her] friends satisfaction.”

March.
Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 72.

“*Copy of his Majesty's instructions sent into England, signed, and sealed, and countersigned, the 3d of March, 1702.*”

There are two copies of these instructions in Nairne's hand, one of them is intituled as above, and the other thus, “Instructions to D. L. sent from the church of England party, in February, 1702.” It is marked on the back in Mr. Carte's hand, “Instructions to D. L. perhaps Dr. Lesly, in 1702, Feb. Nomination to Bishopricks.”

JAMES R.

“YOU shall acquaint our friends, that when it shall please God to put us in possession of our kingdom of England, we promise that we will govern according to law, and that we will secure and protect all our subjects of the church of England as it is established by law, in the full enjoyment of all their legal rights, privileges, and immunities, and in the sole possession of all their churches, universitys, colleges, and schools; and that in all vacancies of bishopricks and other dignities or benefices at our disposal, care shall be taken to have them filled with the worthiest members of their own communion.

And, if it shall then appear, that by their loyal endeavours and assistance, those of the church of England have been instrumental in our restoration, we further promise, that in their behalf and for their greater security, we will so far wave during our own reign our right of nomination to
bishopricks

bishopricks and all other dignities and benefices in the disposal of the crown, that we will appoint the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, and four bishops, to propose three persons for each vacancy, of which number we shall chuse one; but this without prejudice, for the future, to the undoubted right of the crown.

1702.
March.

We are also, upon the same condition, willing to remit, during our reign only, all the tenths and first fruits paid by the bishops and clergy to the crown, to those who shall return to their duty and repair their fault by endeavouring to reclaim their misled flocks. But this our bounty is not to be extended to those who perversely persist in their error, and who, by renouncing the principles of the church of England have no pretence to the benefit we intend her. And this concession shall not be made a precedent nor drawn into consequences against our lawful successors.

As on one side, we solemnly promise to govern by law and inviolably to maintain the liberty and property of our subjects, so on the other side, we would not be understood to lye under any obligation of persecuting those of our own religion or any other dissenters merely upon the account of conscience. And we shall leave it to our first parliament, to agree upon and settle a just and equitable moderation of the laws now in force against Roman Catholics.

Given at our court, at St. Germain's, the 3d of March, 1702, and in the first year of our reign.

By his Majesties command.

MIDDLETON."

Extracts of Letters from Lord Caryll to Berry, concerning Marlborough and Godolphin.

Lord Caryll's
Letters,
vol. v. fol.
Scotch Col-
lege.
April 5.

—" I Must therefore expect with patience to know whether you have had an opportunity of writing to Mr. Gurny, [Marlborough] before his going into the country [Holland], about your cousin Noble's [the King's] affairs, and what prospect there is of his recovering the effects [the crown] that were in the hands of Mr. Knitely [K. William.] If you have not had the opportunity of speaking with Mr. Gurny [Marlborough], I suppose you may, at least, have met with the lawyer, Mr. Gilburn, [Godolphin] who could give you some light in that matter.

—" Your

1702.
April 26.

—“Your cousin Wisely [the Queen] very much desires that you should again join in trade with Mr. Young, [princess Anne] as you formerly have done, that a fair correspondence at least may be preserved with his partners Gurny [Marlborough] and Gilburn [Godolphin], that so they may have no excuse should they not be just in their engagements when time and opportunity serves.

April 29.

“It is no wonder that Mr. Gurny [Marlborough] is so difficult a person to be met with considering the vast dealings he has lately struck into, which requires his being always in motion; nor indeed can we expect any present dispatch of our domestick affairs with him, which requires more time than he can now spare, and perhaps some opportunity which is not yet ripe. However, by what he says now, some conjecture may be made of what he will do hereafter.

—“There are some accounts to be cleared and adjusted between Mr. Wisely [the Queen] and Mr. Noble [the King] for the King, of which it is necessary to know what sum it was which Mr. Wisely's cash-keeper, who is now dead, paid for the use of Mr. Goodall, [the late King] into the hands, as I take it, of Mr. Gilburn [Godolphin]. You are therefore desired, the papers of that business not being here, to take information about it from Mr. Gilburn [Godolphin]. Your cousin Wisely [the Queen] thinks the sum was eleven or twelve hundred our account.”

May.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 71.

“Copie of a letter the 1st of May, from Edinburgh, pretended to come from thence, but is indeed an account of Mr. Paine's own notions and his adherents, and given to the Queen with an intention to catch her in their snares.”

The letter is signed Archibald Smith. The writer of it proposes to the court of St. Germans to engage the King of France to renew the ancient league with Scotland, and to obtain from his grandson, the King of Spain, a grant of the territory of Darien for the Scots. He makes several other proposals equally impracticable and absurd. But he affirms, if they were adopted, that the Scots would settle their crown on the lineal heir of their ancient sovereigns.

Extracts of Letters from Lord Caryll to Berry.

1702.

May.

Lord Caryll's
letters, vol.
v. fol. Scotch
college.
May 6.

—“ I Find he (Wifely) [the queen] is in some pain, lest it should be thought that he [she] had anywise divulged the private contract between him [her] and Gurny [Marlborough]. If Crofton [E. Middleton.] by any side wind, (which I suppose must be by Mr. Painter [col. Sackville], has made any disrelishing application, that cannot be attributed, with any justice, to Wifely's [queen's] fault: for Gurny [Marlborough] knows very well, that he himself communicated his affairs both to Crofton [Middleton] and to Painter [col. Sackville], and so it is not to be wondered, nor is Wifely [the queen] to be blamed, if Crofton [Middleton] out of a forward zeal endeavoured at this, which he thought a proper time, to revive the memory of old promises.”

—“ Your late conference with Counsellor Gilburn [Godolphin] doth in a good measure clear the suspicion of his, and his party's being joined with Hanmer [Hannover] against Matthews [the King], and seems to show that he and his friends have a right notion of their own interest in that matter: for it is very evident that a meeting between Hanmer [Hannover] and Wheatley [princess Anne] would be of as great prejudice to them as to Matthews [the King], and that they would more immediately feel the effects of it. You may be sure nothing will be wanting on Mr. Wifely's part to find out how that project is carried on by that cunning gentleman Mr. Reeves, which he hopes to do by the same hand that first conveys the intelligence of it to him. In the mean time, nothing is more necessary than that Mr. Gilburn [Godolphin] and his partners should guard against it on his side, since nothing can be done sufficiently against them in that matter, but by the interposition of Mr. Bragg [the parliament], who therefore ought, with all care, to prepare against any attempts that may be made to draw in that young gentleman, with specious pretences, to espouse the designs of Reeves and Wanley [the whigs], in reference to Hanmer's [Hannover] inhabiting with Wheatly [Princess Anne and sometimes England]*.”

August 21.

* They were alarmed with a rumour of the electoral prince's coming over.

1702.
October 23.

—— “Nor are there much hopes for Mr. Matthews [the King] that his debts will be paid, as long as Young’s [P^{ts}. Anne’s] life is in the copyhold. To have them well secured, when that life falls, which probably may not be of a long continuance, is, I am afraid, all that can be well hoped for; and should not those lawyers, Gurny [Marlborough] and Gilburn [Godolphin], concur in this, they are certainly the unjustest, and I think, the most imprudent men that ever lived: for, notwithstanding their great practice at present, should Hanmer [Hannover] step into the copyhold, none would more feel the inconveniences of it, than they and others.”

December 4.

—— “About securing Matthews [the King’s debts], after Young’s [the princess Anne’s] decease, Mr. Wisely [the queen] is of your opinion, that you should endeavour, by the most proper means, to discover the inclinations and intentions of the party, that have most interest in that matter; and if it be not at all probable that mere justice can be obtained, it would not be imprudent to come to an agreement with those merchants, upon that foot, providing they will be sincere and hearty in performing their bargain, and that they will make such steps and preparations towards it, as are necessary to make it effectual. I suppose that, ere this, Mr. Gurny [Marlborough] may be come to town, in this time of parliament: for he, as well as Mr. Gilburn [Godolphin], must necessarily be treated with about this; and the great question will be, what better security they will or can give, for the performance of this new agreement, than they gave for the former one, for which we had promises and oaths. But this only between you and me; for we must not reproach, to their faces, those whom we would gain. But rather take, for current coin, their excuses of want of power and ability to perform.”

—— “In treating with those merchants, Gurney [Marlborough] and Gilburn [Godolphin] about the abovementioned affair, it would not be amiss if Mr. Arnol should first endeavour to discover their inclinations, and to prepare it only as from himself and as a common friend to both parties; since it is very evident, that their trade and effects will be hereafter more secure under the conduct of Mr. Matthews [the King] than of Mr. Hanmer [Hannover].”

—— “We

— “ We have here one captain Loyd who waits for a pass to goe 1702.
into England, which one Gurny [Marlborough] a merchant has pro- Decemb. 11.
mised to procure for him. I only mention this to you, because I am
told that this Gurny [Marlborough] was very inquisitive with the cap-
tain about your cousin Mathews [the King], for what end I know not:
if I am not mistaken, I heard you formerly speak of a real captain of
that name as being formerly well acquainted with him; if this be the
same, you may know of him when he comes over to what end these
questions tended.

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1702.

Some account of the House of Brunswick-Lunenburgh.

1702.

THOUGH the house of Brunswick-Lunenburgh had for some time made a considerable figure in Germany, they only became objects of attention in Britain, when they were brought into the line of succession by the act of settlement which received the royal assent in June 1701. This circumstance drew early upon them the correspondence of several persons in these kingdoms; and their affairs and opinions are closely connected with our history, during the whole reign of Queen Anne. Some account, therefore, of a family destined to sway the scepter of Britain, may not be an improper introduction to their correspondence and secret negotiations, which are contained in these volumes.

Ernest of Brunswick, duke of Zell, the son of Henry the Young, duke of Lunenburgh, was the ancestor of all the princes of the house of Brunswick that now exist. He studied under Luther at Wirtenburgh, and was always a zealous assertor of the doctrines of that undaunted reformer. He entered into the league of the protestant princes against the Emperor Charles V, and was taken prisoner with the elector of Saxony at the battle of Mulberg 1547. By Sophia, daughter of Henry duke of Mecklenburgh, he had four sons and four daughters. Francis Otho, his eldest son, and Frederick his second son, died without issue. His third son Henry of Danneberg, was the founder of the house of Wolfenbutter, and from William, his fourth son, is descended the branch of Hannover-Zell, that now sits on the throne of Great Britain and Ireland.

Francis

1702.

Francis Otho, who succeeded his father, sent an embassy to King Edward VI. of England, to offer him the assistance of 10,000 men against France, and to ask his sister the Lady Mary in marriage. But a peace being concluded between France and England, the duke of Zell's auxiliaries became unnecessary, and the lady Mary had been then promised to the infant of Portugal: Edward, however, as a testimony of his regard for the duke, gave him an annual pension of 375 pounds sterling, to be paid half-yearly, and continued during pleasure. Francis Otho died in three months after his marriage with Magdalen, the daughter of Joachim II. marquis of Brandenburg; and his second brother, Frederick, was slain in the battle of Sivershausen. Henry of Danneberg, the third son of Ernest duke of Zell, a prince of an easy temper, and fond of retirement, having governed his father's dominions jointly with his brother William, for ten years, contented himself at last with Wolfenbüttele, and relinquished the rest of his paternal territories to William and his descendants. This cession made by Henry of his birth-right was the first step towards the aggrandizement of the younger branch of the Brunswick family.

William, duke of Zell, the fourth son of Ernest, duke of Lüneburg and Zell, married Dorothea the daughter of Christian III. King of Denmark, and had seven sons, and eight daughters. Five of the daughters married into considerable families. But six of the seven sons died without legitimate issue. Christian, who succeeded his eldest brother Ernest, distinguished himself by his attachment and services to the unfortunate King and Queen of Bohemia, and by his frequent attempts to assist Maurice prince of Orange. He was made knight of the garter by King James I. and visited England in January 1625, where he was received with the respect due to his rank and abilities. He died of a fever at Wolfenbüttele, in the June of the following year. He was succeeded in succession, by his brothers Augustus and Frederick. These two princes and their brother George, the fifth son of William duke of Zell, made a figure in the wars of Gustavus Adolphus, and were concerned in all the transactions of Germany in the beginning of the last century. In the year 1648, Frederick, the only surviving son of William, for his three younger brothers, Ernest, Magnus, and John died before him,

1702. him, was succeeded in his dominions by his nephews the sons of George.

George, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, the son of William, duke of Zell, had married Anne Eleonora the daughter of Lewis, Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, and left four sons; Christian Lewis born in 1622, George William born in 1624, John Frederick born in 1625, and Ernest Augustus born in 1629. Christian Lewis resided at Hannover until the death of his uncle Frederick, when, according to an agreement with his brothers, he took to his share the dutchies of Zell and Lunenburgh. He died without issue in 1665, and left his possessions to his brother George William.

George William, duke of Zell and Lunenburgh, the second son of George duke of Brunswick, fell in love at Brussels, with Eleonora Desiniers, daughter to Alexander marquis of Olbreuze in Poitou, and married her with his left hand, as being inferior to him in quality; but the emperor made her afterwards a princess of the empire. By her he had Sophia Dorothea, whom he gave in marriage to his nephew George Lewis, the son of the bishop of Osnaburgh, who was afterwards King of Great Britain.

John Frederick duke of Hannover, the third son of George duke of Brunswick, was a Roman Catholick, and in close alliance with Lewis XIV. He died on his way to Rome in the year 1680, and leaving no male issue, was succeeded by his brother Ernest Augustus bishop of Osnaburgh.

Ernest Augustus, the fourth son of George duke of Brunswick, married in 1658, the princess Sophia daughter of Frederick, Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia, by Elizabeth daughter of James I. King of Great Britain, and took possession of the bishoprick of Osnaburgh in 1661, by virtue of an article in the treaty of Westphalia, which secured the succession of that bishoprick alternately to a Roman Catholick bishop, and to a bishop of the Aufburgh confession, being a prince of the house of Brunswick.

The bishop of Osnaburgh and his brother John Frederick duke of Hannover entered into a treaty with Lewis XIV. in 1671. It was properly

perly a treaty of neutrality; but, though the duke entered into another of a more pernicious nature, when the war broke out in 1672, and was very active in favouring the designs of Lewis, and in obstructing the operations of the allies, the bishop was brought over to the side of the latter before the end of the year 1674. He joined his brother the duke of Zell, with 5000 men, in the beginning of the next campaign, and was with him at the battle of Conserburgh and siege of Treves, and with the prince of Orange at the siege of Maestricht in 1676. He continued to serve at the head of his own troops in the Netherlands, until the treaty of Nimeguen, when he and the other princes of the house of Brunswick entered into a treaty of peace with France.

1702.

The duke of Zell and the bishop of Osnaburgh, now duke of Hannover, upon the death of his brother John Frederick in April 1680, received a visit from the prince of Orange, accompanied by count Waldeck and other persons of distinction in the autumn in the same year. In 1684, the two dukes sent 10,000 of their troops, commanded by Frederick Augustus the second, and Charles Philip the fourth son of the duke of Hannover, into the emperor's service, who was then at war with the Turks, and the next year the Duke of Hannover sent his third son Maximilian with 3000 men to serve the Venetians in the Morea. The Emperor Leopold, at the instigation of William the Third, King of England, erected a ninth electorate in the person of the duke of Hannover on the 29th of December 1692. This erection was made in opposition to the elder branch of the family of Brunswick, and of the Roman Catholick princes, and was not for several years acknowledged in form. Both he and his brother adhered to the allies, in the war, which was carried on at that time, against France. They had 6000 men in the Emperor's service in Hungary, and 8000 of their troops served every campaign under King William in Flanders, until a peace was concluded at Ryswick; the elector died the 23d of January 1698, and was succeeded by his eldest son George Lewis.

The remaining issue of Ernest Augustus, and the princess Sophia, were, Frederick Augustus born in 1661, Maximilian born in 1666, Charles Philip born in 1669, Christian born in 1671, Ernest Augustus

1702. tus born in 1674, and Sophia Charlotta born in 1668. She married Frederick III. Elector of Brandenburg, and she died Queen of Prussia, February 1, 1705.

Frederick Augustus and Charles Philip commanded the 10,000 men which the princes of the house of Lunenburgh sent, in 1684, to the Emperor who was then at war with the Turks. They signalized themselves by their conduct and valour, and were both slain in battle in 1691.

Maximilian conducted to the Morea the body of troops which his father had in the pay of the republick of Venice in 1686. He served two campaigns with great distinction under the generals Morosini and Koningsmark, and upon the death of Koningsmark, and the sickness of the Doge Morosini he had the chief command during a considerable part of the third. His services were generously rewarded by the Republick with the rank of general, and an annual pension of 6000 ducats. Upon his return from Italy, he formed a party to maintain his pretensions to succeed to the dutchy of Zell after the death of his uncle. Some of his adherents were executed, and he himself was imprisoned for some time: but he renounced, at last, his pretensions, and agreed to accept of an annual pension. He entered into the Imperial service upon the breaking out of the war, which was occasioned by the disputes about the Spanish succession, in the beginning of this century. His brother Christian rose to the rank of major-general in the same service, but was unfortunately killed after the battle of Munderkingen, as he was attempting to swim on horseback over the Danube, in 1703. Ernest Augustus the sixth, and youngest son of the Elector and the princess Sophia, served the preceding campaign under the duke of Marlborough. He was chosen bishop of Osnaburgh in March, and was created duke of York and Albany and earl of Ulster, and made a knight of the garter, in July 1716. He died unmarried on the 14th of August 1728.

George Lewis, afterwards George the First, King of Great Britain, the eldest son of Ernest Augustus and the princess Sophia, was born on the twenty-eighth of May 1660. When prince of Osnaburgh, he served, at the age of fifteen, the successful campaign of 1675, under his father and uncle, and was present at the battle of Conserburgh and
siege

Map of the Accellion of GEORGE the FIRST.

II Accellion of the	III The of	IV The of	V The of	VI The of	VII The of	VIII The of	IX The of
III The of	IV The of	V The of	VI The of	VII The of	VIII The of	IX The of	X The of
IV The of	V The of	VI The of	VII The of	VIII The of	IX The of	X The of	XI The of
V The of	VI The of	VII The of	VIII The of	IX The of	X The of	XI The of	XII The of
VI The of	VII The of	VIII The of	IX The of	X The of	XI The of	XII The of	XIII The of
VII The of	VIII The of	IX The of	X The of	XI The of	XII The of	XIII The of	XIV The of
VIII The of	IX The of	X The of	XI The of	XII The of	XIII The of	XIV The of	XV The of
IX The of	X The of	XI The of	XII The of	XIII The of	XIV The of	XV The of	XVI The of

GENEALOGY of the ROYALTY.

James I.					
I. Charles I.					
I. Charles II.	II. James II.	III. Henrietta duchess of Orleans.			
	1. Pretended prince of Wales.	2. Anne Mary duchess of Sa- voy.			
		I. 3. Phil. prince of Piedmont.	III. Adelaide du- chess of Bur- gundy.	IV. II. Mary queen of Spain. Amelia duchess of Savoy.	III. Sophia electress of Brunswick.
		II. 4. Charles duc d'Aouft.			58. George elector of Brunswick.
			5. Lewis dauphin of France.	I. I 6. Lewis Mary Jo- of Austria arch- duchess.	
				II. II. 7. Don infant Mary arch- duchess.	
				8. Don infant arch- duchess.	

siege of Treves. He became prince of Hannover, upon his father's accession to that dutchy, after the death of John Frederick, without male issue, in 1680, and visited France and England in the latter end of the same year. He came here to make his addressees to the princess Anne; but he was suddenly recalled by his father, who thought it more for the interest of their family to marry him to his niece. Wood gives a very particular account of his reception and creation, as doctor of laws, at Oxford, in February, 1681. He married Sophia Dorothea, daughter and heiress of his uncle, George William, duke of Zell, on the eleventh of November, 1682; and by her had issue, George Augustus, born on the thirteenth of October, 1683, and afterwards King of Great Britain; and Sophia Dorothea, born on the eighteenth of March, 1687. She married Frederick William, King of Prussia, the fourteenth of November, 1706. He succeeded his father, as elector of Brunswick-Lunenburg, on the twenty-third of January, 1698.

The descendants of James I. and Charles I. who were nearer in blood to the royal family in England and Scotland than any of the protestant line, were fifty-seven in number, when George the First acceded to the crown of Great Britain; but being Roman Catholics, their pretensions were rejected; and the princess Sophia, electress and dutchess dowager of Hannover, daughter to the princess Elizabeth, late Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I. King of England, was declared next in succession to the crown, by an act which received the royal assent on the twelfth of June, 1701. The earl of Macclesfield was sent to Hannover with this act, to the electress, and the garter to her son.

William the Third, King of England, dying on the eighth of March, 1702, was succeeded on the throne by Queen Anne; but notwithstanding the declarations of the Queen and parliament, in favour of the protestant succession, and the good reception given to the count de Platens, envoy extraordinary from the duke of Zell and the elector, the putting the direction of affairs in the hands of the Tories, gave some apprehensions to the family of Hannover, as appears from imperfect hints, in the little we have of their correspondence in the course of this year.

They, however, showed a zeal for the cause in which the British nations were at this time engaged. A war with France appeared to be

1702.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 8, 9, 11.
13, 14, 15,
16, 17.

inevitable, before the death of King William. Lewis XIV. endeavoured to gain the German princes to his interest, and, among others, he succeeded with the dukes of Brunswick Wolfenbottle. There are copies extant, in Robethon's hand-writing, of several letters from King William to many of these princes.

The dukes, Anthony Ulric and Rodolph Augustus, governed jointly the dominions of Wolfenbottle. Rodolph cultivated letters and philosophy in retirement, and left the chief management of affairs to his brother, who, from a jealousy of the advancement of the younger branch of the family, and out of opposition to them, contracted a close alliance with France. King William, in a letter to the duke of Ploen, dated at Dieren, 14th October, 1701, recommending to him to act in concert with the duke of Zell, who was well affected to the common cause, desires him to oppose the intrigues of duke Anthony Ulric, and to convince duke Rodolph of the imprudence of his brother's connexions; and it appears, by letters from him to the duke of Ploen, and to Rodolph himself, dated Hampton-court, 20th December, 1701, that Ploen had succeeded in detaching Rodolph from the French interest.

Ibid. No. 14,
15.

But Anthony Ulric continued firm in his engagements with Lewis, until he was obliged to break them, in consequence of the measures which King William had concerted with the duke of Zell and elector of Hannover, and which they put in execution the week after his Majesty died. They entered the dominions of Wolfenbottle unexpectedly, surprised the troops dispersed in their quarters, invested both Wolfenbottle and Brunswick at once, disconcerted all the measures of Anthony Ulric, and obliged him to leave his brother at liberty to fall in with the common interests of the empire. The princes of Brunswick Lunenburgh being after this in no danger of molestation from their neighbours, had upwards of 40,000 men in the service of the different powers who declared war this year against France and Spain; and prince Ernest Augustus, afterwards bishop of Osnaburgh and duke of York and Albany, the youngest brother of the elector, served this campaign under the duke of Marlborough.

The name of Monsieur de Robethon will occur so frequently in this publication, that it cannot be disagreeable to the reader to be informed of some particulars concerning that industrious servant of the family of
Brunswick

Brunswick Lunenburgh. He appears to have been a French refugee and a kind of private secretary to king William. There are some letters addressed to him in that capacity, in Mr. Cole's collection; and in his own manuscripts, there are letters addressed "to monsieur de Robethon, with his Britannic Majesty," and "to monsieur de Robethon, secretary to his Britannic Majesty."

1702.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Mis-
cell. d'Etat.
2.

Robethon attached himself to the family of Brunswick, before he left King William's service. When the duke of Zell came to see the King at Loo, in the year 1701, lord Portland, who appears to have had a very great esteem for Robethon, and corresponded constantly with him, discovers, by the manner in which he desires him to present his humble respects to the duke, that he knew then he had a great deal of influence with his highness.

Ibid. vol.
marked
Schutz Fils.
No. 4.

There is a paper of Robethon's, and indorsed by him, *Speeches for the King and Queen of Prussia, which I composed for Lord Raby, 1701*. He wrote all the letters which George the First and Second, and Queen Caroline, sent to this country from the time he entered into their service, until the time the family arrived in Britain. The first rough draughts of them are still extant in his hand-writing, and all the originals that may be in the possession of persons in this and in other countries, are but copies made from what Robethon wrote for them.

Ibid. No.
210.

Ibid. vol.
marked
Princes.

The family of Hannover could not have employed a person better qualified for their purpose than Robethon; he seems to have been indefatigable, industrious and faithful, and though he might not have been a man of striking abilities, he possessed a good deal of address, and a knowledge of this country sufficient to amuse the numerous correspondents of the electoral family.

The following letters will introduce the reader to a further knowledge of Robethon.

1702.
July.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, Miscellaneous.
d'Etat.
2. No. 116.

J. Vernon to Robethon.

He was son to Mr. Secretary Vernon, and was now Envoy for England at the court of Denmark.

Translation.

Copenhagen, July 29, 1702.

“ I Received, with pleasure, the letter which you was so good as to write to me, by Mr. Werpuse. You will do me the justice to believe, that there is none who interests himself more in what concerns you than I do. The embarrassment of the journey prevented me from congratulating you sooner on the honourable stations which you now fill at your courts. I would envy them the advantage of having you, if I did not see them in such a strict union with ourselves, as to induce me to consider them as one and the same court. The immense loss which England, and all Europe, suffered (by the death of King William) hath drawn several others in its train, and among them our country may reckon your quitting it's service.”

Mr. De Allonne to Robethon.

Original.
Ibid. No. 7.

D'Allonne had been one of King William's private Secretaries, and both he and Robethon were in great favour.

Hague, September 2, 1702.

D'Allonne rejoices to hear that Robethon has got a good establishment. He thanks him for employing him to communicate something to lord Portland and the secretary Heinfius. He himself expects to be employed as an envoy at some foreign court. He wishes it may be at Hannover, considering how much Holland is connected with that country, and interested in the protestant succession, and how agreeable it would be to him to be near his friend Robethon.

The Earl of Portland to Robethon.

Original.
Ibid. No. 4.

Translation.

Hague, September 5, 1702.

“ I Have received your very agreeable letter, and I rejoice at your good establishment, in which I assure you I am deeply interested. I beg of you to assure the duke of Zell and the elector, that I shall continue,

tinue, all my lifetime, in the same sentiments of respect and attachment for their family. I am too old to change, and too deeply impressed with the principles of the late King, my master, ever to deviate from them: Besides, I love my religion, and hate slavery. I hope my son, who is on his return from Italy, will have the honour of making his court at Hannover, and of being received as the son of a faithful servant to the family. But he must not stay long; for, in order to be serviceable, I must avoid to be suspected of being too much attached to the family; and for this reason, I must desire you to write to me under Mr. Schutz's cover, and to make use of his cypher."

1702.

D'Allonne to Robethon.

Translation.

Hague, October 28, 1702.

"I See, by your letter of the 19th, that the court of Hannover has had no difficulty, hitherto, in managing the court of England; but that they will be embarrassed if the Queen should propose to parliament to make the prince of Denmark King; and that they cannot prevail on themselves to be silent, when such an attack is made on their pretensions. That would be surely a disagreeable circumstance; and yet it is very likely it will take place, if one may believe the whole Tory faction, who are at no pains to conceal it. In that case, it will be no wonder if you should speak, lest you should seem to abandon your pretensions, as if you thought they were not well established; although they are no less solid than were those of the Queen in the time of the late King."

Original.
Hannover
Papers, Miscel.
d'Etat. 2.
No. 8.

The Elector to the Earl of Marlborough.

He is glad of his approbation of his troops.—Thanks him for his civilities to his brother, and for his attachment to the interests of his family.

Translation.

July 21, 1702.

"I Learnt, my lord, with great satisfaction, by the letter which you wrote to me, your approbation of my troops, and the care you was pleased to take to inform the Queen of it. Nothing shall ever give me greater pleasure than to employ them in her Majesty's service, and in the common

Robethon's
Draught.
Ibid. vol.
marked
Princes.
No. 175.

1702.

common cause. I consider, as a very great advantage to them, that they have the happiness of serving under your orders. I am very sensible of the civilities which my brother, duke Ernest Augustus, received from you. I doubt not but he will make such a return to them as may assure him of their continuance. I shall acknowledge, as I ought on all occasions, the attachment which you shew to the interests of my family*, and nothing will ever appear to me more consistent with this, than to cultivate the friendship with which the Queen honours me. I hope you will be so good as to continue to contribute to this on your side, and to believe me to be, &c.

* Another family gave, at the same time, similar thanks to his lordship for his attachment.

STUART

STUART PAPERS.

1703.

THE duke of Hamilton, always attached to the interests of the exiled family, had, by a secession from the parliament of Scotland in the preceding summer, thrown that assembly into such disrepute with the nation, that the Queen thought it prudent to dissolve it, early in the present year. He had been followed in this secession by seventy-nine members; and, therefore, those that remained were denominated the Rump, by the populace. The influence which the duke acquired, by this measure, induced the court of St. Germain's to send the following instructions.

They are in French, and in Nairne's hand. The person to whom they were given was captain James Murray, brother to Mr. Murray of Abercairny.

"Instructions to the person who is to speak to L. A. (meaning Lord Arran, the title given to the duke of Hamilton, at St. Germain's) Jan. 1703."

1703.
January.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 50.

AFTER having shown to L. A. all that is necessary to testify to him the high esteem which their Majesties have for his person and his merit towards themselves, he is to be entreated to represent to L. C. [lord Churchill] when he shall find him in the best disposition to listen, that the union between their families obliges him to be particularly attentive to every thing which regards his honour, his establishment, and his safety; which he believes can never be sufficiently secured, without acknowledging and discharging the obligation which he owes the father, by doing justice to the son; and, in consequence of doing this, he may assure himself, that he will have a carte-blanche for himself and for his friends, and that otherwise he will have reason to fear disagreeable consequences. For
immediately

1703.
January.

immediately upon the expiration of the present reign, it will be necessary, according to the late act of settlement, to proclaim Hannover, who can never think himself in safety, without relying upon the Dutch, and employing his friends of the Presbyterian party in England; and, in that case, there will be no quarter for him nor for the church of England.

Those, who judge wisely, can have no apprehensions from a Catholic King, because, as such, he will have neither the credit nor the means to hurt, them; and, to maintain himself, will be obliged to govern according to the will of his people. What is past can be no argument against this. For it is certain, that the inconveniencies of the wrong measures, which were formerly adopted, will be sufficient instructions for regulating those, which will be adopted hereafter, and of this will be given all the assurances which can be demanded, and which can any-ways consist with the security of the King's person, and of his conscience and dignity.

If he shall scruple to do this, for fear of failing in his duty to the mistress whom he now serves, it may be said to him, that all these difficulties may be easily adjusted by a treaty, which will leave her in possession of the crown of England, during her life, providing that she will choose to secure the succession to the King, her brother, after her death. To fill the army, the navy, and all the employments in the kingdom, with persons who are well affected, are excellent means; but neither these means, nor the act of occasional conformity, will be sufficient, unless the settlement, in favour of the family of Hannover, be overturned, which does not appear to be impracticable, in this parliament, where it may be represented, as a measure unjust in itself, and dangerous to the church of England and to the state.

That, considering the justice and piety of his mistress, it is not to be supposed, that she will be inclined to oppose a thing, so suitable to her character, and to what she owes to the memory of her father, and to her own glory; which obliges her not to allow the crown to go out of her own family, which has been for so many ages in lawful possession of the royal dignity, and to do all this in favour of a stranger, and of the most distant relation she has in the world.

The most effectual means of securing the succession of the crown of England to the King, after the death of his sister, would be to put him

now

now in possession of the crown of Scotland, by such ways, and in such a manner, as will be judged most proper; and, as the two kingdoms are independent of one another, this partition for the present time might be easily accomplished; and the English would have less difficulty to consent to it, that the kingdom of Scotland brings them no profit; and there is nothing to hinder the King and his sister, after this partition, from living together in as strict friendship, as their great-grandfather lived with Q Elizabeth.

1703.
January.

But whether this proposal will be accepted or rejected, it is necessary that they should enter into a league with France, which, by a secret article, will engage itself to guarantee our treaty, in order that we may have the support of a foreign power to balance that of Holland, which, without that, will join the Presbyterian party, disconcert all weak precautions, ruin the church of England, and infallibly extirpate it and its friends.

L. A. is entreated to propose these things, as if they came from himself alone. But he ought, at the same time, to urge them to employ some one to explain their intentions, and to learn the sentiments of their Majesties, without which nothing can be concluded; and both the one and the other may ruin themselves by too much precaution. If it is objected, that a secret cannot be kept at St. Germain; they may address themselves immediately to the court of Versailles, where the same inconvenience is not to be feared.

And lastly, that delays are dangerous, because all depends on a single life; and even the life that appears most sure, is very uncertain."

The following instructions were complied with by the party who adhered to the duke of Hamilton. They put a stop to the treaty of Union. They rejected, with every mark of indignation and contempt, the overture made by the earl of Marchmont, for settling the crown on the house of Hannover; and they effectually prevented the abjuration. During a turbulent and tedious session, the country-party in every question prevailed; till, at length, the commissioner found himself obliged to adjourn the house, without obtaining any supply.

1703.
Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. ii.
4to. No. 50.

"*Drafts of Instructions for Captain James Murray, to solicit Lord Arran and the Scots to oppose the Union, the Hannoverian succession, &c. 1703.*"

"OUR will and pleasure is, that you repair forthwith to Scotland. At your arrival at Edinburgh, you are to speak with Gideon Murray, from whom you will receive some necessary information of men and matters, and who will introduce you to lord Arran. But in case the said Gideon should not be there, you may make use of what other persons you can confide in.

You are to assure the lord Arran of the great sense we have of his sufferings, services, interest, and prudence, in advising, managing, and performing what is practicable in the present conjuncture: that you have orders for our friends to use all their credit in opposing abjuration, Hannover, and union.

That our friends on this side are resolved to give us what assistance shall be demanded, for our immediate restoration; but are not willing to venture in matters that are not decisive, and, at best, can but procure delays. For suppose nothing pass in our prejudice, at present, yet the danger is still impending for the future; and, if it could be staved off, till the princess of Denmark dies, yet, if Hannover gets possession of England, our friends in Scotland could hardly maintain our cause. Therefore, it will be necessary, that they should consult together to frame a project for a general undertaking; and to send over some person or persons, with a credential signed by the principal undertakers, which may be safely conveyed by being wrapt up in a thin cake of lead, and dropt in the sea when in danger of being seized. They must be well instructed in all particulars relating to this affair, as troops, arms, provisions, commissions, and declaration, time and place of landing.

You are to endeavour to speak with our most trusty friends, and, in our name, tell them the most obliging things you can devise, as if they were here specially mentioned. Propose to those of most interest and discretion what is above said. Hear every body's notions, and exhort them all to lay aside private partialities, to concur unanimously in our service, especially in opposing Hannover, abjuration, and union.

Give

Give us frequent accounts of what you observe there, both as to men and matters; for which, Gideon will furnish you with a cypher and address."

Further Instructions.

"YOU are, in our name, to assure all our loyal subjects, whom you shall converse with, of the just sense we have of their services and sufferings; and that we have not of late sent to them, lest we might have brought them into trouble unnecessarily, when there was no opportunity of promoting effectually our restoration and their deliverance.

Towards which, they should respectively endeavour to dispose the people, by assuring such as return to their duty of our special favour; and to all our pardon, who do not oppose us at our coming, or those commissioned by us, and such securities for their laws, liberties, and religion, as shall be agreed on, in our first parliament, held in our ancient kingdom of Scotland.

That they shall, by all means possible, oppose any proposal that may be made of joining with England, in settling the succession on the family of Hannover; and that they ought to consider the project of an union, as a mere trick to delude and engage them to perpetuate an usurpation, and all the miseries that attend such a manifest injustice.

That they should maturely deliberate and consult together of what, when, and how, any thing may be undertaken for us and for themselves; and to send a proper person to us, well instructed, in all the particulars, relating to so great and good a design."

Though Marlborough and Godolphin had manifestly cooled in their zeal for the exiled family, ever since the accession of the Queen, the court of St. Germain continued their intercourse with them through their agents. One of these had proposed to marry the pretended prince of Wales to one of Marlborough's daughters, even before the death of the marquis of Blandford had left the duke no hopes of posterity, but through the female line. The negociation, if it was ever carried to any height, shews the high opinion which the servants of the pretended prince entertained of Marlborough's power; at the same time, that it exhibits the judgment which they formed concerning his invariable attachment to his own interest.

1703.
Feb. 5th.
Lord Caryll's
letters, vol. v.
fol. Scotch
College.

Extracts from letters from Lord Caryll to correspondents in England in the months of February, March, and April, 1703.

"I Have received your letter of — — which tells me, that Mr. Ar. not * has been engaged to propose a match between a daughter of Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough] and young Mr. Manly [the King], of which you seem desirous to know my opinion. But, unless you let me know, who this friend is, who hath proposed it, I can make no judgment of the matter. Pray, therefore, in your next, if you desire my opinion of the match, give me some light, that I may the better judge of it, by knowing how qualified and commissioned the proposer is."

March 9th.

"I do not wonder, that Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough] comes so little in your sight. I believe his former engagements, to which you are a witness, so ill performed by him, make his meeting with you uneasy to him; and I am fully persuaded, that he makes himself as great a stranger to all the rest of our factory, as he doth to you. I make it a great question, whether he be, at present, fully disposed to receive from any hand such a proposal, as Mr. Painter [colonel Sackville] intimated to you. Nay, I have some scruple, that, if such a hint should be given him, he might turn it another way, and endeavour to make the same bargain with young Hanmer [Hannover]. For, perhaps, he may think that a safer and an easier bargain; and you well know how true that merchant is to his interest. In short, there is no more to be said of this matter at present. But we must expect what time may produce."

April 9th.

"I suppose the absence of Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough] will, for a while, at least, put a stop to Mr. Painter's [colonel Sackville's] project. I wonder he did not propose it himself, before Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough] went into the country [Holland], being well acquainted with that gentleman; and then he might have known, in an honourable manner, how it would have taken with him. For you may be sure, nobody will ever be commissioned, from Mr. Wisely [the Queen], to make such a proposal."

May 7th.

"Mr. Wisely [the Queen] is very glad to understand, that what reservedness was, on their part, proceeded only from those measures, which were necessary to be kept with that troublesome merchant, Mr. Wanley

* Probably Colonel Sackville.

[the Whigs]. All that knew Mr. Wisely must confess, that no one exceeds him in good nature, and that none can be more sensible than he is of either the advantages or the losses of his friends; and particularly as to the good success, which his friends Mr. Gurny [Marlborough] and Mr. Gilburn [Godolphin] have lately had, in their home affairs. He is only sorry that it came by any other means, or any other hand than his own. On the other side, when the news was brought of Mr. Gurny's [Marlborough] great loss at sea *, it happened that I was the first who told him of it; and I declare to you, that I was amazed how he was struck at it. So that in these matters, I hope you will do him justice with your friend Gilburn [Godolphin], that he may do it also with Mr. Trimin [dutchess of Marlborough] and Young [princess Anne]. I need not tell you, that, in naming Mr. Wisely [the Queen], I also include Mr. Mathews [the King]: for, you well know, that their interests are inseparable; and, though this merchant, last named, be but a young beginner in the world, yet his qualities and industry are such, that all think he will make, in a little time, as able and fair a dealer as any that have come upon the Exchange: nor can I doubt, but Mr. Wheatly [England] himself will, at last, (all things duly weighed) be convinced it is his interest to join stocks with this young merchant, upon reasonable terms."

1703.

In the year 1702, captain Simon Frazer, of Beaufort, afterwards well known to the world, under the title of lord Lovat, went to France, and pretended to have authority from some of the Scotch nobility and of the chiefs of the Highland clans, to offer their services to the court of St. Germain. He promised in their name to raise an army of 12,000 men, if the King of France would consent to land 5000 men at Dundee and 500 at Fort William. His proposals were listened to, but his sincerity was questioned, and others in whom the court of France and St. Germain could place confidence, were sent back with him, when he returned to Scotland.

May.

* He means probably the loss of Marlborough's son, who died February 20th, 1703.

1703.
May.
Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 52.

"Copy of the Instructions given to Captain John Murray, when he was sent to Scotland with Lord Lovat, in May, 1703."

The instructions are in Nairne's hand.—Captain John Murray was brother to Sir David Murray, of Stanhope.

JAMES R.

WHEN you arrive in Scotland, you are to repair straight to the Highlands, and there you are to be introduced, by Lord Lovat, to the several chiefs of clans and gentlemen of interest in that part of the country, of whom you are to inform yourself what they propose, what they are able to do, and at what time they can be in readiness; and if there be diversity of opinions, you are to mark the persons that differ in opinion from the others, with the reasons given by them for so doing: and, when you are sufficiently instructed in all this, and of what else may be for our service in the Highlands, you are to return thither, with all convenient speed, to give us a full and faithful account, of what you have learned of the capacity and dispositions of our friends, in those parts, that we may know what we have to expect from them, when we shall have occasion for their service.

Given at our court, at St. Germain's, the 24th of February, 1703, and in the second year of our reign."

"Nota: That these instructions were signed and sealed the 5th of May, tho' antedated as above, that they might be antierior to the Scotch indemnity."

Frazer himself received the following instructions.

Ibid. D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 52.

"Instructions to Lord Lovat."

Dated the 25th of February, but signed the 5th of May, 1703.

YOU are, with all convenient speed, to return to your own country, and to shew this paper only to such of the Highlanders, as knew of your coming hither and have sent to us by you, and such others of them, as you hope to bring to our interest.

You are to assure them, of the great sense we have of the past proofs of their affection, and the confidence we have of their steadiness and forwardness

wardness in time to come, which we shall requite, by all suitable returns, when it is in our power.

1703.
May.

That we have all the assurance can be desired, of being sufficiently assisted by our friends here, when the conjuncture is favourable; and that then they shall be supplied with every thing that may make them appear effectually for us.

You are to let them know, that the King of France hath promised us, that whenever we shall be put in possession of our kingdom of Scotland, by the faithful endeavours of our friends, in that our said ancient kingdom, he will then restore the Scotch nation to all the privileges they formerly enjoyed in France.

That, in the mean time, they should concert and dispose matters so, as to be in a readiness, when there is occasion for them; yet with that caution and privacy necessary for a secret of this importance, in which their security and our service is so much concerned.

And we do hereby authorize such officers in the Highlands, as had commissions from the late King, our father, to make use of the said commissions, if any good occasion offers, till such time as we shall have the conveniency of granting them new ones.

You are to let our friends know, that we do hereby authorize them, to endeavour to gain to our interest as many as they can of such as are considerable, in the nation, by their families, or by their employments, civil or military, by promising, in our name, to such of them as want it, pardon for all past faults, and to all of them rewards, proportionable to their respective merits and services."

"There was given with this, a commission of colonel of foot, to be raised in Scotland."

The dying words of his late master made such an impression, on the earl of Middleton, that, some months after his decease, he left the court of St. Germain and retired to a convent, at Paris, to be satisfied in some doubts, and to be instructed in the tenets, of the Roman catholic religion. Among Mr. Nairne's MSS. there is a rough draught of the ostensible reasons, which he himself alleged for leaving the court.

September.

He says, he never thought himself qualified for business. He accepted the seals, on condition, that he could resign them, when he

pleased.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 32.

1703.
September.

pleased. He thought, as he was now a convert to popery, his continuing in office would give offence to protestants in England. He could have no provocation, in retirement, to resentment or revenge against enemies; and he would have more time to attend to the duties of religion.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii. 4to.
and vol. ix.
4to.

Ibid. No. 6.

The earl of Middleton seems to have been out of office, near a twelve-month; at least, there are no copies of his letters among Mr. Nairne's papers, from the month of July, 1702, to the 14th of June, 1703. But there are entries of all his letters, from that time to the end of December, 1713. The first of them which concerns the affairs of Britain, was written to Monsieur de Torcy, on the first of September, this year. He inclosed a memorial to him, desiring a passport for a vessel, to go to Scotland, to bring back captain James Murray, whom lord Arran had asked, in order to send him back again, with informations concerning the state of the country, and what they intended to do, when the parliament should rise.

HANNOVER

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1703.

1703.
January.

QUEEN ANNE having placed herself in the hands of the Tories, the Whigs of course threw themselves in the scale of the house of Hannover. But the correspondence which subsisted, thus early, between the discontented in Britain and that family, had not yet acquired the importance, at which it afterwards arrived. It may, however, amuse the reader, to lay before him some articles that have hitherto remained unknown to the public.

The Princess Sophia to Queen Anne.

A complimentary Letter.

Translation.

MADAM,

Hannover, January 8, 1703.

“YOUR Majesty did me the favour to receive assurances of my most humble respects, with so much goodness, that I presume to repeat them, by the opportunity of baron Schutz’s return, although I have reason to apprehend I may fatigue your Majesty, by constantly repeating the same thing: but, Madam, I am so very thankful for your having condescended to make me an answer, that I hope you will not take amiss, that I presume to offer you my most humble acknowledgments, and to assure you of the desire I have to merit the honour you do me. This, however, I cannot hope, but when your Majesty will be pleased to honour me with your commands, in order that I may show, by my obedience, that the honour is conferred upon one, who is with the greatest zeal and respect, MADAM,

Your Majesty’s

Most humble and most obedient servant and Aunt,

SOPHIA ELECTRESS.”

1703.
April.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Misc.
cell. d'Etat.
2. No. 202.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Rivers to General Bulau.

In Robethon's hand.

Bulau commanded the troops of Lunenburg, that served in the allied army.—

Lord Rivers sends him a state of affairs in England.—There was a strong party for the prince of Wales.—His friends become numerous in the house of Commons, since the death of the late King.—They brought in two bills to serve his cause.—The history of these bills.—Lord Rivers gives his advice to the Elector.—Marlborough forced him to quit the service, for having voted as he ought to have done.

Translation.

April 9, 1703.

THE reason, why I could not answer your last letter sooner, is, that I could not find an earlier opportunity of writing to you with safety, and in a circumstantial and particular manner. I believe the best method of corresponding with you will be, to give you just and exact representations of matters of fact in England; and, for this purpose, I must begin with informing you, that there is a party in this kingdom for the prince of Wales, which is considerable and very zealous, and whose boldness is founded, not only on their confidence in the King of France, but on an assurance with which they flatter themselves of being countenanced and supported by the present government. And when one considers the men who are advanced and favourably received at court, it is evident, that there is too much reason to be confirmed in this opinion.

By a combination of several accidents, which happened since the death of the King, and which could not probably have happened at any other time, the members of the house of commons have been chosen in a manner well calculated to extend the views of that party; and accordingly they do not scruple to acknowledge this. It is not to be imagined, that they will choose to act directly for the prince of Wales: accordingly they have adopted another method, by proposing two bills in the lower house; the first in order to renew the disputes between the members of the church of England and the presbyterians, which, having formerly disturbed the quiet of the kingdom, for a long time, had been suppressed during the preceding reign; and they hope, that, amidst these animosities, they will more easily conceal and advance their designs. The se-

cond

cond bill appeared to have been intended in favour of those, who, by accident, had neglected to take the oath of abjuration of the prince of Wales, in the time limited, and for maintaining the protestant succession; but the real design was to re-establish all those who had refused that oath, and to dismiss all such as had been put into their places and offices.

1703.
April.

If these two bills had passed, one may easily judge what would have been the consequence. But the house of peers, having a just apprehension of the danger of their designs, rejected, with great firmness, the first, and not only took every thing that was mischievous and bad out of the second, but added two clauses to it; by the first of which the oath of abjuration is imposed upon the whole kingdom of Ireland, which they had forgot to comprehend in the former act; and the second makes all those guilty of high treason who shall attempt, either directly or indirectly, to prevent the succession of the family of Hannover: and all this affair was conducted by the lords with so much address, that those who brought in the bill dared not oppose the clause directly, for fear of exposing themselves and losing their credit in the kingdom, and by these means, that act, far from answering their expectations, has rendered the succession more stable and certain. But, it must be observed, that this majority in the house of peers, chagrined the said party to such a degree, that Sir Edward Seymour did not hesitate to say openly in the house of commons, that it was absolutely necessary, that the Queen should make some new peers, in order that the majority of that house might concur in the designs of the lower house. However indiscreet this speech was, the measure has been adopted; for the Queen has made some new peers since the prorogation of the parliament, of whom the son of Sir E. Seymour is one, and another is the only man who refused to give his vote for establishing the succession of the crown in the family of Hannover.

I will not trouble you with the character of the rest. I shall only tell you, that two of them are of the same party. There are none of these facts which are not manifest, and above all contradiction. If you converse with your own minister at this court he cannot deny this. Having now stated the case, I shall take the liberty of representing to you my reflections, upon certain things, which I believe to be very useful for the service of the Elector.

1703.
April.

1. It would be desirable that his electoral highness should embrace every suitable opportunity of publishing, in his conversation, as well as by the intimations of his ministers, that, since his family is called to the succession, he is determined to hazard every thing for maintaining his right, and for supporting those who are truly attached to his interests.

2. As it was very prudent in his minister to act with great reserve and circumspection, while every thing was in suspense; so it would not be proper that he should continue his silence, after the ministry here have given just cause of jealousy. On the contrary, it would be serviceable that this minister should, from time to time, make suitable representations against the attempts which shall be made to the prejudice of the succession.

3. It will be absolutely necessary to make it known, that the Elector places an entire confidence in the man who is, or shall be, his minister here; and that whatever he shall advance or promise in the name of his master may be depended upon.

4. As it appears, from what I have said above, that all employments and favours are given to those of the opposite party, I must inform you likewise, that several persons who have acted very zealously, and who distinguished themselves in supporting the succession established by law, have lost their employments; and as some of them maintained themselves principally by the emoluments which they drew from their employments and pensions, I leave you to judge, if it would not be serviceable to come to a resolution of doing something for them; and particularly for those who have titles, and few means to support them. I speak of some members of the house of peers, and of the advantage of preserving and augmenting the number of those who are well affected in that house, which may be done at a very moderate expence, if properly managed; and unless it is soon resolved to do something of this nature, I do not see by what means, or in what manner, the bad designs and measures of the party can be prevented, when the house of peers must be considered as the principal support of that interest.

5. And since the lives of princes are uncertain, such proper measures must be taken, on all hands, that when the succession is open, all things may be disposed for entering immediately into possession. All that I say

here

here is not only my own opinion, but the opinion of others, whom I believe to be the most capable of judging, and who are the best affected to the good cause.

1703.
April—May.

I must add one thing more, which is to renew the caution that was given to you last year, with respect to our general [Marlborough]. You must not judge of him by what he says, but by what he does here; and especially you must not believe him, if he says, that Lord Rivers desired to leave the service; for it is certain, that he was forced to do so, for having voted as you would have done, if you had been in his place; and the sum which was given to him, being but the half of what is ordinarily given for posts of that kind, has been a cloak to conceal their design and to prevent complaints."

The following letter seems to convey pretty justly the views of the Scottish Jacobites in parliament. The writer, however, is mistaken, in the opinion, that they thought it necessary to change the church government, before they entered upon their designs in favour of the exiled family. The overture, for a toleration to those of the episcopal persuasion, was made by the earl of Strathmore. But it met with so little countenance from the Jacobites themselves, that at the requisition of the general assembly, it was dropt almost without debate.

Mr. Scot to Mr. Robethon.

The state of things in Scotland.—Designs in favour of the Pretender.

SIR,

London, May 18, 1703.

"SINCE my last, there hath occurred very little material. The parliament of Scotland met, on the 22d, according to adjournment; and were, all that day, upon controverted elections. It is still said, as I told you before, that the great business of this session will be, to get a toleration for the episcopal clergy; and, that this toleration may the better answer the expectation of the court, it is thought there will be some attempt made for the restoring of patronages; for then it will be an easy matter to get such persons presented to vacant benefices as will incline to a change in church-government; a thing the court seems to desire, though I know nothing that could so much strengthen the Jacobite interest

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Miscellaneous.
d'Etat.
2. No. 152.

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terest in Scotland: but some will say, it is for that very reason the court desires it; and really, all things considered, it is hard to give any other. It appears plainly, that the greatest hopes of the Jacobites are now from Scotland; and that the way they propose to carry on their business there is, first to have their friends, the episcopal people, brought into church-government; when that is done, they fancy it may not be difficult to get the parliament of Scotland to declare their succession in favour of the prince of Wales; and, if once they gain that point, they resolve to act a little more barefacedly in England. They will then represent the danger of Scotland's having a King of its own, and what mischiefs may happen to England upon the Scots joining with the English Jacobites. From thence, perhaps, they may come to urge the breaking into the succession-act, and the declaring with Scotland for the prince of Wales, as things absolutely necessary to preserve the peace of both kingdoms. This I have ground to think is the Jacobites scheme; and, though I am persuaded they will never be able to effectuate it, yet, considering how things are managed here, those who wish well to the house of Hannover, have all the reason in the world to be upon their guard: but more of this at meeting."

STUART

STUART PAPERS.

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DURING the war, which succeeded the Revolution in Britain, the court of St. Germain continued their secret negotiations, and formed perpetual schemes for invading England. But when peace was concluded, King James, resigning himself to the austerities of religion, seems to have built all his hopes of restoration, upon the favourable events which might happen, in the course of time. His servants, however, kept up a communication with his friends, more with a design of retaining them in their principles, than from expectations of their immediate services. In this situation of affairs, Simon Frazer, well known afterwards by the title of Lord Lovat, a man who joined insinuating talents to low manners and a profligate character, came to St. Germain, and offered his services to King James. Frazer, having committed, in Scotland, public and private crimes, which threatened to draw upon him the ultimate animadversions of the laws of his country, had fled from justice: but his history being known before his arrival, King James, from motives of morality, rejected his offered services. Having continued for some time in a starving condition in France, he applied, through a Mr. Carstares, to King William, for a pardon; no doubt, under promises of future services. In this pardon, which the principal secretary of state had refused to sign, either through accident or design, a rape, which Frazer had committed on the dowager-lady Lovat, had not been comprehended.

The marquis of Athol, father to the injured lady, prosecuted Frazer criminally, and he fled again from justice into France. King James was by this time dead: but the earl of Middleton, who knew his late master's sentiments concerning Frazer, refused to admit him into his presence. But Frazer, turning a Roman Catholic, insinuated himself, through the influence

1704. influence of the Pope's nuncio, into the confidence of the exiled Queen; and, through the same channel, he had access to the French ministry, and, it is said, even to the King himself. But the state he gave of the affairs of Scotland appearing too favourable to the views of the excluded family to be implicitly believed, Lewis the Fourteenth demanded from the court of St. Germain, a person who could be trusted to accompany Frazer into that kingdom, to bring back a genuine account of the state of things. Frazer, accordingly, in company with captain John Murray, brother to Sir David Murray of Stanhope, passing through England, arrived on the borders of Scotland, in the summer of 1703. He was met there, by the duke of Argyle, who had always been his patron, and conducted by that nobleman to Edinburgh, where he received a protection from the duke of Queensberry, commissioner to the parliament then sitting in that city. Under cover of this protection, Frazer was sent into the Highlands to extract promises of supporting the pretensions of the exiled family, from those chiefs and noblemen, who were known to be in their interest.

Frazer's character was too well known to be trusted. He returned, with little success, to Edinburgh, and formed a scheme, with the duke of Queensberry, of accusing several of his own enemies and some of those of the duke, of a correspondence with the court of St. Germain. But the proofs which he could produce being insufficient, he was provided with money and a pass, under a feigned name, by Queensberry, to enable him to return to France to forge or make more complete discoveries. The famous Ferguson, with whom Frazer had some communications on his return to London, suspecting his sincerity, had, in the mean time, informed the duke of Athol, one of the noblemen accused, though he had never been in any correspondence whatever with the court of St. Germain, of the schemes laid to ruin him and others. The noise which this discovery made in the English parliament is well known. Frazer arrived at Paris; and, in prosecution of his promises to Queensberry, presented the following memorial:

“ A Me.

"A Memorial to the Queen of all that my Lord Lovat did in his voyage to England and Scotland, by her Majesty's orders."

Original.

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Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 52.

AS soon as he arrived in England, he informed himself of the dispositions of the people for their King. He found, that, in England, the King had lost much of the inclinations of his subjects, who pretended to be faithful to him in the prince of Orange's time, because the princess of Denmark had given employments to those that were enemies to the prince of Orange; and those, having received better places than they expect if the King was restored, do not think or suffer to hear of him, although they have sworn a hundred times, that they would sacrifice their lives and fortunes for him. He marched from London, with his friend captain Murray and three servants a horse-back, to go to the town of Durham, where he must have waited some of his servants from Scotland with horses and money. He escaped happily to be taken by a justice of the peace, who arrested his valet de chambre, a Frenchman, because he neither spoke English or Dutch. When he came to Durham, he found that the town was full of good Catholics of the gentry of the country, who were very faithful to the King his master. As soon as he was known to be in the town, having been acquainted there before, all the Catholics came to wait of him, and knowing that he was in France, as his enemies had published before he was two months in France, by the information of the princess of Denmark's spies at St. Germain's; all these Catholics made all the protestations imaginable of their fidelity to the King, their master; and, when he shewed them the King's picture, they all fell down upon their knees and kissed him and prayed for him. My lord Lovat answered them, that he did not doubt, but they loved their King; but that the common opinion was, that the Catholics in England would be the last that would venture their lives and fortunes for the King. They answered him, that that opinion was very false; and that those who made such insinuations to the court were enemies to the King. Some days after, they made an assembly of all the Catholic gentlemen of that country; and, after that they had been some time together, they sent four of their number to my lord Lovat, to entreat him to inform the Queen, that all the Catholics in the North of England, who were very numerous and powerful, were ready to venture

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their lives and fortunes for the King, whenever his banners should be displayed in that country, and that they gave already such marks of their fidelity, that they believed the Queen did not doubt their resolutions to serve the King. There stayed an Irish nobleman in that town, who was in the last wars with the King in Ireland. My lord Lovat, finding him a most loyal sensible man, inquired of him, if any thing could be done for the King, in Ireland. He told him, that the people were so oppressed, that, if the King of France would send them arms, he would engage his life and fortune, that he would get five thousand to rise in arms in that kingdom; and he gave commission to my lord Lovat, to tell so to the Queen and to the court of France; and that he was ready to receive her Majesty's orders, to go to that country to prepare the people to that effect.

My lord Lovat continued his journey towards Scotland; and as soon as he entered the country, his enemies were affrighted, and my lord Athol, being afraid that, if my lord Lovat took arms, he would destroy all his estate, made a public complaint to the commissioner, the duke of Queensberry, and to the council, that my lord Lovat was come from France, as an emissary from the French court, with money and officers to raise the Highlands in rebellion against the Queen; and, if they did not take measures to take the said lord Lovat dead or alive, that nobody in the government were sure of their lives and fortunes; he had such a great interest with all the Highlanders of Scotland. The marquis of Athol gave to the commissioner, as author, captain James Murray, who staid so long at St. Germans, and who was in France, and knew when my lord Lovat received his orders from the court of France. The commissioner, who was always my lord Lovat's good friend, who believed that what my lord Athol said was malice, instead of giving orders out against my lord Lovat, sent him expressly his friend, and my lord Lovat's intimate friend, the earl of Leven, to propose to him, in his name, and in the name of the princess of Denmark, that, if he would side with the princess, and enter with him and his friends into the interest of Hanover, that the princess of Denmark would immediately give him her pardon and his estate; she should pay the debts of his family, and give him a regiment and a good pension; because they knew his power in the Highlands,

Highlands, which they feared, and that the Highlanders would do nothing without him.

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My lord Lovat thanked the earl of Leven, and intreated him to thank the duke of Queensberry, in his name, for his kindness to him : but that he was so engaged in the interests of his King, and in the interests of France, that he would never abandon them, till he gave an account of his journey ; and, besides, he thought it his interest never to alter from the King's side, since he was sure that the King of France would restore him in a short time. Therefore, he begged of him to consider, that his family would be ruined and extirpated, when the King came home, if he did not appear timously for him. He so frightened the earl, with the King's going home, and the forces of France, that he gave him commission to make his peace with the King.

The next day, he had an appointment with the marquis of Drummond and captain Murray, near the ports of Edinburgh. He told them what the earl of Leven proposed to him. They did not know how to advise him. He, finding them at a stand, told my lord Drummond, you see, that those offers are very great ; but that he would not take the whole kingdom of Scotland to abandon the interest of his King and the King of France, in which he was so solemnly engaged. He proposed to my lord Drummond, that, if the low country would rise in arms, he would get all the Highlanders to rise in arms and obey him ; and that, in a little time, they would make an army that would master the kingdom ; and that then he was sure the King of France would send home the King, and all the necessaries that were requisite to put him on the throne. My lord Drummond answered him, that he was very willing to take arms ; but that he had not the King's commission. But, as soon as he got the King's commission, that he would then, without fail, take arms ; and, in the mean time, prepare matters for it ; and likewise begged of my lord Lovat not to go near his own country ; since he must take arms if he went there, which would very much wrong the King's interest.

My lord Lovat, finding that none of the low country would stir, without commissions ; and that the Queen had ordered him expressly, that he should make no rising, till such time as captain Murray should return to France, sacrificed his clan and interest for the interest of his King ; and left all thoughts of rising in arms, till he sent an express to France ;

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because he was afraid, that he and the chieftains of clans that were to join him, would be suppressed before they got assistance from France. He told my lord Drummond, that, because he did not think fit to take arms at that time, the kingdom of necessity must be prepared to make a general rising for the King; and, for that purpose, he did charge him to bring captain Murray with him, who was then present, to prepare the low country, and that he should offer the command of the King's army to duke Hamilton; and that if the duke did refuse the King's commission, that would presently ruin him with the King's friends, who were his support, that afterwards he could not be capable to do any hurt. My lord Drummond had no good opinion of the duke, nor had any of the King's friends. But he said to my lord Lovat, that he would propose to the duke to take the King's commission; and that he did not care what he did, since he was sure of people of quality in the low country without him. My lord Lovat was very glad to hear that from him; and told him that he would assure him of 20,000 Highlanders, when the low country was ready to join them, and that he would march immediately through all the Highlands, except his own country, where his enemies had garrisons to take up his rents; and that, when he had assembled the most considerable chiefs of clans, and had shewn them the King's instructions, he would then send an express for captain Murray, that he might be present at their engagements and promises.

Having agreed on these resolutions, they parted. The next day, the earl of Argyle, who was lord Lovat's relation and his great friend, desired to have an appointment with him, which he, after advising with my lord Drummond and captain Murray, granted him; and accordingly they met on the borders of Scotland. Argyle was a subtle man, and lord Lovat refusing the offers he made him, which were the same my lord Leven had made him the day before, he told him, that he knew he was not such a fool as to refuse them, without he had greater things in hand. He begged of him to let him know them. My lord Lovat, of necessity, was obliged to dissemble with him; and assured him, that there was nothing to do: but that, before he came from France, it was believed that the parliament would either call home the King or rise in arms for him; and that he came of purpose to raise all his kindred, and all that would rise with him, to assist him. Argyle told him, that he did

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did not think that he was so ignorant as to believe, that a protestant parliament would ever call home a popish King : that, on the contrary, this present parliament had made an act to exclude the King and the race, while they were Papists. Lovat answered him, that what the parliament did would not signify a farthing ; that, in spite of them and all his enemies, the King would be home. He, to demonstrate to Argyle the great force and wisdom of France, and their entire resolution to restore the King, at the same time, exhorted him to consider that his family was very ill with the royal family ; and that he must do more than others to save his person and family ; from utter ruin : that he was much astonished, and changed colours, and answered, It's not that that troubles me. But, said he, I find that the duke of Hamilton plainly designs to be our King ; and before he get the crown, I will be the first with my kindred that will join the French, and draw my sword for your prince. My lord Lovat wished that he would continue those resolutions.

Argyle asked Lovat, if captain Murray, Abercainny's son, had any commission from France ; because they were told, that he came over with him, with commissions as a French emissary. My lord Lovat told him, that he had come over with him, and persuaded him that his only business was to see his old dying father and his relations ; and that, with what my lord Lovat told the day before to the earl of Leven, was the only thing that served captain Murray in Scotland ; James Murray and others having informed against him, as well as against my lord Lovat. Lovat leaving Argyle very melancholy, took leave of him. Argyle embraced him, and told him he must be of their party ; and that he would work with the commissioner to that effect. But, at the same time, he took so to heart what my lord Lovat had told him, that the very next day he fell dangerously ill, and never recovered it.

My lord Lovat pursued his journey to the Highlands, where they were overjoyed to see him, because they believed him dead ; having been fourteen months in France, without writing any word to his country. They came from all corners to see him. He shewed them the King's instructions, and the King of France's great promises. They were ravished to see them, and prayed to God to have their King there, and they should soon put him on the throne. My lord Lovat told them,
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that they must first fight for him, and beat his enemies in the kingdom. They answered him, that, if they got the assistance he promised them, they would march in three days advertisement, and beat all the King's enemies in the kingdom. At the same time, my lord Lovat received an express from lord Drummond and captain Murray, to acquaint him, that his enemies had obtained an act of the privy council of fire and sword against his person; and that all the troops in the kingdom had orders to take him, dead or alive; and that the King's friends begged of him to retire his person, which was so necessary to the King, to some private place out of the kingdom, till the King's affairs were ripe. He answered them, by another express, that he mocked very much what the council could do against him; and that he was more in safety among the Highlanders, as the council was within the town of Edinburgh; and that he would pursue his master's business without any fear; for which reason he sent for captain Murray to see how unanimously the Highlanders were to take arms for their King. Captain Murray came and saw the most considerable of the chiefs, and was ravished to see them so resolute for their King. He told my lord Lovat, that all the low country were well resolved for the King; and that the duke of Hamilton had not refused the King's commission: but that he desired him to delay matters too much: so that the King's friends were very jealous of him. He told him likewise, that all the King's friends had resolved to send my lord Drummond to France, as commissioner from the low country nobility, with the chief of a clan, as commissioner from the Highlanders, to assure the King, their master, and the King of France, how much they were ready to hazard their lives and fortunes for the King their master, and for the King of France, if they were assisted by them. Upon which, my lord Lovat obliged the laird of Appin, as commissioner for the rest of the Highlanders, to meet with my lord Drummond at his house, to conclude of affairs.

The day appointed for the meeting, my lord Lovat, with the said commissioner, and the laird of Lochiel and other considerable chiefs, came to the castle of Drummond, and met my lord Drummond and the laird of Abercairny, captain Murray's brother, the head of a good family, and very much respected in that country, and one of the loyalest men in the world. He represented the low country, together with my lord Drummond.

Drummond. They kept council together there for three days; and, after several disputes and considerations, it was resolved, that my lord Drummond and the other commissioners should not go immediately to France; because it was impossible that they could be out of the kingdom but the government must know it; because many spoke already, that the Highlanders were to rise in arms for King James the Eighth; and that, as soon as it was known that my lord Drummond was in France, his estate would be forfeited, which would be hurtful to the King's interest. But they determined to send my lord Lovat immediately, when he was the last year in France, and because he had the happiness to have friends, and to be known at the court of France; that he was more capable to give account of affairs; and that he was the only man that the Highlanders would trust to make conditions for them. My lord Lovat, that might have saved his estate and family, by staying in the country, and seeing that if any accident did happen to him on the road, his family was extinct, had much trouble of mind to resolve to make the journey: but, seeing that his master's affairs must have suffered much, and that he must have failed in his engagements in France, he resolved to return with their commission to give account of affairs, or to die by the road. Upon which, he was sent away, with his cousin, captain Frazer, who was with him all the time, with letters to the Queen, the marquis de Torcy, and to the Nuncio, from my lord Drummond, the laird of Appin, as commissioner from the rest of the chiefs, and from captain Murray. It was likewise resolved, that captain Murray should stay for a little time, to go with my lord Drummond to a part of the low country, where he had not been before, to bring marks with him of their resolutions to rise in arms for their King; and that, as soon as he came back to his father's house, he should come immediately to France, with a son of one of the chiefs of the clans, to confirm what my lord Lovat should say in their name.

At that time, my lord Drummond, with the laird of Appin, should come to London, and there wait the King's orders, if it was necessary that they should come to confirm what Lovat and captain Murray said in name of the kingdom. My lord Lovat, who spent already much of his own money, borrowed four hundred pounds from lord Drummond and

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the earl of Leven, and took journey with his dispatches. The commissioner, who had still hopes to gain him to his party, sent him his passport some time before, to come into Edinburgh. He made use of it, on this occasion, and came in and saw the commissioner, and gave him very fair language; so that he gave him his passport to come to London, to receive what he had offered him, in the name of the princess of Denmark. Though he neither trusted him nor his passport, he was glad to have it, in case he met with some of the troops on the road. Having staid some days at Edinburgh, being tender, he rode, in the night-time, through Scotland and the north of England, till he came to Durham, where he staid some days with the King's friends, who confirmed what they had said before he went to Scotland. He was forced to buy fresh horses there to carry him to London, because he durst not take coach or post for fear to be known,

In seven days after, he arrived safe in London, where he found extreme difficulties in leaving England; no man, woman, or child being suffered to go to Holland, without Nottingham's pass. He had no ways to procure it, but by Queensberry, which obliged him to hazard to go and see him privately. Queensberry received him kindly. He told his Grace that, in honour, he must go back to France: but, as soon as he gave account of his journey, he would return and accept of his estate and the offers his Grace made him: that, therefore, he begged of his Grace to procure him Nottingham's pass to go to Holland, since there was nobody that could go without it. He answered, that he was very sorry, that he was resolved to go back to France: that he could not have such an occasion of establishing his family; and that he could not give him the same offer, though he should come again. However, he told him, that he must go back, though he should never get either of them. The duke then told him, that he could not get him a pass in his own name, because he was declared a rebel: but that he would endeavour to get a pass in an unknown name; and that he would send it to him the next day. My lord Lovat thanked him very kindly, and then took leave of him. Yet the duke regretted that my lord Lovat did not embrace their party.

My lord Lovat went, that very night, to Gravesend, being afraid to stay any longer in London, all his enemies being there. He left orders with his
landlord

landlord to follow him with the pass, next day, which he did; and, by that means, he went safely a ship-board. In two days, with a favourable wind, he arrived in Rotterdam, where he was forced to stay fifteen days to wait his bills of exchange, which should come by the common packet-boat; and though all that time he informed himself how he might get safe into Flanders, yet he found it almost impossible to leave that country without the States' pass. He met Mr. Delaval there, and sent him and others to the Hague to offer money for a pass; but could not obtain it by any means. This stay, that he was obliged to make at Rotterdam, did give him occasion to do considerable service to the King, by gaining several of the Scotch officers of his friends and relations, who were going to Scotland to make recruits. They swore faithfully to him, that they would join the King's banner, whenever he should have any army in the country; and some of them promised to let down their commission and live at home to wait for that occasion.

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His bills having come, and having despaired of a pass, he ventured to go to the Bosh, a frontier town, where some of his friends lay in garrison; hoping that they might assist him in getting out of that country. He no sooner arrived there, but some of his kinsmen that were there knew him, and above a hundred of them having come to his lodgings next morning, to tell him that they would follow him wherever he went, the report spread through all the town, that he was come there to debosh the garrison to the French. He, finding the great danger he was in by that report, resolved to leave the town that afternoon. He, accordingly, slipped out in the evening, and gave twenty pistoles to a guide, that furnished a horse for himself, and two horses for my lord Lovat and his brother, and engaged to conduct them safe, that night, to Antwerp. My lord Lovat, leaving captain Frazer and his page behind, ventured with his brother and that guide to ride the fifteen leagues to Antwerp all night, which he did, and missed narrowly a Dutch party who were within pistol-shot of him, on the Spanish territories. But their noise having advertised them, he galloped a league off the high-road, through the moor; and arrived, by seven o'clock in the morning, at Antwerp, where he met with the Marechal de Villeroy, who was very civil to him, and directed him to go safe into France; where he is

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happily arrived, to give this account of his journey, and of the affairs of his country, to your Majesty.

My lord Lovat forgot to give an account, that, about two days after he came to the country, he sent his cousin-german, Sir John M'Lean's brother, with a letter to the earl of Breadalbin, concerning the King's affairs. He returned him answer, by the same bearer, that he was always loyal, and that he would live and die so; but that he would not trust himself to any man in the kingdom, on such great concerns except to my lord Lovat; so that if he pleased to come disguised to his house at Ballach, he would be free with him upon that subject. Though the journey was very dangerous, yet my lord Lovat, knowing that the earl of Breadalbin was of the greatest consequence to the King's affairs, he hazarded his life very desperately, in going in disguise through my lord Athol's land, to the earl's house at Ballach, where we had long conferences with him; and, after many difficulties, he at last persuaded him so much to embrace the King's interest, that he is resolved to obey their Majesties orders, and to hazard his grey hairs in the field for his master. He likewise, after a vast difficulty, persuaded him to see my lord Drummond and captain Murray, upon the same head.

My lord Lovat likewise forgot to give an account, that in Scotland he gained several officers of his relations, that are in the standing forces, who promised faithfully to him, to come off and join the King's banner, whenever he did appear in Scotland.

Madam,

This is the true substance of all the matter of fact of any consequence that I can now remember that has happened in my journey and affairs, since I received your Majesty's orders, as I must answer in conscience and on my allegiance to the King my master, and to your Majesty.

LOVAT.*

" Lord Lovat to the Earl of Middleton."

My Lord,

Paris, 15th January, 1704.

Original.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 52.

THE impatient desire I had to see the King, my master, and the Queen, has made my distemper return violently upon me, by the cold I have got by going to St. Germain. I have entreated my good friend,

friend, the Nuncio, to make my excuse to the marquis de Torcy, that I cannot wait of him to give him his letters this week. I believe your lordship has seen the account of my journey by this time. I beg that your lordship may ask the Queen if she is pleased with it; and since I am to give almost the same account to the court of France, if there be any thing in it that the Queen or your lordship, as her Majesty's chief minister, thinks prejudicial to the King my master's interest, I hope your lordship will acquaint me of it, that I may take the care I ought, to keep it out of the account I give the French court.

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I told my good friend, the Nuncio, of the favour I asked of your lordship. He said it was most reasonable, and that he would likewise ask it of your lordship, and give his concurrence to procure it. I thanked him, and told him that your lordship thought it needless to trouble him on that head. Therefore, I hope your lordship will be as good as your word, which will be a lasting confirmation to me, that your lordship makes me happy in your friendship; and I hope my actions will convince your lordship, that I will always endeavour to deserve it, in some measure.

The Nuncio goes, in ten days, to St. Germain, and will then acquaint your lordship how we may meet. Pardon this trouble, from,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

LOVAT."

The Earl of Middleton's Answer.

My Lord,

"I Received not, till 12 o'clock, the honour you was pleased to do me; nor could I receive, till after dinner, directions concerning what your lordship was pleased to write of, which are conform to my own sentiments, which is to deal candidly and sincerely, and indeed it were unfit to conceal any part or circumstance of one's case from a physician.

I am very glad your good friend has a mind to appear in your small previsions; and, since it requires not haste, I shall not move in it till he comes. Your man's impatience may excuse the shortness of this trouble, from,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

MIDDLETON."

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But the next day, Middleton applied to the marquis de Torcy to get lord Lovat arrested.

Nairne's Pa-
pers, vol.
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No. 15.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Sends a translation of lord Lovat's Memorial, with remarks and proposes to arrest him.

Translation.

Paris, the 16th Jan. 1704.

“ I Have the honour to send you the account which lord Lovat has given to the Queen. The original is written with his own hand, and signed with his name; and I venture to assure you, that the translation is exact, and even literal. I doubt not but you will be as much surpris'd at it as we have been: for, although you know I never had a good opinion of him; yet I did not believe him fool enough to accuse himself. The informations given against him by others, are out of the question; and it is unnecessary to fatigue you with an infinite number of remarks, because every thing is explained in his own memorial. He has not, in some places, been as careful as authors of romances, to preserve probability. For, besides the vanity which runs through the whole, as if he himself were the first man in the world, he begins with a story at Durham, which is totally false. He acknowledges plainly a formal disobedience: for he was absolutely forbidden to treat with any, but the Highlanders; and only with such among them as had sent him.

He told me, that Queensberry, Argyle, and Leven, were the greatest enemies of the King, my master, in that country; yet he communicated to them the whole of his commission, which is a crime that deserves hanging in every country. He rejects extraordinary offers; but obtains a pass to go to London, and from thence the same Queensberry obtains another pass for him, under a borrowed name, to secure his safe return to France. This is very true: for he has produced them. It is, therefore, clear as day-light, that these noblemen wanted to employ him here as a spy, and for seizing letters and commissions, which might serve as proofs against the men of honour in that country. You will be pleas'd to observe, Sir, that, in his own report, he makes every one ask commissions, in order that he might obtain now what was refused to him last year. He accuses none, but James Murray, who is a man of such known probity, that my lord Arran called for him as a man in whom he could place

place the greatest confidence: but foreseeing that Mr. Murray's account would not be favourable to him, he chose to be before-hand with him.

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If the King thinks proper to apprehend him, it should be done without noise. His name should not be mentioned any more; and, at the same time, all his papers should be seized. He has a companion called Frazer, who has attended him every where. I know nothing more about him."

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

He sends him questions to be put to lord Lovat.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 15.

Translation.

Jan. 18, 1704.

"I Have the honour to send you questions, which may be proposed to lord Lovat and to his companion Frazer, when they are apprehended, if you approve of them. He has brought here a young brother with him, who ought to be apprehended likewise, even though he should not be guilty, to prevent his making a noise."

The Earl of Middleton to the Nuncio.

Ibid.

Sends him lord Lovat's account of his journey to Scotland,—and questions to be put to him.

Translation.

January 20th, 1704.

"I Could not send your Eminence sooner this report, because a translation of it was not finished till this day. I have the honour of communicating to you likewise a copy of the questions, which I have given to Monsieur de Torcy. If there is any thing to be added, or any thing farther to be done, I entreat you to acquaint the queen; and to do me the justice to be persuaded, that there is no one who honours you more than, &c."

Frazer, who took to himself the title of lord Lovat, wrote a long letter to the earl of Middleton, on the nineteenth of January. He was afflicted, he said, with the gravel, and the queen's suspicions of his conduct added to his distemper. "If it is personal virtues," says he, "that are only esteemed, and not services; if her Majesty, before she believed any thing of me, would be so just as to examine or inquire impartially

Original.
Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. ii.
fol. No. 52.

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into my way of living; if I may not be called devout, I am sure her Majesty will find, that I never was given to any vice, and that what my enemies said of me was a designed and interested calumny." He then repeated his having been sent to France with a commission from the Highlanders, and his having rejected the offers of good posts in the government, and restitution of his whole estate, in case he would abandon the cause, in which he was determined to persevere to his death, though he endangered "the entire extinction of his family, there being none to represent it but his brother and himself, who were exposed to the daily hazard of their lives." He was afraid, that the queen inclined to manage his enemies: "But," says he, "I cannot understand where the balance lies, betwixt the family of Athol, a branch of the Murrays, who cannot bring fifty of its name to the King's service, and who were traitors from their origin to this moment †, and the family of Lovat, which has lost more men in defending the royal family of Stuart than there are Murrays in the kingdom of Scotland; and which, I bless God, can at this time bring a thousand Frasers, well armed, in four and twenty hours, to the King's service." To this, and a great deal more in the same strain, the earl of Middleton returned the following answer:

The Earl of Middleton's Answer.

Nairne's Papers, vol.
viii. 4to.
No. 15.

My Lord,
January 23d, 1704.
"YOUR ambassador's conduct is impenetrable, which I shall acquaint your lordship with, when I have the honour to see you. In the mean time, I think myself obliged to tell you, that I shewed your letter to the Queen, as soon as she had dined, which I had received but between 10 and 11. Her Majesty was pleased to tell me, that three days before, she had seen one of the same date and to the same purpose, to which she had given her answer already. I said that was enough, and withdrew. Thus, though an useless tool, I would not fail in answering your letter, being resolved never to fail in paying your lordship that respect which is due to you, from,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

MIDDLETON.

† Yet he pretended to have brought a letter from the exiled Queen to that nobleman, wherein she owned his past loyalty and expected his future services. The letter, however, was written to another, though Fraser gave it to Queensberry, as intended for Athol.

Lord Lovat to the Earl of Middleton.

Pleads his services, and complains he is ill used.

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pers, D. N.
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My Lord,

Paris, January 25, 1704.

"I Was troubled, that I had not any answer from your lordship by major Frazer; and am now much more troubled to have missed it, after your lordship was pleased to send it. This makes me send major Frazer express to carry me your lordship's orders. I am daily informed, that the Queen has but a scurvy opinion of me, and that I rather did her Majesty bad than good service by my journey. My lord, I find by that, that my enemies have greater power with the Queen than I can have; and, to please them and ease her Majesty, I am resolved to meddle no more with any affairs, till the King is of age. This is leaving the field, with a fair victory to my enemies. But I am sure the King's service will suffer by it; and perhaps my enemies will not reap the advantages they hope or expect, by this victory, which they have so long wrought for.

I have written the inclosed to the Queen, as my candid vindication of what is passed, and my reasons to meddle no more. I beg your lordship may obtain me the favour of the Queen as to read it, or to make your lordship read it to her Majesty.

But, my lord, I must own that I have done your lordship such services, and that I have such services and solid prospects, both in my breast and view, of doing your lordship effectual services, that I must think myself at a vast loss, if I have not a real share of your lordship's friendship.

It is true, your lordship may think my friendship will be but of little use to you now. I own it, my lord; but a constant active friend, who has interest in the country, which may do a man good or harm, is not to be lost. My lord, I trust your words and letters, and I rely entirely upon it, and the promises the lady made me in your lordship's behalf, and I will behave myself accordingly, and I will let you see, though I be *sans employe*, that I will do your lordship services that you cannot now think of; for I am entirely determined to continue,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful humble Servant,

LOVAT."

Lord

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fol No. 52.

Lord Lovat to the Earl of Middleton. In the same strain.

My Lord,

Paris, February 5th, 1704.

" **A**S I was still persuaded, that your lordship has more honour and good sense than to offer to ruin the reputation of a man, who has suffered a great deal for the King, and whose family your lordship knows was always loyal, so much that never a lord Lovat appeared against the royal family, though I be the twenty-second, from father to son. I am very much overjoyed, that your lordship's friends and mine confirm to me, that you continue still to be my good friend. I hope your lordship will find no dissatisfaction in your goodness for me; for as you will find me on all occasions ready to serve your lordship in particular, so you will find that I have been all my life a most faithful subject to the King; and that I had the restoration of the royal family more before my eyes, than the good of my person or family. I hope to stay in France till those of the best rank and greatest fidelity in Scotland justify me on this head, and till I confound my calumniators and have satisfaction of them; and then I hope they will give leave to a man, that is suspected as a knave, to retire himself. But I do assure your lordship, that, whatever corner I am in, you may command me to any service lies in my power: for I will always remain, with a sincere respect, &c.

LOVAT."

Frazer was examined by the nuncio, upon the queries which had been sent to him, in the name of the Queen, by the earl of Middleton. The nuncio returned them, with Frazer's answers, to the court of St. Germain. The following remarks on these queries and answers, in Nairne's hand, were sent to the nuncio and the French ministry.

" *Remarks on Lord Lovat's answers sent by the Queen to the Nuncio.*"

Ibid.

Translation.

" **QUESTIONS and ANSWERS.**

" **QUESTION I.** **L**ORD Lovat was asked the names of the Catholics, whom he saw at Durham, and particularly of that Irish lord, who engaged to raise five thousand men, in his country, for the service of the King of England?"

" **ANSWER.**

“ANSWER. He answered, that he is ready to tell their names to the Queen: but that they exacted from him, to ask her Majesty’s royal word, that she would not tell them to any one. With regard to the Irish lord, that he did not say that it was in his power to raise five thousand men: but that there were in Ireland five thousand Catholics ready to take arms for their King, whenever they should be sent to them; and that he was ready to go to Ireland to prepare them for the purpose.”

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Remarks.

“With regard to his answer to the first question, the ministers of the court of St. Germain’s remark, that, in an audience he had of the Queen, and in several letters which he wrote to her, he made no mention of this secrecy about names, which he now pretends to have been required of him; and that it is absolutely incredible that all the Roman Catholic gentlemen of a county, in which they are obliged to observe so many precautions, should venture to assemble, and to send four deputies to lord Lovat, when they were not acquainted with him but as a passenger, and could not know but from himself whether he was a Roman Catholic or not; and that they should be so inexcusably imprudent, as to trust themselves so publicly to the discretion of a man who was an absolute stranger to them; while, at the same time, they were so absurdly cautious, as to distrust the Queen’s council, and to exact from her Majesty, on her royal word, that she should not tell their names to any one.

With regard to the Irish lord, the question is not whether it was actually in his power to raise five thousand men; but whether lord Lovat said, in his narrative, that he had engaged to raise them. Now here are the very words of his own narrative, with which he may be confronted at any time. He positively affirmed, “that this Irish lord,” whose name we are not allowed to know, “had charged him to tell the Queen of England, and to the court of France, that if arms were sent to Ireland, he would engage his life and his fortune, that he would find there five thousand men who would take arms for the service of his Britannic Majesty.” They leave the French ministry and the nuncio to judge, if a man does not say, “that he engages himself,” when he says, “that he engages his life and fortune.”

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“QUESTION II. He was asked, if he believed that the earls of Argyle and Leven, and the duke of Queensberry, were well or ill-affected to his Britannic Majesty?”

“ANSWER. He answered, that these noblemen, of whom one is dead, were, are, and will be, for or against the King of England, as they find their interest in it.”

Remarks.

“This answer is vague and delusive, Lord Lovat dared not own plainly (what, however, is very true) that these noblemen are very ill-affected to his Britannic Majesty, because that he would subscribe thereby to his own condemnation, for having had such an intimate correspondence with them without orders; and, on the other hand, he dared not say that they were well affected, because he would be contradicted, by what is publickly known, and would likewise contradict himself: for he owned to the Queen, that these noblemen were enemies to the King her son, which is very different from his ambiguous answer to the question that was put to him. Now these ambiguities and contradictions are not incident to those who adhere to truth.”

“QUESTION III. He was asked whether he communicated to these three lords what he should have carefully concealed.”

“ANSWER. He answered, that he told them nothing which he should have concealed from them: but that, on the contrary, all that he told them tended to conceal his real design; having said nothing to them, but what had been first concerted with the principal friends of the King, his master, as he hath most fully explained already.”

Remarks.

“The ministry of the court of St. Germain observe, that the reverse of this appears evident from Lovat's own narrative. Lord Leven came to him from the duke of Queensberry, before he could have concerted that meeting with the King's friends. They had only his own word to oppose to all the presumptions against him, that he did not accept of the offers, which were made to him. He was sent to the Highlanders, and should have treated with them only; whereas, his first conferences in Scotland were with his Majesty's greatest enemies. They then quote his own words to the earls of Leven and Argyle, and to the duke of Queensberry, as expressed in his memorial to the Queen. They make many
pertinent

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pertinent remarks upon them; and conclude with observing, that "such discourses should naturally have induced the duke of Queensberry to arrest him, instead of allowing him to go away, if he had had no better assurances from him; yet the contrary happens: for, not satisfied with leaving him at liberty to go away, he assists him to leave the kingdom, which gives room to conclude, that, according to all appearances, lord Lovat discovered and promised to these noblemen more than he acknowledges here, otherwise they never would have presumed to encourage him so far, or inclined to furnish him with money and passports to facilitate his return to France."

"QUESTION IV. He was asked what services these lords required of him to deserve rewards so considerable, as those which were offered to him?"

"ANSWER. That they made these offers to him, without exacting any other conditions from him, to secure themselves from the just apprehensions, with which James Murray had filled them, that he, Lovat, would put himself at the head of the Highlanders, with the other chiefs, his relations and friends, and carry all the rest of Scotland along with them."

Remarks.

"The ministry remark, that these lords knew Lovat too well to fear him; and that their characters are too well known to be suspected of having made such offers to him, without exacting any return. They confute what is laid to the charge of James Murray, from his known character of prudence, honour, and loyalty. James Murray was then at St. Germain, and protested to the Queen, not only that he did not speak to these three noblemen while he was in Scotland, but that he never filled them nor any other with a fear of lord Lovat; and that he was assured, by a man who knew the state of the country and deserved to be credited, that Lovat was so far from having the power which he pretended in the Highlands, that he could not now raise fifty men of his own clan."

"QUESTION V. He was asked, since he had rejected their offers, by declaring his inviolable attachment to their enemies, by what motive was he able to engage them to protect him; and to furnish him money and passports to secure his return to France?"

"ANSWER. He answered, by motives of the old friendships, which they had always for him, to such a degree as to furnish him with a retreat

1704. and subsistence for six or seven years, when he was proscribed for having taken arms for the service of the late King; and because they, as well as he, are the enemies of the earl of Athol."

Remarks.

"The ministry make many remarks on the improbability of supposing that these noblemen, whom Lovat himself represents in his memorial as very selfish, could be carried to such lengths by their friendship for him. They were at the head of the government in Scotland, when he was condemned for an atrocious crime, as he pretends. They did not protect him then, as they had not probably the same motives of friendship to him they have now. Lovat did not take up arms for the late King of England, unless, by the late King of England, he meant the late prince of Orange, who made him a captain in lord Athol's regiment.

"QUESTION VI. He was asked, if he designed to remain here or to return?"

"ANSWER. He answered, that he came back to offer, in the name of the principal men in Scotland, both in the Highlands and in the low country, to take the field with an army for the service of his King, and to return to expose his life with them for his re-establishment."

Remarks.

The ministry remark, that he brought no proofs of his having been employed to make these offers, but letters of recommendation in very general terms, from lord Drummond, a Highland gentleman, and captain John Murray, dated in the month of October, that is to say, two months before the discovery of the conspiracy. "But to answer more properly to the question," they observe, "he should have said, that his design was to remain here, until he obtained the succours necessary for his enterprise: for if he had no need of succours, why did he return? He should have remained in the country and carried on his projects, since he could dispose of Scotland himself, and of Ireland, by means of his powerful friend at Durham. He did wrong, to delay the pleasure which we should have received from this."

"QUESTION VII. He was asked, why he disobeyed the orders which he had, not to speak but to the Highlanders who had sent him?"

"AN-

“ANSWER. He answered, that he did not speak at first of his real design, but to those who had sent him: but that, as they had drawn over several of the principal noblemen of the low country to the King of England’s party, and as, among these noblemen, there are some who have lands in the Highlands, he could not and he ought not to have avoided to confer with them, conjointly with his old friends and the servants of the King their master, by whose advice he conducted himself in all he did.”

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Remarks.

“It is but too evident, though in a very different sense from that in which lord Lovat would chuse that we should understand him, that he did not speak of his real design, but to his old friends, who had sent him. But to hear him speak of his old friends, would not one be apt to say that he was fifty years of age? yet he acknowledges himself that he has been at college after the revolution; therefore, his ancient friendships, of which he boasts so much, did not commence but after the rebellion, and with men who were then declared rebels; and it is not difficult to guess, by what means he has deserved their esteem. It is always a very great prejudice against a man, that he acknowledges for his best friends the greatest enemies of the King his master; and to allege that friendship, in his justification, is a pitiful defence.” They make several other remarks, on his disobeying his orders, not to confer with any but the Highlanders.

“QUESTION VIII. He was asked the names of the Highlanders with whom he treated?”

“ANSWER. He answered, that he had no power from them to tell them, but to the Queen upon her royal word, not to name them to her council; because they had experienced how little these regard secrecy, and how much they themselves have suffered thereby.”

Remarks.

The ministry deny this charge, which Lovat had more than once repeated against them; and they conclude with remarking, “That it is a proof of his impudence, rather than of his innocence, if he presumes to remain longer in France. He flatters himself, that he will obtain here all he wants. He knows that if he returns empty handed, he will not be

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be well received by his old friends : for he is convinced, that their promises were conditional, and that he will have no right, on his return, to demand the performance of them, unless he brings with him money, commissions, and all the other proofs which they expect from him, to render their new plot credible, and to put them in a condition to revenge themselves of their private enemies, by sacrificing all the friends of his Britannic Majesty. In short, it is certain, that this plot hath already been a reason for seizing several good subjects in England and in Scotland; and there is great reason to believe that the consequence would have been more fatal, if the earl of Athol had not hastened the discovery of it, contrary to the intention of the duke of Queensberry, who, according to all appearances, designed to wait for lord Lovat's return."

What Middleton suspected, concerning Fraser's insincerity, was amply confirmed, by captain Murray's account of his journey to Scotland.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 15.

Sends him a translation of Captain James Murray's account of his journey to Scotland.—The Queen had sent Murray at the desire of Lord Arran.

Translation.

S I R,

February 22, 1704.

" I Did not chuse to delay a moment to send you Mr. James Murray's papers, as soon as a translation of them could be finished; and, to avoid confusion, the subject has been separated. If you are desirous to see him, he will not fail to wait upon you, at the time you will be pleased to appoint him. I take the liberty to recall to your remembrance, that, although the Queen has a very good opinion of this gentleman, she did not choose him, but my lord Arran demanded him. With regard to the contents of his papers, the Queen will speak to you about them, the first opportunity that offers."

Nairne's Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 52.

" Captain James Murray's papers, concerning Lord Lovat, &c." mentioned in the preceding, " and given to the Queen 15th February 1704."

These papers are in Nairne's hand. The first of them is marked on the back :

1. " A copy

1. "*A copy of what the sieur James Murray has declared to the Queen of England concerning lord Lovat, sent to the marquis de Torcy, the 22d February, 1704.*" 1704. February.

Translation.

"The Sieur James Murray, lately arrived from Scotland, has declared to the Queen, and given under his hand and seal the following particulars concerning the Sieur Beaufort, commonly called lord Lovat."

"I Remember, that soon after the arrival of Beaufort* in Scotland, the late earl of Argyle went towards the borders of England, under pretence of going to a country-house which he has near Newcastle. But I am assuredly informed, by men who deserve to be credited, that he did not go so far, and that he was only at some place in that neighbourhood, where Beaufort waited for him, and where they staid together some days. The parliament being then prorogued for eight days, on account of a meeting which the deputies of the boroughs were to hold at Glasgow, that they returned together to Edinburgh, where Beaufort was introduced to the duke of Queensberry; and that his grace gave him a pass to the Highlands, to treat with the chieftains about their taking arms. In fact, some of those with whom Beaufort treated, were discovered; and, before I left Scotland, there was an order to apprehend lord Drummond and Appin, and several others were summoned to appear before the council.

It is well known in Scotland, that the duke of Queensberry gave to Mr. M'Leod, a lieutenant of the Scotch guards of the princess of Denmark, bills upon the bank of Scotland for 400 l. sterling: that these bills were carried to the bank; and that Mr. M'Leod received a hundred guineas from one of the tellers, and two hundred from another; and that he declared to the council, and signed his declaration, that he gave that sum and the rest of the bills to Beaufort, by order of the duke of Queensberry. The said Mr. M'Leod declared also, that Beaufort had told him, that Mr. James Murray was sent from St. Germain to treat with the duke of Hamilton and his party, which is commonly called in Scotland the country party; and that he was to return to St. Germain soon; and that the Queen of England had sent three letters to Scotland,

* Lovat.

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by Mr. Jo. Murray, who came from France along with him; one to the duke of Gordon, another to the countess of Errol, and a third to a person whose name M'Leod says Beaufort had told him, but which he has forgot. All these declarations of M'Leod's are registered in the records of the Scotch council.

It is certain, for I have been informed of it by good authority, that the earls of Argyle and Leven said, that Beaufort told them, that before he could engage the court of St. Germans to enter into his projects, he was obliged to make himself a Roman Catholic; after which they listened to all his proposals, by means of the duke of Perth and father Saunders.

I am assured likewise, that Beaufort told in Scotland, that there was one of the name of M'Kenzie in France who disconcerted all his schemes; and, before he could succeed in what he proposed at Versailles and St. Germans, he was obliged to contrive to have him put into the Bastile.

Men who deserve to be credited, who were upon the spot, and who had an interest to know every thing, wrote from London to a nobleman of the first rank in Scotland, when I was there, that the duke of Queensberry, in an audience which he had of the princess of Denmark, had acknowledged, in the presence of the earl of Athol, that he had given a pass to Beaufort to go to the Highlands of Scotland to treat with the chieftains; and that he had the permission of the princess of Denmark to do so, which she acknowledged; and that his Grace had said also, that he had procured a pass for Beaufort to leave England; and that he did so to give him an opportunity of rendering them greater services.

It is certain that there was a letter from Beaufort to the duke of Queensberry intercepted by lord Athol, in which Beaufort acknowledged all the duke's favours, and promised to continue to serve him.

Mr. Campbel of Glenderuel, when he was examined, declared, that he gave another letter from Beaufort to the duke of Queensberry; and, upon the duke's denying to have received that letter, Campbel, who persisted to maintain that he had given it, added, that he could still show the letter which Beaufort wrote to him, and in which the duke's letter was inclosed. But, as the duke was not willing to produce that letter, the contents of it could not be known.

I had

I had an opportunity of conversing about Beaufort with one Adamson, known to be a very honest man, who has suffered much for his loyalty, and who is now receiver and manager of the estate of Lovat for the lady, who is the heiress and eldest daughter of the late lord Lovat. This man, who is perfectly acquainted with that country, assured me, that Beaufort had now so little influence there, that, excepting forty or fifty adventurers, men like himself, ready for any undertaking, because they had little or nothing to lose, he would not find one Highlander, even of his own clan, who would willingly follow him.

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In fine, the most considerable of the friends of the King my master, in the low country of Scotland, with whom I had the honour of conversing, and whose sentiments I had an opportunity of knowing, consider Beaufort to be a man so wicked, so dangerous, and so notoriously to be suspected, that they will be much astonished, if he is not punished in France, where they cannot apprehend how he has ventured to return, after the manner in which he conducted himself in Scotland; and, in short, they are persuaded, that when his real character, his conduct, and his little influence in Scotland, where he is outlawed for detestable crimes, are a little known at St. Germain, they will take care not to send back such an emissary as will ruin the affairs of his Britannic Majesty in that country, by disobliging his firmest friends, and those whom it is most his interest to manage, and who certainly will never choose to expose themselves to treat about any affair with the court of St. Germain, while they suspect that that court can place any confidence in Beaufort, whom they consider as a man capable of betraying and ruining them.

St. Germain, 22d of February, 1704.

I have read this translation, and I certify, that it is exact, and conformed to the original, which I gave, written in my hand in English, to the Queen of England, to whom I have named my authors, for all I have said about Beaufort, who takes here the title of lord Lovat, which nobody gives him in England or in Scotland.

JAMES MURRAY.

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2. "*A copy of what the Sieur James Murray has said to the Queen, in the name of lord Arran and other Scotch noblemen, sent to the marquis de Torcy, the 22d February, 1704.*"

"The Sieur James Murray who is come back from Scotland, where he had been sent back with instructions to the earl of Arran and several other noblemen, and others of his Majesty's faithful subjects in that country, has given the Queen, in their name, the following narrative."

Translation.

"**T**HE earl of Arran, at the expence of great attentions, a good deal of intrigue and application, and large sums of money, which he laid out during the sitting of the last parliament of Scotland, managed matters so properly, as to gain among them a party strong enough for disconcerting the principal designs of the court, especially with regard to the three chief articles; which I was charged, by my instructions, to recommend to him; namely, to hinder the parliament from consenting to the union of the two kingdoms, the abjuration of his Britannic Majesty, and the settlement of the succession in the line of Hannover. It was by these means, that the power which had been given to the commissioners to treat about the union was declared to be expired; that the Hannoverian succession was rejected; and that the bill for the abjuration was not even proposed in parliament.

Besides, his party voted unanimously for all the clauses in the act for the security of the kingdom, which was considered as a positive exclusion of the duke of Hannover; and, when the whole act came to be considered for the last time, his party was so powerful, that the act was passed by a great majority of voices; and because the princess of Denmark refused afterwards to give her consent to it, the same party hindered the reading of the bill for the subsidy; and, thereby, obliged the commissioner to prorogue the parliament before any subsidy was granted.

The earl of Arran employed all imaginable means to oblige some of the princess of Denmark's ministers, namely, the lords Athol and Tarbat, and the chancellor Seafield, to enter into his measures, with regard to the three articles above mentioned; and he prevailed with them so far, that they resolved to represent to the princess of Denmark, that they could never serve her effectually in Scotland, unless she concurred with them

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them in yielding these three points. If these noblemen persist in their resolution, and if the princess consents to what they shall demand of her, it is not doubted but she may be prevailed upon, in time, to make some treaty in favour of the King her brother. If she does not consent, but, on the contrary, persists in the design of carrying these three points in the ensuing parliament, then there is room to believe, that she will meet with so much opposition, and the divisions and animosities will be so great, that it will not be difficult to engage the parties, which they call the country party, to make some declaration, or undertake some enterprize, in favour of his Britannic Majesty.

But before they come to the last resolution of this kind, the earl of Arran demands to be made acquainted with the friends his Britannic Majesty has in England, upon whom he can depend, in order that he may concert with them, and that they may condescend together, upon the succours that will be necessary for them.

He has given me in charge to tell, that the parliament of Scotland will meet again in the month of April next, or in the month of May at farthest; and that, if the princess of Denmark designs, as it is believed she does, to engage the Scots in the same measures with England, with regard to the succession, the abjuration, and the union, she will certainly send money to be distributed among the members of parliament. Now, in order to counterbalance this, he desires, that 25,000 l. be sent to him.

The manner in which he proposes to dispose of this money is, to take a share of it to himself to assist him to defray the great expence which he will be obliged to make for maintaining his credit with his party; to distribute another share of it in augmenting and strengthening his party, and in preserving and confirming those who are already of it, according as he shall see necessary for the service of his Majesty; and to employ the rest in purchasing arms. With regard to the manner of placing this money in London, he leaves that to the discretion of his Britannic Majesty, as well as the choice of the person to whom his Majesty may see fit to trust it. But it is his opinion, that the trustee should be rather a man who is unknown, than a man who is known; and, when the money is placed, and the person who is to keep it condescended upon,

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February.

lord Arran desires to have notice of this, and to be made acquainted with his cant name and his address, in order that he may write to him, and he will write only two words to him, with which two words he hath trusted me, and told me that the Queen of England knows them; and, upon showing these, he wishes that person may be authorized to pay the money.

My lord Arran proposes likewise, that, during the meeting of parliament in Scotland, endeavours should be made to have some troops and some ships in readiness on the coast of France, in order to be at hand in case they come to a rupture. I had orders likewise to represent to his Britannic Majesty, that it is the opinion of lord Arran, that all the enterprizes which do not succeed, tend to ruin the affairs of his Majesty, and to destroy his friends; and, for that reason, that nothing should ever be undertaken, but upon good foundation, and after matters were properly concerted, and all the necessary measures taken for procuring success.

And this is not the opinion of my lord Arran alone, but also of all the King's principal friends in Scotland, with whom I have spoken, and whose names I have given to the Queen; the archbishop of —, the bishop of Edinburgh, the lords Panmure, Stormont, Balmerino, and Montrose. They all spoke to me, nearly in the same manner, on this subject; that is to say, that an enterprize, supported by powerful succours from France, and well concerted with the friends of his Britannic Majesty in England, as well as in Scotland, would find the country greatly disposed to second it: but that a precipitate and rash attempt, instead of succeeding, would serve only to ruin every thing.

And it is for this reason, that the earl of Arran insists much, that a correspondence may be settled between his Britannic Majesty's friends in the two kingdoms, in order that they may the better judge what succours will be necessary for them; and he offers to treat of the affairs of the King, his master, with any of his Majesty's friends in England, providing they can be prevailed upon to be the first to speak about them to him: but, until he knows what he may hope from England, he says, that he cannot precisely determine what succours will be necessary; because a greater or a smaller number will be necessary, in proportion to the number and quality of the people in England who will join him."

St.

St. Germain's, 22d February, 1704.

1704.
February.

I have read this translation, and I certify, that it is conform to the original which I have given, written in my hand in English to the Queen of England.

(Signed) JAMES MURRAY.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

He sends copies of letters; one from lord Drummond to his father the Duke of Perth, another from lord Aylesbury to Father Saunders.

March.
Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 15.

Translation.

SIR,

March 6th, 1704.

"LAST night the Queen gave me the two letters which I have the honour to send you now. The first is an original letter from my lord Drummond, addressed to his father the duke of Perth, under the name of Cupignie. I believe that those four words will be sufficient to explain it. Traffick signifies project; factor, my lord Lovat; wine, succours; supercargo, Jo. Murray.

The other is the translation of a letter, written to the confessor of the King my master, by my lord Aylesbury, whose character is too well known to doubt of his sincerity and disinterestedness."

"*Extract of a letter from my lord Aylesbury to Father Saunders, the King's Confessor.*"

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 52.

The Scotch plot.—Lovat is a spy employed by the Duke of Queensberry.

Revd. Father,

Liege, the 25th Feb. 1704.

"I Have had the honour to write to you on the 29th of last month, and likewise on the 13th instant; and, although I have not had the happiness of hearing from you, or from my lord Middleton, I cannot help writing to you again, to assure both you and him of my respects; and, at the same time, to inform you of the intelligence sent to me, concerning the late Scotch plot. I am informed, that Frazer of Beaufort, alias Lovat, has been at St. Germain's; that he has been well received by some persons there; and that he has been afterwards at Versailles, where he says that he has received money, with a promise of receiving more, together with troops, when it is necessary. Now, it is certain,

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March.

certain, that he has been sent by the duke of Queensberry, and that the expence of his journey is defrayed by his Grace, in order to form a pretended conspiracy against the present government of Scotland, and to involve in it the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and lord Tarbat, secretary of state: but his principal design was to ruin the two first of these noblemen, and, above all, the duke of Athol, who is the mortal enemy both of the duke of Queensberry and of Beaufort, because the latter had ravished his sister in the most infamous manner. Those who wish no good to the court of St. Germain, rejoice at this; and they have reason: for nothing does greater prejudice to the service of his Britannic Majesty, than the reception given to such villains, who have neither credit nor power. Believe me, there are none but villains and beggars, and men capable of rapes, who would come with such ill-founded projects; and such men ought to be considered as spies, and be confined in mad-houses if they are fools, and in the Bastile if they have their senses.

I gave the character of this Lovat, long ago, to madam Fox; and I likewise gave notice of several other emissaries of the same character with this man, who formerly deceived the court of St. Germain. But they did not choose to believe me, until it was too late. I acknowledge I am too warm when I speak about Lovat; because I know that nothing can be more prejudicial to the interest of the King our master, than to give him credit; being very certain, that he has been sent to France, by the duke of Queensberry, in order to ruin his enemies in Scotland, and to dress up a plot which might render his Grace agreeable to both kingdoms, and give him a triumph over his enemies."

"The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy."

He sends him further information, and gives the character of Lord Granard.

Translation.

April.
Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 15.

SIR,

14th April, 1704.

"LAST night, the Queen of England received a letter from the duke of Berwick, with a short memorial from an Irish monk, of which I have the honour to send you a translation, by her Majesty's order. As all the information rests upon the credit of my lord Granard, it is

necessary

necessary to tell you, that, since our misfortunes, he has distinguished himself by his fidelity, under the name of lord Forbes, as he was called in his father's life-time; that he has exhibited, on all occasions, a veracity and firmness which cannot be sufficiently commended; and that he has resisted the persecution, not only of the public, but also of his own family, without being staggered by imprisonments or poverty.

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April.

“ Extract of a letter from the Duke of Berwick to the Queen, mentioned in the preceding letter by Middleton.”

Nairne's Papers, D.N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 52.

He communicates the information he received from Father Farrel, and proposes to arrest Lord Lovat.

Translation.

“ Alcantara, April 3d, 1704.

“ **A**N Irish monk, of the name of Farrel, who escaped from prison in England, where he had been confined for eight months, took his passage on board a Dutch vessel to Portugal, where he arrived at the same time with the archduke. From Lisbon he came, with the French ambassador, to Spain, where he waited of me to bring me the inclosed message. I am acquainted with father Farrel. He is a man of good sense, and has been much employed by the King's friends in England.

Your Majesty will see here a new confirmation of Lovat's knavery; and, I believe, it is absolutely necessary, that your Majesty send a French translation of this paper to the marquis de Torcy. The affair is of great consequence, and your Majesty may depend that the King's affairs are ruined, unless Lord Lovat is apprehended.”

“ Father Farrel to the Duke of Berwick.”

Ibid.

A message from Lord Granard, in the name of the Duke of Hamilton.

Translation.

“ **L**ORD Granard charged me, in the name of the duke of Hamilton and of his party, to inform you, that one Frazer, commonly called lord Lovat, has been sent to France, by the duke of Queensberry, to act there as his spy; and that they wish he may be apprehended, if he is still in France: for it is well known, that, before he left London, he called upon a Mr. Clark, who is an apothecary in London, and is a
very

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April.

very honest man, to whom he told that he was lord Lovat, and that he was just arrived from St. Germain, with a commission from the King to the duke of Hamilton; that he was afraid to carry it about him; and that he intreated him, for that reason, to keep it in his house till next day. But, that very night, he sent the constables to Clark's, who searched his house, and found in a silver box, the packet, with a forged commission, signed J. R.; upon which, Clark was sent to the prison of Newgate; and, I am afraid, he is executed by this time.

(Signed) Father LAWRENCE FARREL.

Lord Caryll's
Letters, vol. v.
fol. Scotch
College.
April 22.

Extracts of Letters from Lord Caryll.

"WHEN Armsworth [Marlborough] and Berry meet, I should be very glad to hear from you, if you can find it out, how the entertainment passed between them. But if Armsworth [Marlborough], after all, should decline meeting with him, I should not much wonder at it. If all be true and sincere, which he lately said to our Welsh friend, I should not despair of his joining in trade with us."

April 26.

"YOU tell me that you have lately had fair promises from the merchant Armsworth [Marlborough], who is chiefly concerned in the payment of the old debt [restoration of the family of Stuart], that it will be good without going to law [without a war]. Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough] hath made many promises of that nature, but hath still pretended inability when pressed to make them good. I hope, at this present, he may find himself more able, and no less willing, to perform, at least in some reasonable time, his engagements, and dispose matters so as that Hanmer's [Hannover's] affair may be no obstruction to it."

Nairne's
Papers, vol.
viii. 4to.
No. 17.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

About sending a ship and the pilot Caron to Scotland.

Translation.

SIR,

April 28, 1704.

"I Could not have answered sooner the letter which you did me the honour to write me, concerning the little vessel designed for Scotland; because I have but just now learned the name of the man who must necessarily be employed. He is a native of Scotland, and pilot of

of the King's frigate called the Ludlow, an English prize, now at Dunkirk. He knows the place where he ought to land, which is called the castle of Bownes, the residence of the earl of Errol, in the county of Buchan. It will be sufficient, if this vessel can be ready on the 10th of the next month, with orders to sail as soon as they receive their dispatches, and to return immediately after they arrive at the place of their destination. To keep this scout, it is necessary to give him his orders sealed, with a prohibition to open them till he is at sea, or to carry any one along with him, who does not belong to the ship. The Scotch pilot, of whom I speak, is called Caron, a name which would frighten a scholar; but sailors do not study the belles lettres."

1704.
April.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

The same subject continued.

Translation.

SIR,

May 5th, 1704.

"THE Queen has commanded me to tell you, in answer to monsieur de Ponchartrain's question, that there will be nobody at the place where the little brig must land, because she is not expected; and there would be a danger in her remaining on the coast, for fear of giving alarm: and as the place is distant from Edinburgh, an answer cannot be expected for a long time. Therefore, if the vessel will go back, a month after its return, to Dunkirk, with an order to receive on board a man, if he presents himself, that will be soon enough."

A Memorial on the same subject.

Translation.

St. Germain's, 6th May, 1704.

"THE man called Caron, who is to go over in the brig, will only land and deliver the packet, with which he is charged, in a house which is near the shore, and return immediately on board, without waiting for an answer. Therefore, it is only necessary for the brig to remain a few hours on the coast, to take this man on board again, and bring him back to Dunkirk. But, in order to have an answer to the packet, it will be sufficient to return to the same place in a month thereafter, as my lord Middleton has had the honour to observe, in his letter yesterday to

May.
Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii.
4to. No. 17.

Ibid.

1704.
May.

the marquis de Torcy, to whom he takes the liberty to explain himself again, by this memorial, fearing not to have done so sufficiently by his letter; because, as he always believed that this Caron, who is a pilot, was of the ship's crew, he might imagine it was demanded, not that the ship should stay to take this man again on board, but another man who was to bring an answer to the packet."

Lord Caryll's
Letters,
vol. v. fol.
Scotch Col-
lege.
May 12.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters continued.

"**YOUR** last gives fair hopes that Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough], who is the principal person concerned, hath renewed his promises of payment, [of restoring the Stuarts] in so convincing a manner to you, that you cannot doubt of his performance. I rely much upon your judgment in this matter, and shall always hope the best; though, to tell you truly, I cannot well see how his promises can be much stronger or more binding now, than they were many years ago, when they proved ineffectual, and seemed in a manner forgotten. All I can say is, that I have no other reason to be satisfied of the reality of his intentions, but what you give me in your last letters, wherein you say, that at your first conference with him you was convinced of his upright meaning. If you receive the same satisfaction when you meet with his partner Goulston [Godolphin], it will give a more promising face to this business; for that partner is not so free of his promises as Armsworth [Marlborough] has been, and consequently not to be so much suspected of non-performance. However, no overtures ought to be neglected that are made us, of having our debt fairly satisfied, without the expence and vexation of being tossed about from the law to the chancery, and from thence perhaps to the house of lords. Their transactions with Northly [Scotland], will, perhaps, give us some light into this matter; for if they join in interest with Mr. Hanmer [Hannover], we may conclude their intentions are not right towards us.

I know not whether you have yet received the picture I gave you notice of in my last; the preserving it to that gentlewoman is entirely left to your discretion, upon confidence that you will not put it into her hands, without being fully assured that it will be well received."

The preceding letter is probably an answer to a letter from Berry, of which there is an extract in Nairne's hand.

1704.
May.

"Extract of a Letter from Sieur Berry, the 22d of April, 1704."

Translation.

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. ii.
4to. No. 52.

LORD Churchill, some days before his departure for Holland, sent for me, and made me so many promises, and gave me so many proofs of the rectitude of his intentions to discharge the debt, which he has acknowledged long ago to be due to your family, that I can entertain no doubt of his sincerity. He appears to me to be astonished, that the duke of Berwick was sent to Spain, and employed at such a distance; and he asked me how you could consent to that. I told him, that you had written to me formerly on the subject, and that his being employed in a post so considerable, would assuredly be very advantageous to the common interest: but I perceived, that he believed that he would have been more useful in the place where he was last year. He ordered me likewise to go sometimes, in his absence, to wait of my lord Godolphin, and to communicate to him any important intelligence I might receive concerning you and your family.

Mr. Floyd is very zealous in the affairs of your family. He likewise has waited lately on lord Churchill, and he has entreated me to acquaint you, that his lordship had given him all the promises and assurances which he could either hope or expect from him, of his intentions to pay the debt. In short, I am daily more and more convinced of the probability of the good success of our affairs; and the misunderstanding which reigns here, between the leaders of parties, contributes not a little, in my opinion, to give us room to hope for a favourable issue."

This translation of Berry's letter was intended for the information of monsieur de Torcy, and lord Middleton inclosed it to him, in a letter dated the 17th of this month.

I Send you the translation of a letter from one who is in the confidence of lord Churchill. The imprudence of distrusting or rejecting the offers of this great general would be the same."

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 18.

1704.

May 19.
Lord Caryll's
Letters, vol.
v. fol. Scotch
College.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's Letters continued.

"I AM very much of your opinion, that Whitely's [princess of Denmark] best friends must be convinced of the necessity of his coming to a fair composition with Mr. Manly [the King], notwithstanding the clamour of those persons who, upon private interest of their own, show themselves against it. Nor can we doubt of Mr. Serely [French King], whose credit every day increaseth, but that he will be firm in his friendship to Manly [the King], and have the credit of setting him up in trade. For you remember what he did towards it, upon his father's death, which made such a noise among the adverse party; and you will the more wonder at it, when I tell you what I certainly know, that he made that step against the opinion of his timorous advisers [the French ministry]; and that his son [the dauphin] was the only person amongst them who was zealously for it, and carried the point. Those that consulted him, at that time, were afraid of the lawsuit that might ensue; having to do with quarrelsome neighbours. But a just and generous action carries with it its own security and success, as may be seen in the whole course of this lawsuit, so contrary to what was expected by the adverse party."

Captain John Murray, brother to Sir David Murray of Stanhope, who got instructions to go to Scotland along with Fraser, came back about the latter end of the Spring, and gave the Queen an account of his journey.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii.
4to. No. 18.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Pleased with captain Murray's narrative, and sends a translation of it.

Translation.

May 30, 1704.

"THE Queen could not say any thing to you about the return of John Murray, until her Majesty had seen his narrative; and although her Majesty does not doubt but Mr. Murray has executed his orders in giving it to you, she has commanded me to send you a literal translation of the account she received, in order to show the conformity. I shall have the honour to speak to you on the subject Sunday next. I shall only take the liberty at present, to put you in mind, that there never was any doubt of the disposition of the Scots, and still less of the ardour with which the Queen wishes the restoration of the King, her son."

"The

"The narrative of captain John Murray, mentioned in the preceding letter, and sent to the Marquis de Torcy, the 30th of May, 1704.

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May.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol.

No. 52.

A copy in Nairne's hand.

Arrives in London, Durham, and Edinburgh.—Is favourably received by several Scotch noblemen.—They give him their advice, and are zealous in the cause.—He goes to the Highlands.—Engages noblemen and gentlemen in the cause of his master.—They ask assistance from France, and invite the prince of Wales to come over.

Translation.

"ON my arrival in London, I found there my nephew, Mr. Keith, a gentleman of a family very loyal to the King of England. I established a correspondence with him. My lord Lovat, knowing that I had seen him, desired to see him likewise; and as he was well versed in the affairs of England, I believed that he might have been useful to the interests of his Majesty, both in England and in Scotland. He certainly would have been so, if he had not been betrayed.

As soon as business allowed me, I left London, and came as far as Durham, with lord Lovat, where I left him, and went from thence to Edinburgh. As soon as I arrived there, I sent for my brother-in-law, Graham of Fintrey, and my uncle, James Graham, both of them men distinguished for their loyalty. They soon gave intelligence of this to the marquis of Montrose, to the earl of Errol, and to his son, lord Hay; and as I came to Scotland upon the indemnity, they advised me to give notice of my arrival to the lord Commissioner; and they assured me that that would be of no prejudice to me. I accordingly did what they advised me. All this time I did not speak a word of business; having had orders from the commissioner to keep my room: but, after some days, both he and the chancellor sent me word, that I was at liberty; and then my friends above mentioned advised me to visit them all, one after another.

The earl and the countess of Errol, with their son, lord Hay, being then at Edinburgh, were the first to whom I spoke of the affairs of the King of England. I went, after that, to see lord Drummond, at his country-house, Drummond-castle, from whence he came back with me soon to Edinburgh, to serve his Majesty, after I had enjoined my two eldest brothers, in the country, by the advice of lord Drummond, to in-

form

1704.
May.

form themselves of the state of affairs in that quarter, in such a way as not to make a discovery to any body.

Speaking at Edinburgh with the King's friends about his Majesty's affairs, in a more serious manner than I had done before, I found that these affairs had not been mentioned among them for a long time before, and that it was to them an agreeable surprize to see some hopes that they were to be revived by my negociation.

It was then judged necessary to communicate the business to the duke of Hamilton, who entered into it very heartily: but, as the project was new, and other business came in the way, the duke of Hamilton, principally, and the duke of Gordon, the earl of Errol, lord Drummond, and lord Hay were of opinion to put it off until they saw what turn affairs would take in parliament, in order to act accordingly afterwards with the King's friends in England: but when the sittings of parliament were finished, his Majesty's friends dispersed in such a manner, that it was impossible for me to speak to as many of them as I proposed. Yet, as the business was not to be delayed, it was judged proper, that lord Drummond and lord Hay should speak to the rest; and all those who were spoke to were overjoyed at the project, viz. the dukes of Hamilton and Gordon, the marquises of Montrose and Drummond, the earls of Errol, Marishal, Moray, Hume, Strathmore, Panmure, Bredalbin, and Aberdeen; the countess of Seaforth, who answers for the vassals and dependants of her son in his absence; the viscounts Stormont and Kenmure; the lords Salton and Sinclair; Sir Donald Mac Donald, the captain of Clan Ronald, Lochiel, Glengary, Appin, Keppoch, and Bethadie for the Mac Gregors.

Some time after I had left lord Lovat at Durham, he thought proper to acquaint the earl of Argyle, that he was on the borders, and to ask him his protection in the country, under pretence of making his peace with the government. The earl of Argyle having granted him this, he went to the country of Argyle, and, soon thereafter, sent for me thither, to introduce me, according to my orders, to the Highland Chieftains. I repaired thither instantly; but did not meet him, because he had been obliged to withdraw himself from that country, where he began to be suspected: yet my journey to that country was not useless; for I spoke, there, to Lochiel, Appin, and Bethadie. About this time, the parliament

ment had just finished its fittings; and, a few days thereafter, lord Lovat came to Edinburgh, where lord Drummond and he had an interview; and it was then that lord Lovat saw the duke of Queensberry and the earl of Leven. He gave notice of this to lord Drummond and to me, and showed us the necessity under which he was to act in that manner.

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May.

At this time, all the noblemen and gentlemen returned to their country-seats; and, it being impossible for lord Lovat to remain any longer in the country, because there was an order to prosecute him, with fire and sword, he was advised to return to France. But before he left Scotland, he was at Drummond-castle, where we met some Highland chieftains, who engaged themselves to have one of their number ready at the time I should return to France, to come along with me, in order to declare how well disposed they were for the service of their King. But the great noise which the plot made soon thereafter prevented that. It was at Drummond-castle that lord Lovat got the letters, which he carried to this country from lord Drummond, from Appin, and from me. Soon after this, I went to the North of Scotland with the lord Drummond, to see such of the King of England's friends, in that country, as I had not yet seen; and, just when I was ready to set out with my dispatches, I was retarded by the news of the discovery of the plot. His Britannick Majesty's friends wished very much, that a few troops had been sent to Scotland, at that time, which would have made all the country rise, so many of the Highland chieftains having been summoned before the council. It was then the month of September; and, since that time, I have been always waiting for a safe opportunity of returning to France: yet, before I left Scotland, I had fresh assurances from all the King's friends of their firmness in his Majesty's interest, as the letters which I have brought do testify.

To speak now of the terms, which the King's friends in Scotland demand, for taking arms: the general opinion is, that it is necessary to have 5000 men from France, with good officers to command them, provisions for as long a time as shall be found necessary, arms for 20,000 men, and money to buy saddles, bridles, and other necessary accoutrements for mounting a proportionable number of dragoons, which will be chosen out of the 20,000 men.

If I am asked how those 20,000 men can be raised, I answer, that there is no body, who knows the country, but will allow, that the duke
of

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June.

of Gordon, the earl of Errol, and the earl Marishal, can raise all the North; that the marquises of Montrose and Drummond, the earls of Strathmore, Panmure, and Bredalbin, and the viscount Stormont, the greatest part of the South; and the Highland chieftains, above mentioned, the Highlands; insomuch, that one may venture to assure, that, moderately speaking, the number required will be found in these three divisions.

With regard to knowing, whether the King of England should go over himself to Scotland, in the beginning or not, opinions are divided in this respect. Some say, that his presence is necessary; others that it is not proper to expose him in the first confusion; but all agree and say, that his Majesty's presence will have the same effect as an addition of 10,000 men to his army. But they leave this, and every thing else that concerns this project, to be determined here."

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 18.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

He sends the letters, which the Queen had received by Captain John Murray from Scotland, and which he had forgot to leave in the morning.

Translation.

June 1st, 1704.

"I Have the honour to send you a letter, which I unluckily forgot to give you to-day. It was delivered by Mr. John Murray to the Queen, from my lord Marischal, who is a man of honour, and of one of the first families in Scotland, and son-in-law to the duke of Perth. Her Majesty has received only another letter, from the countess of Errol, sister to the duke of Perth; and a short billet from her husband, which contains nothing."

Nairne's
Papers, D. N.
vol. ii. fol.
No. 52.

"Translation of a letter which John Murray brought from Scotland, written to the Queen of England by Lord Marischal, and dated the 8th of March, O. S. 1704."

In Nairne's hand. It was sent inclosed in the preceding from Middleton to the marquis de Torcy.

MADAM,

"I Am very happy to find an opportunity of assuring the King and your Majesty of my inviolable services. The bearer will give you an exact account of the state of this country. Our rumours of plots have

have detained him longer here than he imagined; and he is, even now, forced to take a round about way to return. He has been very zealous in the service of your Majesty, and he would have carried with him many more proofs from the King's best subjects of their being disposed to risk every thing for his service, but he dared not show himself. But I can assure your Majesty, that the King's friends augment in number daily, and desire, with impatience, to have an opportunity to give proofs of their loyalty. We are ill armed, and in the country where they are best armed, I fear they are not the men who are most to be depended upon, although there are very good men among them. The Highlanders are well enough armed for their manner of fighting; but, unless we have regular troops, it will be difficult to keep them long together. Your Majesty cannot better determine the proper time for sending troops, money, and arms; but if I should venture to give my opinion on the subject, which I do with all submission, the proper time for sending them is, when the minds of men are inflamed, and the nation is in a kind of fermentation, which will increase still more when we are assembled in parliament. But whatever time that may be, all opportunities of serving your Majesty will be always embraced with pleasure by

Your Majesty's most humble servant,

MARISCHAL.

The ministers of the court of St. Germain, encouraged by the intelligence they received from their adherents in Britain, began to think again of an invasion; and, in a memorial, presented on the twenty-second of June, this year, to Mons. de Torcy, and Mons. de Chamillart, of which a copy likewise was sent to the Pope's Nuncio, they endeavoured to show, that it was the interest of France to establish the son of the late King James on the throne of Great Britain. All Europe, they observe, having measured their strength with France, found that their efforts would be ineffectual, without the support of England: that this was the reason of the resolution taken, in consequence of the league of Augsbourg, to attack the late King of England, as the firm and faithful friend of his most Christian Majesty: that France would be invincible, in conjunction with a nation so powerful and bold, which now comprehended the Rhine and the Mediterranean within the sphere of

Nairne's
Papers,
D. N. vol. ii.
fol. No. 12.
And vol. viii.
4to. No. 19.

1704.
June.

1704. its operations; but that this union could never take place, without the re-establishment of the King of England; that the family of Hannover, which was powerful of itself, and attached to that of Austria, would, if once in possession of England, form, in conjunction with Holland and the empire, a perpetual league against France. To obviate an objection, which, it seems, had been frequently made, that the King of England, when re-established, might, through ingratitude or necessity, break his engagements with France, and forget his obligations to its sovereign, they observe, that a Catholic King in Britain must be always dependent on France. They prove this, by several reasons, which they frequently repeated to the French ministry: and as the facility of establishing him on the throne of his ancestors, was more universally allowed, than the facility of the means, they endeavour to show, that the invasion and reduction of Britain was a thing very practicable. The late Mons. Bart frequently declared, that he would engage, whenever the King would choose to employ him, to carry over twenty thousand men, and that this was more practicable now than ever.

“The loyalty of the greatest part of the Scots,” say they, “is too well known to require proofs; therefore, five thousand men would be sufficient to engage all that country to take up arms, as appears from the report of Mr. John Murray. But twenty thousand men would be employed more usefully in England, because the passage to that country is shorter, and the blow would be more speedy and decisive: for the possession of that country would soon draw the two other kingdoms after it. All the opposition to be met with in England would be some guards and a few new-raised troops dispersed in weak forts, in the distant parts of the kingdom; with a weak princess, a very timid minister, and a very mercenary general, whose heads might probably turn giddy, in such a critical conjuncture as that would be; and who might then think of performing promises they had so often repeated, in order to deserve their pardon and other advantages.”

They show, finally, that the most proper season for a descent would be the month of March, before the fleet of the enemy could be equipped: that a descent would prevent its being fitted out: that the funds of the preceding year would be exhausted and the treasury empty; and that no one would be foolish enough to lend money then upon an uncertainty.

They

They observe, that there is nothing to hinder troops, after they landed, from marching straight to London; and that the possession of that city would secure the possession of the rest of the kingdom.

1704.
July.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.

"Concerning Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough], we need say no more, than what we have both already said; but respite our judgment concerning them, till we see further proceedings of him and his. I think some prognostic may be made of what we can expect, by the countenance and expressions of Mr. Goulston [Godolphin], when you next meet him. If they are any thing of a piece with what Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough] hath said to you, we may hope well of him; but if you find him in his noted sourness and dryness, we may conclude the words of his partner are but words.

Lord Caryll's Letters,
vol. v. fol.
Scotch College.
July 1.

After writing what is above, I have received yours of a former date, which mentions the discourse past between you and Mr. Trevers [Tunstal], about Matthews' [the King's] concerns. I am glad that gentleman is, at last, inclined to believe, that the true interests of Wheatly [England, and sometimes the princess Anne] and of Mathews [the King] are the same; and that one cannot subsist well, without the other. I take Mr. Trevers [Tunstal] to be as knowing and able a merchant as any that comes upon the exchange, and perhaps a degree honestier than some we have to deal with; and his opinion is of great weight and advantage, especially if he and his partner, who are considerable, shall act conformably to it. Wherefore you will do well, not to omit any opportunity of improving these good thoughts in him, so as to make him act in conjunction with his friend Mr. Kenfy [the Tories] towards bringing about Wheatly [princess Anne] and Mathews [the King] trading together in the common stock; than which nothing could be more advantageous to every person concerned in the trade."

1704.
July.
Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. ii. 4to.
No. 53.

Mr. Hall's letter about the Scots and others, who were for or against the Hanoverian succession; together with English and Scottish affairs.—It is dated at the top, 8 July, O. S.; and at the end, Mr. Hall's letter, 8 August, 1704. It was probably then received.*

SIR,

"I Wrote to you, upon the 22d last, my own opinion and Mr. Short's [Gideon] of the gentleman Mr. Spence [Frazer] against whom I always wrote, though he pretends to you to have made me his confident. I told you likewise, that the aunt [lady Errol] looks on him as a villain, though the nephew esteems him yet an honest man. G. Milton [Gideon] is still in this country, but afraid of coming hither for fear of his creditors. He has written to Capel [Mr. Hall] to meet him at Kirkaldie. The gentlemen of this country are daily breaking. The lairds of Belnamoon and Boyne are both broke, and each of them reckoned above 100,000 merks worse than nothing; so take notice to whom you advance any money. There came lately a fleet, not from your town, Amsterdam, but from Rotterdam, in which our government got notice there were suspected persons, and so seized upon them as soon as they landed; to wit, Sir G. Maxwell of Orcharton, who, the Gazette, six months ago, said was become a jesuit, and one captain Livingston, who was lately banished out of England, and Gordon, a factor at Paris, or I do not know where. The first two are yet in close prison; the last was immediately set at liberty upon bail, which makes some think he has made discoveries.

Your niece Mary is one of the notablest hussies in this country. She deserves a compliment and advice sometimes from Sir James [the Queen]. Our parliament sat down on Thursday last; but was immediately adjourned till Tuesday next, without the reading of the Queen's letter, or the commissioner or chancellor making their speeches, which seemed new and surprising to all. 'Tis thought the reason of all this is, because the letter and speeches used to contain the commissioners instructions and reasons of the meeting, which is to be kept private till it be proposed, at least during this adjournment of six days, when the country-party would have been contriving their arguments against it.

The most part of our nobility are for Hannover, especially the new come in courtiers, as Tweedale, commissioner, converted by his son Yes-

* Hall was a priest, and an intimate friend of the duke of Hamilton.

ter, Rothes, Roxburgh, Haddington, and Jerviswood, converted by secretary Johnston, now lord register, the most violent Hannoverian of any Scotchman. He is sent hither ambassador for that effect, not from Hannover, but from the English Hannoverians. Were it not for Hamilton, it would certainly carry; but he works wonders against it. His two brothers are against him, for which their mother is highly displeased, and favours her eldest son's designs. He counts upon thirty of the nobility for him, besides some boroughs and the most part of the barons. Montrose sticks closest to him. Athol is violent against Hannover, though it is suggested to him, he ought, at the same time, oppose the prince of Wales, because of his kindness to Beaufort. His brother, my lord Nairn, is coming in, that he may vote against Hannover; and Sinclair, Oxford, the master, now lord Balmerino, with others ready to come in, if there be need for them. 'Tis reported, that because Johnston threatened to bring in Glenco's murder, to hinder this, the Dalrymples are to join with D. Hamilton, in opposition of Hannover, upon his promising to hinder the plot from being examined. Leven will join with him against Hannover. I hear likewise, that Salton, in odium of Johnston, will oppose Hannover. It is thought, that Seafield, having wrote to court, that he believes Hannover will not carry, will not be too violent for him; but of him and Tarbat it's hard to make a judgment. We have accounts of the duke of Bavaria's leaving the French interest, and of the loss the French and Spaniards have had of late every where; but some look upon this as forged news, to cause our parliament to enter into the English measures. We have had ringing of bells and firing of cannon this afternoon, for a great victory the Emperor has got in Germany over the French. We are astonished to hear that Mrs. Jackiline [James Murray] is less noticed than John Milton [John Murray]. All here, especially Lady Mary, think her very far beyond him, and that more credit ought to be given to her than to him. Queensberry is indisposed, so cannot come down to this parliament; yet it is believed, he is as much in the Queen's favour as ever, and will be restored to all his places before it is long."

1704.
July.

1704.
August.
Nairne's Pa-
pers, vol. viii.
4to. No. 21.

The Earl of Middleton to Lord Ailesbury.

Answers a letter the Queen had received.—Anecdotes of the times.

August 12th, 1704.

“**M**RS. St. Johns [the Queen] commands me to tell you, Sir, that it is but four days ago since she could read yours of the 18th of June, for which she thanks you. The matter is very important of its own nature, and your recommending it adds great weight to it: but the misfortune of the times is such, that one cannot, in prudence, write so plainly, nor give sufficient light for transacting such an affair: for Mr. Truman [King of France] and Mr. Pomfret [M. de Torcy] will expect to be informed of every minute particular, with reasons for what is proposed, and on what authority it is grounded. For though Mr. Atkins [Ailesbury] is well known and esteemed by them, yet they will certainly insist on knowing his knibb informer [the state]; for, from the character of the man, they will judge of the matter. It will be difficult to persuade them, that the state can be brought to think it his interest to prefer Mr. Harling [the King] to Mr. Davis [Hannover]. They will hardly believe, that Mr. Mansfield [princess Anne] and her attorney [chief minister] and solicitors [other ministers] have any good intentions, whilst they recommend so heartily Mr. Davis [Hannover] to Mr. North [Scotch parliament], and have employed this new set, on that condition; and, though they desire nothing more than to destroy the hearing, yet they will expect it should be well explained by what means it can be performed. 'Tis most certain, no body could so well negotiate this affair as Mr. Allen [Ailesbury]; but since that cannot be reasonably expected, it were to be wished, that he could send some person well qualified to be sent hither well instructed by him for that purpose.

French letters speak of one Fraser's being seized at Bourge, and sent prisoner to the castle of Angouleme.

If you have not seen the London Gazette of the 20th of July, endeavour to procure it.”

Extracts from Lord Caryll's Letters continued.

Lord Caryll's
Letters, vol.
v. fol. Scotch
College.
August 19.

“**I** Do not at all wonder, that you have had no opportunity of speaking to Mr. Goulston [Godolphin]; for I do not think that merchant

chant is anywise ready to clear accounts with you. It is better that he should call upon you, than you upon him."

1704.
August.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

A ship to be sent to Scotland.--The King of France had made proposals to the Scots.

Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 21.

Translation.

SIR,

August 25th.

"THE Queen, having read your letter concerning the vessel designed for Scotland, has ordered me to tell you, that she has not changed her mind in that respect; providing, at least, the King does not believe, that it will be better to delay the proposal, which he has made to the Scots, till another time; and, in that case, this visit will be very useless: but, if his Majesty approves of sending her immediately, the dispatches will be made ready as soon as you have acquainted the Queen of the King's intentions. This great delay has happened, in order to acquaint them of what concerns lord Lovat, which is considered in Scotland as an important point."

Extracts from Lord Carryll's Letters, continued.

"I Find that you have had no encouragement from Mr. Goulston [Godolphin] to meet with him about our affairs, notwithstanding what was said of it, by Armsworth [Marlborough], when you last parted with him; so that I think we may take it for granted, that all those merchants are not at all disposed at present to bring matters to an accommodation upon our account."

Lord Caryll's
Letters,
vol. v. fol.
Scotch Col-
lege.
September 5.

"Pray make good use of the picture you have received; let it not go a begging, nor be offered nor seen, but where it is welcome. According to the countenance which is given at present to yourself by Mr. Goulston [Godolphin], you may partly judge how the picture will be countenanced by him. The match that is treating between Hanmer [Hannover] and young Armsworth [Marlborough's daughter] is no news to our friends here; it is in every one's mouth. But whether it be only solicited by Mr. Wanley [the Whigs] and his family, and not by persons of more influence and interest is matter of doubt."

Nov. 9.

1704.
November.
Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 21.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Concerning the pilot Caron and Lord Lovat.

Translation.

November 10, 1704.

SIR,

"I Think it improper to delay longer to acquaint you, that Caron, the Dunkirk pilot, is come back from his voyage to Scotland, where he has, with great fidelity, delivered his dispatches, and brought back a letter from the person who received them, with assurances that the letters would be delivered carefully, according to their addressees: that it was not possible to fix then a time for his return; but that notice should be sent of this by post. They endeavoured to excuse Mr. John Murray, for having been duped by lord Lovat."

Lord Caryll's
Letters,
vol. v. fol.
Scotch Col-
lege.
Nov. 17.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.

"I Don't know what to make of the mysterious proceedings of those two merchants, Armsworth [Marlborough] and Goulston [Godolphin]. It would be some ease to me, if I could flatter myself into a belief, that they mean honestly in behalf of their old client Wisely [the King]; but all outward actions and appearances look quite another way. However, I shall be glad to know what Armsworth [Marlborough] says to you on this subject, when he comes out of the country [Holland] where they say he has lately made a very great purchase. I am told it as news writ from your parts, that he will give his daughter a very great portion, and marry her to young Hanmer [Hannover]. I am likewise told, that some of your neighbours, of Mr. Kenfy's relations [the Tories], are minded to cross this latter if they can, by offering a match for his daughter with young Pleffington [the King], which they do, not by commission, but only to try how it will take, and they pretend to make their essay by the way of Mrs. Young [princess Anne], to whom they say they have access. For my own part, I think the project to be very airy. However, there is no hurt in their making the experiment; and use may be made of it, according as it succeeds."

HANNOVER

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1704.

THE first letter in the Hannover correspondence of this year regards the Scottish plot, which has been mentioned so often in the Stuart Papers of the same period. Queen Anne, in her letter to the parliament of Scotland, which met at Edinburgh on the sixth of July, recommended to them the settling the succession in the protestant line. A strange distinction made use of by the earl of Cromarty, one of her ministers, about her Majesty's *revealed will*, raised, with other circumstances, a suspicion that her *secret will* was very different. A resolve for a treaty with England, in relation to commerce and other concerns, and for such limitations and conditions of government, as might secure the religion, liberty, and independency of the nation, prior to the nomination of a successor, was carried in parliament by a majority of fifty-five voices; of whom thirty were the servants of the court, and supposed to act according to the orders which they had received. The Queen was obliged, before she could obtain any supply, to give the royal assent to the act of security; by which it was provided, that, in case her Majesty should die without issue, the parliament, if not then sitting, should meet and declare a successor to the crown, who should not be the SAME PERSON that was possessed of the crown of England, unless, before that time, there was a settlement made in parliament of the rights and liberties of the nation, independent of English counsels.

1704.

1704.
Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Miscel.
d'Etat. 2.
No. 134.

Sir Rowland Gwynne to Robethon.

Robethon was at this time with the duke of Zell. Sir Rowland writes to him about the Scotch plot.

February 13, 1704.

—“ I AM told also, that the Queen is sensible that the violent high church-men in the house of commons are not so much her friends as they pretend to be; since they were so violent for the bill against occasional conformity, and so ready to prevent a thorough examination into the Scotch plot, that there is great expectation of a dissolution of the parliament after the session is over, and that she will change hands; but you know all this will depend upon the advice of those in power.

However, I humbly tell you my opinion, that there can be no security to her Majesty's person, without inquiring into the bottom of this plot. She must do this, or follow the precedent of King Stephen, who agreed that Henry the Second should succeed, to quiet conspiracies and wars; and this would be too dangerous an example to be trusted to the power of France.

If the plot is prosecuted, it will inevitably follow, that the successors must be invited over, and new measures taken; but if it is stifled, we must, on this side, think of ourselves. So that, either way, we shall see what is to be depended upon. This is only to yourself, from, &c.

R. G.

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes,
No. 176.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

He gives his opinion and advice about the operations of the ensuing campaign.

Translation.

My Lord,

May 21, 1704.

“ I AM very much obliged to you, for the letter you wrote to me on the 5th instant, and for your having been pleased to communicate to me your thoughts on the operations of the campaign in the empire. They appear to me very solid, and perfectly suitable to the good of the common cause. I doubt not but, with the divine assistance, we may flatter ourselves with a glorious success; such a salutary plan formed and conducted by a general, whose good intentions and knowledge are so well known. The interview which you propose with the Margrave of Baden, and the countenance which the enemy will show, when you approach them, must

must enable you to judge what you ought to do, and to determine to take measures as just as the importance of the business requires.

1704.

I imagine, my lord, that the cities you specify may furnish nearly the heavy artillery necessary for a siege. It would be proper to concert this with the Elector of Mentz, who, being one of the directors of the circle of Franconia, may contribute greatly, by his influence, to enable you to provide yourself. But lest you should be disappointed, it would be proper not to depend upon finding, in that country, the horses and carriages necessary to transport this artillery from place to place. It would be surer, therefore, to furnish yourself with them before-hand. It is still more certain, that you will find neither powder nor ball in that country; and the indispensable occasion which you will have for them, should induce you to give, in time, positive orders for transporting a sufficient quantity of them, it being otherwise impossible that you can execute any thing considerable against an enemy who can, very easily, avoid a battle, and reduce you to a necessity of forming a siege, or of passing all the season of the campaign uselessly. I am not without some hopes that the Margrave of Baden, by reinforcing the army of general Thungen, by detachments from the army, which is in the lines of Beihl, may hinder the junction of the reinforcement which France designs for the Elector of Bavaria, and that upon your arrival, the situation of affairs may be still the same. But you will, no doubt, judge it very necessary to hasten your march, with all possible dispatch, lest you should give time to the enemy to make any progress before you are at hand to prevent them. Prince Eugene, who will come to command the army of Franconia, will, on his side, do every thing that is possible for him, in order to act in concert with you, and to second your operations effectually.

I have sent to that prince, and to the Margrave of Baden, the inclosed memorial, which an emissary of France, taken in this country, was employed to carry to the marshal de Marfin. This piece will shew you the designs of the enemy against the empire, and the places where they proposed to act offensively, while they keep upon the defensive in others. You are too penetrating not to see the use which may be made of this intelligence, and the necessity of keeping it a secret.

I wish, my lord, the happy success of this campaign may advance the glory which the preceding has procured you: in this I interest myself very particularly.

1704.

particularly. I shall always have a very sensible pleasure in showing you the singular regard I have for you, and in convincing you that I am, my Lord, &c."

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked Mif-
cell. d'Etat.
2. No. 134.

Sir Rowland Gwynne to Robethon.

The state of Parties in Britain.

SIR,

Hannover, June 18, 1704.

—“MY friends in England tell me, that no changes are to be expected at court in favour of the Whigs*, or protestant succession, and that the parliament will not be dissolved; and that, though they pretend to espouse a moderate party, yet the persons put into places have been violent enemies, though of no weight. The Queen may be told, that she will divide, or rather bias, the party by it; but I believe she and her ministry will be deceived in that point; and that she will find great difficulties, next winter, in parliament.

“I had forgot Scotland, and it would be better for England, if it were under the sea, the inhabitants being saved; we should better manage them out of their country than in it; but I must tell you, that as we shall in a little time see what they will do, in relation to the protestant succession, so I expect no favour from them; for I suspect the sincerity of the ministry of England; and if the settlement of the protestant succession is not proposed to be established, in the first place, nothing will be done this session towards it. If so, we must be content, and have patience, which will heal all; for I am sure that there is a steady and true affection in England for this family, and that our friends have a courage that will, at length, overcome all difficulty.”

Original.
Ibid.

The same to the same.

The same subject continued.

SIR,

Hannover, June 25, 1704.

“I Wrote to you last week, in answer to the last I had from you, and we have yesterday two posts from England, one more being due.

* Yet the Tories complained, that Godolphin trimmed with the Whigs, by taking Robert Harley and others into office. Godolphin had the misfortune to lose the first party, without gaining the second. Both parties were forming separately an opposition to Marlborough and Godolphin.

I have

I have no opinion that the affairs in Scotland will go well. My lord Queensberry is put out from being secretary, and the Queen will not declare herself to justify my lord Leven, or any of that party. All is put into the hands of those who were ever the most bitter enemies to the late King and the succession. If they will settle the succession, it is more than can be reasonably expected; but if it is not proposed and settled, in the first place, I am sure that nothing will be done in it at present, and know what opinion I ought to have of the measures in England; perhaps our ministers will be satisfied with a little money, without settling the succession; but if they are of that opinion, they may live to think they are in the wrong. However, there is no affection wanting in England towards this house. I see some thence, and hear from many; and am confident that the next parliament there will do all that can be wished or desired by us, though, at the same time, I do not think that there will be a new parliament called this summer.

If there were any sincere intentions towards settling the succession of Scotland, I should think that there would have been some notice of it given here, and of the means that will be used towards it; and also of the reasons for employing the men that were always against it; but I do not hear of any thing of that nature. The conduct of this affair will infallibly let us see on what ground we stand, what is to be expected, and open the eyes of all our friends in England. I believe, Mr. Johnston is most likely to succeed my lord Queensberry in the office of secretary.

But let these matters go how they will, our friends in England are steady, and I fear the Queen is not in good health; if I am well informed, and I think I am, it is no small confirmation that the power of our friends in England is much superior to that of our enemies, and the duke of Buckingham does still use all the means he can to be well with her royal Highness the Electress*. I have lately seen a letter he writ to her Royal Highness (finding that Mr. D'Avenant's applications would not do) wherein he offers all the service in the world; but it was answered coldly, though civilly.

I am sure that he would not be so very earnest in this matter, if he did not see very good reason for it."

* He was invariably in the interest, and often in the correspondence, of the exiled family.

1704.
Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers,
marked
Princes,
No. 177.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An answer to a letter he received after the battle of Blenheim.

Translation.

My Lord,

September 3, 1704.

" I Understood, with extreme pleasure, by the letter which you wrote to me the 18th of August, that you was satisfied with the conduct of my generals, and the share which my troops have had in the success of that great day, which has so advantageously changed the face of affairs. You may assure yourself, my lord, that no man interests himself more sincerely than I do, in the glory which you have acquired thereby.

I approve of abandoning the siege of Ingoldstadt, in order to form that of Ulm. I think that all your motions, and all your designs, during this campaign, have been conducted with a prudence which cannot fail to gain you a general approbation. This is a justice which all the allies owe you, but which no one can ever do you with more pleasure than I do, and no one can ever be more than I am, &c.

The following letter is without a date, but was probably written in the course of this or the preceding year, while Mr. Cresset was at the court of Brunswick.

Original.

The Princess Sophia to Queen Anne.

Translation.

Madam,

" THE desire which I have to preserve the honour of your Majesty's favour, encourages me to presume to write to you in another language than Latin, which appears to have more of ceremony than of that sincerity of heart which attaches me, without reserve, to your Majesty's sacred person. I hope, however, Mr. Cresset, who is so well recovered of his dangerous sickness, will inform your Majesty how much I desire to merit, by my obedience, the goodness of which he gave me assurances from your Majesty; and as I see that your Majesty is very constant towards those whom you honour with your kindness, I believe myself assured of it, all my life-time, of which I would choose to employ the short space during which I can continue in the course of nature, to shew with what zeal I am, &c.

6

SOPHIA, ELECTRESS."

STUART

STUART PAPERS.

1705.

THE contests between the Whigs and Tories, which had subsisted in the last season, rose to an extraordinary height in the beginning of the present year. The strife of parties being principally for office and the possession of power, those principles which they held forth to the public were forgot in the private concerns of their leaders. The Tories, in particular, from whom the court of St. Germans derived their chief hopes, were more intent upon annoying the Whigs, than on forwarding the views of the pretended prince of Wales. This circumstance renders the correspondence of the present year uninteresting. Yet it appears, from the following extracts from lord Caryll's letters, that, when Marlborough and Godolphin were accused by the Tories of having adopted the principles of the Whigs, they still continued their secret professions of attachment to the exiled family.

1705.
January.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.

“ I Cannot but take notice of what you say, that notwithstanding former disappointments, you was in hopes of having a meeting with Mr. Goulston [Godolphin], and of receiving from him some comfortable assurances concerning the old arrears*. If he answers your expectations, it will be very welcome news to your partners; if he doth not, it will be no surprize to me, considering all that hath past.

You will perhaps wonder when I tell you that your friend Armsworth [Marlborough] invited himself to sup in private with Mrs. Trimings [duchess of Marlborough's sister †], the very night that he came away. This is

Lord Caryll's
Letters, vol.
v. fol.
Scotch Col-
lege.
January 4.

* Probably they had some hopes of obtaining the Queen's jointure from Godolphin.

† The dutchess of Tyrconnel, who was at this time in London.

the

1705.
April.

the more to be wondered at, because they had not seen one another in God knows how many years before. The gentlewoman herself tells me, that their conversation, especially on his part, was all in general terms; and that, when she descended to some particulars, his answer was, that he would do what honour and justice obliged him to do, without particularizing any thing.

The adherents of the excluded family, always ready to grasp at every incident, that seemed to favour their own views, had their eyes fixed for several years past upon Scotland; where a jealousy of England, which assumed the name of spirit, had raised extraordinary heats in parliament. They might, however, have been convinced, that, when the duke of Hamilton insinuated to them, that money was necessary to confirm the fidelity of those who pretended to be attached to their cause, that the continuance of the ferment, upon which they had built their hopes, depended entirely upon those who managed the treasury of England. The lord Godolphin, terrified by the Whigs, made use of the weight of his office to influence the affairs of Scotland; and, before the end of the session, he managed his power with so much success, that an end was put, at once, to the noise of the country-party, and to the designs of the cavaliers. Several of the latter, who probably foresaw, that they could derive no hopes of accomplishing their views by an opposition in parliament, transmitted the following intelligence to St. Germain, with a design to induce France to undertake an invasion.

Nairne's
Papers,
vol. viii. 4to.
No. 28.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Sends him translations of letters of intelligence from Britain.

Translation.

SIR,

April 17, 1705.

"I Have the honour to send you the translation of a letter from Scotland, and of another from London, to which I refer myself simply, having never been disposed to embellish originals; but if you judge that there is any answer to be made, the Queen will be very well pleased to have your sentiments on the subject."

A letter

A letter which the pilot Caron brought from Scotland. It is probably the letter mentioned by Middleton in the preceding.

1705.
Nairne's
Papers, D.N.
vol ii. 4to.
No. 54.

The French copy is in Nairne's hand.

Translation.

It is dated 23 March, O. S. 1705.

“WE have a great difficulty here to concert our measures together; for it would be much easier for us to find many to be sent to you, than to reduce them to two or three. But I doubt not but all those who shall be sent, will agree in general to the following articles; namely, that it is necessary to send hither a sufficient force, and to send it in the way which will suit you best; and as it does not appear to be very practicable to transport a sufficient number of troops, as far as Scotland, it is thought that it will be more convenient to land them in some port in England, which may be condescended upon as the most convenient and nearer to you.

The computation which is commonly made of the number of troops that must be sent to render the enterprise successful, is about 10 or 12,000 men, which must be sent at the same time, in case they are sent to Scotland; but, if it is judged more proper to land them in England, in that case, besides this number, it will be necessary to send 3000 men more to this country, for protecting the King's friends, who will declare for him here, and for putting them in a condition of sending succours to the troops which shall have landed in England.

Arms are demanded for 20,000 men; but, if money enough is sent in time, to enable the people of the country to arm themselves, a smaller quantity of arms will be sufficient. With regard to terms between the King and his subjects, I do not believe it will be very difficult to settle them. It will be always necessary to send a plausible declaration, in which his Majesty will promise to redress the grievances of his subjects, and to refer himself to a free parliament, for rectifying the abuses and the illegal proceedings of the present government. It will be necessary to promise likewise to send a supply of money sufficient to support an enterprise of this nature; and, in the mean time, it would be of great advantage, if money to buy arms could be sent immediately; for, both in the south of the kingdom and here, they are very desirous of being armed; but

1705.

the misfortunes of the times have impoverished the generality of the people to such a degree, that it is impossible for them to furnish themselves with arms, at their own expence, so speedily as they would wish; and if some small sum could be deposited in the hands of some persons of confidence, who would distribute it honestly and with prudence and discretion, among the King's friends in this country, for managing his Majesty's interest, that sum, employed to that purpose, and managed with discretion, would render more service to the King, in the present conjuncture, and advance his affairs farther, than six times the sum on any other occasion.

This is what is expected from you, and with the blessing of God, and such assistance as is now demanded, there is not the smallest doubt, but the enterprize will succeed. But if you send a smaller number of troops than is mentioned above, it is the general opinion, that that will only serve to ruin all the friends which the King has in this country at present; and to prevent any attempt to be made, for a long time, for the service of his Majesty in any of his kingdoms; for, besides the security and encouragement which a sufficient force will give his friends here, it will induce those who are neuter to join them, and force their enemies to submit. Whereas if the body of troops which is sent, is not sufficient to make the proper exertions, all those who are neuter, and who love their ease, and these are very numerous, will stay at home; and it is certain that his Majesty's enemies will oppose, with all their force, any body of troops which they may hope to vanquish. Therefore, both the King's friends and the foreign troops, which will come in small numbers to their assistance, will come only to be ruined all at once, which God forbid; or to involve themselves in a long and destructive war, the issue of which in all probability will be fatal.

These are the sentiments of people here on this subject. I leave to those who are more interested in the case, to determine what they have to do on this occasion. The absence of lord Arran, whose return we expect every minute, and the expectations from the approaching parliament, are the reasons which have prevented us from sending hitherto the persons expected from us.

The bearer of this is in a hurry to set out; therefore I can say no more to you at present. I shall only add, that it is absolutely necessary
to

to send some money to keep up the correspondence, and to carry on our affairs with more expedition. For those who have hitherto furnished that expence, are not now in a condition to continue it, on account of the bad payment of their farmers and other accidents. A sum of thirty thousand livres, placed in good hands, and managed faithfully, would be of greater utility here to the King's service than you can imagine. In short, without this small supply, it is absolutely impossible to advance our affairs.

1705.

The following extracts explain themselves. It seems that, though the duke of Marlborough and the lord Godolphin had no intentions of taking an active part in favour of the excluded family, they still continued their professions of attachment, and promises of future services. It is difficult to say what could induce them to continue their intercourse with the agents of the court of St. Germans, unless they were from principle attached to its interests.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.

“**W**HAT you say to me concerning what passed in your last meeting with Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough], though it be but a repetition of what I formerly heard to be said by that merchant, yet, at this time, I confess it is very surprising to me: for very few men will lye only for lying's sake, but for some profit or advantage. Now, considering the present flourishing condition of that merchant, and his creditors want means, more than ever, to go to law with him, it would be very strange, if he should make such promises and protestations, without any intention of performing them. On the other side, words are but wind, when they are not followed by deeds; and when they clash, the one by the other, the man must be judged by his actions. It is true, that what he formerly told you in Norley's [Scotch parliament] affair came to pass, that nothing should be done in the favour of Hanmer [Hannover] to our prejudice; but whether that was brought about by any industry of his, or rather not against his will, remains still in the dark. According to all outward appearances, he and his partners did then, as they do now, drive on violently for the interest of Hanmer [Hannover]. So that to explain this riddle, we must see what will be

Lord Caryll's
Letters, vol. v.
fol. Scotch
College.
April 25.

1705. done at Norley's [Scotch parliament] next meeting; which will be a crisis to determine our judgment in this matter."

May 14. " You also further enlarge in yours of —, what passed between you and Armsworth [Marlborough] when you last met, adding that particular of his liking the pound of tea with which you presented him. But I do not like the answer he made, when you doubted whether it would be agreeable to his wife's palate; he said he could see faults at home, but they would be soon over. Now, this is a plain confession of his wife's present not relishing the tea, in which he is to be believed. But, on the other side, I cannot believe that he and his wife have a different palate; and therefore fear that what he unawares confessed of his wife's relishing, is too sure an indication of his own. We shall thank providence if any good comes from him: at the worst, it is good, at least, not to be deceived. The pound of tea which captain Gordon desires for his great friend, will be sent you by the first opportunity."

June 30. " I must also own the receipt of yours of the 3d of May, wherein you relate what passed between you and Mr. Goulston [Godolphin]; which merchant is not so prodigal of his words as his partner Armsworth [Marlborough], and therefore they are somewhat more to be relied upon, and, unless, they both join to deceive, much may be hoped from their agreeing both in the same story."

July 23. " I did believe, that the credit of Mr. Armsworth [Marlborough] would not be kept up so high as formerly, in regard of some disappointments he has lately met with. Yet I am told he has newly had a lucky hit, which may possibly set him up again as high. Be it as it will, there are many who will still think he is more fortunate than honest."

August 23. " It must not be denied, but that Armsworth's [Marlborough's] prediction, made not long since to Berry, concerning Norley's [Scotch parliament] affair, proves true; and there is reason to hope, that what has fallen out is the effect of his good intentions; but that point must be cleared by his subsequent actions.

P. S. I cannot omit telling my apprehensions, that although it was in the power of Armsworth [Marlborough] and his partner Goulston [Godolphin], with the assistance of Goldny, to have carried their cause in the behalf of Hanmer [Hannover] at Norley's [Scotch parliament] trial,

yet

yet I doubt whether the true and only cause of their so not doing, was not in prospect of keeping on foot the trade of their friend Sharp and his dependants, after the lawsuit should happen to be ended between Manly [the King] and Wheatly [England]; for they possibly may have great need of such a friend, at that time, to stand by them, for the support of their own trade and credit."

1705.

"Men's minds must be strangely altered, if Mr. Heyden [Tories] and his friends make it their business to have Mr. Hanmer [Hannover] amongst them, in opposition to Gilburn [Godolphin], Armsworth [Marlborough], and Wanly's [the Whigs] friends. It looks as if all things tended to a confusion amongst them, out of which I pray God send order may follow."

Sept. 10.

"I am in your debt for two of your letters. In the first, you promise me a farther account of Mr. Heyden's [Tories] disposition, in reference to Armsworth [Marlborough], Goulston [Godolphin], and partners, which also, in your last, you have put off to a further time. I hear, from other hands, what you have said in general, that Heyden [Tories], in conjunction with Kenfy and his company, are preparing to commence a suit against those other merchants, for interloping and double dealing with Mr. Norley [the Scots] in Hanmer's [Hannover's] negotiation, alledging that it was in those first merchants' power to have carried the cause in behalf of Hanmer [Hannover], which failed through their wilful neglect, whatever appearance there was to the contrary. I believe this may stick hard upon Goulston [Godolphin] and Armsworth [Marlborough]; for had they, at the trial, produced the evidence of Goldeny* which they might have done, the verdict, in all likelihood, would have gone for our friend Hanmer [Hannover]. But as they brew so let them bake; which is all I have to say in the matter."

Sept. 22.

"I am much of your opinion, that Mr. Heyden [Tories] and Renzy's project of siding with Hanmer [Hannover], comes from a motive of revenge, rather than of interest or inclination; but what it will produce time must shew, as well as how the difference will end between Norley [Scotland] and Wheatly [England]. A certain gentlewoman, whose name I have forgot, but Mr. Gawin, who I believe is in town, can tell it you by

October 19.

* Money, probably.

1705.

this mark; for she came over in company, or about the same time, with Crofton's [Middleton's] former clerk, who was brought into trouble, and was much talked of at the time. Now, this woman says, that some of your cousin Wisely's [Queen's] tenants have made offers to pay in present a year's rent, and also some arrears, and be at the charge of the law, if your cousin Wisely will renew their leases: for, it seems, they have refused to pay their rents to the present occupants, lest they should pay them twice. I suppose Mr. Gawin may be acquainted with this woman; therefore you may desire him to inquire further into this matter. Mr. Rose has formerly hinted something of a like nature, and probably this woman and he may have conferred notes together about it. Therefore, if you think it convenient, you may take some occasion of conversing with him about it. You may be sure the tenants are well satisfied that your cousin Wisely's title is good in law, or else they would not make these offers."

Nov. 7.

"I am informed our old acquaintance Mr. Ar. Blake* intends to leave Norley's house [Scotland], and remove to Wheatly's [England], with intention to make fair weather, if he can, with Young [princess Anne] and his partners, and to discover whether there be any private correspondence between those merchants and Plessington [the King], of which he has formerly had some suspicion, as I think you may remember; and I guess, that if he can find it to be so, he would willingly strike with them, and join stocks with them in that trade. But if he cannot discover that they are so inclined, I believe he will quit that thought, and join with them (if admitted) upon their own terms. He is so cunning a dealer, that I believe they will be afraid of him, and hardly take him into their company. However, this I can assure you, that your kinsman Plessington [the King] has not given him the least indication or ground of surmise, that there is any correspondence or joining of stocks between him and Mr. Young's partners [princess Anne's ministers]."

Nov. 15.

"I am of your opinion, not to move in that other business of your cousin's jointure as yet, though all that is pretended should be true; your reasons for not doing it so soon being very good. And whether it will be worth your while to consult Mr. Goulston [Godolphin] about it

* Probably the duke of Hamilton, who was now supposed, by the Jacobites, to be trimming with the other side.

at present, must be further considered. In the mean time, you will have leisure to find out upon what grounds those tenants of your cousin are asserted to be disposed to return to her."

1705.

"As to what relates to the tenants of the widow's jointure, I am fully of your opinion, for the reasons you mention, that nothing ought to be stirred in it till Easter-time be over, and till we see how another leading cause will be carried. I am of opinion that your friend Mr. Heyden [Tories] has received of late so little encouragement towards the carrying on his great designs, that he will cool in them for the present, and expect a better season."

Nov. 30.

"I find that we differ not in opinion concerning Mr. Blake* and his manner of proceeding; and think it will be necessary that you should intimate to our partners, that he has been more than once curious to know whether or no they are in any intelligence with Mr. Plessington [the King]; and, moreover, to assure them, that Mr. Plessington [the King] has never satisfied his curiosity on that point, nor given the least ground to surmise, that there is any correspondence or joining of stock between him and Mr. Young's partners [princess Anne's ministers]. You may take the time which you shall judge most convenient to represent this matter to those partners, which you will do, I suppose, before Mr. Blake comes to town.

Dec. 7.

* The duke of Hamilton.

HANNOVER

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1705.

1705.

THOUGH the eventual succession of the family of Hannover had been provided for, by the act of settlement, their mounting the throne was still a matter of great uncertainty with the nation. The state of things, however, was changed before the end of the present year; when the Whigs, who had held forth the protestant succession as the main object of their principles, had got possession of the chief power in the kingdom. Before that period, the letters to the court of Hannover were merely official or complimentary, and contained little information with regard to the nation.

To explain the Hannover papers, under the head of this year, it may not be improper to premise a brief account of the events which they concern. Sophia Charlotte, Queen of Prussia, only daughter of Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hannover, and of the princess Sophia, died on the first of February, in the present year. George William, duke of Zell, uncle and father-in-law of George Lewis, the reigning Elector, died also on the eighth of August, in the eighty-first year of his age. George Augustus, the Electoral prince, married, on the second of September, Wilhelmina Caroline, daughter of the marquis of Brandenburg Anspach. The correspondence of the year consists chiefly of answers, sent by the Elector, his mother and his son, to letters either of condolence or congratulation, on events in which their family was so much concerned. These letters were originally written by Robethon, and afterwards transcribed from his draughts, by the electoral family.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

The same subject.

Translation.

MADAM,

April 9, 1705.

"IT is, with the deepest gratitude, I observe, by the letter with which your Majesty has honoured me, with how much goodness you interest yourself in the loss which we have sustained in the death of the Queen of Prussia, and in the extreme affliction which her unexpected death has occasioned to all my family. I may venture to say, that the veneration which she had for your Majesty rendered her worthy of being regretted by you. I entreat your Majesty to be persuaded, that, as you are pleased to give me on all occasions marks of your kindness, I shall never allow any of them to pass without shewing you how sensible I am of it. I make fervent vows for your preservation, and for the continuance of your glorious reign; and I always am, with a profound respect, &c.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

1705.
Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 20.

The duke of Marlborough arriving at the Hague, in the first week of April, concerted measures with the States, for carrying on the principal operations of the campaign, on the Moselle. But being ill supported by the Germans, and recalled by the States to the defence of the Netherlands, the scheme of penetrating into France proved abortive. When he was at Crusenach, he wrote the following letter, complaining of the unprepared state of the Imperialists.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

He gives an account of his interview with the prince of Baden.

Translation.

SIR,

Crusenach, May 24th, 1705.

"I Would have done myself the honour of writing sooner to your Electoral Highness, but I could tell you nothing positive, until I had conversed with the prince of Baden; and, he having been indisposed, I was obliged to go as far as Rastadt, from whence I have just now returned, and I propose to be to-morrow at Treves.

Original.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 180.

1705.

The principal design of my journey was, to know exactly the number of troops which he could bring to act in concert with us on the Moselle; and I acknowledge to your Electoral Highness, that I am but little satisfied with my success, for all that the prince could furnish does not amount to 11 or 12 battalions and 28 squadrons, who are to march in four days. It is true, he makes me hope, they will be augmented in time to 20 battalions and 40 squadrons, which is still far from what was promised to me this winter at Vienna; so that, instead of two armies, I shall be obliged to act with one corps. The greatest difficulty will be to open a way from Treves, the enemy having seized on all the passages of the rivers; but by the valour of the troops, under the blessing of Heaven, I have no doubt of accomplishing this end. My design is then to attack Saar-Louys; and I shall be very happy to have your Electoral Highness's approbation of this measure, and your advice concerning our motions; and I entreat you to continue to me the honour of your good graces, and to be persuaded of the inviolable attachment and profound respect with which I shall always be, &c.

Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH."

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 179.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Answer to the preceding.

Translation.

My Lord,

Bruchausen, June 4, 1705.

" I Am very much obliged to you for the letter which you wrote to me from Creutznach the 24th of May, and of the trouble which you take to inform me of the result of your conference with the prince of Baden, and of the projects which you have formed for this campaign. I think them worthy of your prudence, and perfectly conformed to the interests of the common cause; and the more so, that after having taken Saar-Louis, you may go straight to Metz, without being obliged to take Thionville. I have nothing farther to say, but to wish you success, and as glorious a campaign as the last. No one interests himself more than I do, in what concerns you, or is more sincerely than I am, &c."

The

*The Elector to the Earl of Peterborough.**Peterborough had been appointed to command in Spain.*

Translation.

July 18, 1705.

“ I Am much obliged to you for the letter which you wrote to me, and for the assurances which it contains of your attachment to my interests. I had been already informed that you had given proofs of this on different occasions, of which I am duly sensible. I consider the choice which the Queen has made of you, for such a considerable employment, as very advantageous to me and to my family. However difficult your commission may be, I doubt not, but you will fulfil it, in a manner equally useful to the common cause and glorious to yourself. I would have had a great pleasure in seeing your son at Hannover : I am very sorry that he has been hindered from coming by such a dangerous wound. He would have met with a reception with which he would have reason to be satisfied ; as I shall be always happy to find opportunities of showing you, that I am, my Lord, &c.”

1705.
Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 22.

The duke of Marlborough having returned from the Moselle, obliged the enemy to abandon their design upon Liege, took Huy, and forced the French lines at Tirlemont. He sent an account of his success to the duke of Zell, and to the Elector of Hannover, and received the following answers.

The Duke of Zell to the Duke of Marlborough.

Translation.

My Lord,

Winhausen, July 31, 1705.

“ I Am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken, in informing me yourself of the advantage you have obtained. This enterprise has been conducted with so much prudence, that those who interest themselves for the good cause as I do, must be singularly obliged for it to you. I wish it may be attended with all the important consequences which we have reason to hope, and that you may soon have opportunities of adding a new lustre to the glory you have justly acquired. I can assure you, that no one takes a greater share in this than I do, or is more truly, my Lord, &c.”

Robethon's
Draught.
Ibid. No. 181.

1705.
Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers,
vol. marked
Princes,
No. 182.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Translation.

My Lord,

August 1st, 1705.

"THE news of the important advantage which you have obtained gave me a very sensible joy. I am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken to inform me of it. The manner, in which this enterprize has been concerted and executed, does you so much honour, that those who interest themselves in what concerns you as much as I do, must derive a double satisfaction from it. I expect important consequences from it for the good of the common cause, whose interest, as appears more and more every day, cannot be in better hands than yours. I wish you, with all my heart, a continuance of success, and an augmentation of renown; and am truly, my Lord, &c."

Robethon's
Draught.
Ibid. No. 184.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Acknowledges his complements of condolence on the death of the duke of Zell, and is pleased with his approbation of the prince's marriage.

Translation.

My Lord,

August, 1705.

"I Am very sensible of the obliging manner in which you interest yourself in whatever gives me joy or pain. You are in the right to believe, that I have felt, in a most sensible manner, the loss we have sustained by the death of the duke of Zell. I am very much obliged to you for the share you take in the marriage of my son, and for the wishes you offer for the happy effects which may be expected from it. I shall be always very well pleased to see the happiness of my family turn to the advantage of the English nation. I entreat you to be persuaded of the perfect esteem I have for you, and that I am very sincerely, &c."

Original.

The Princess Sophia to the Queen.

Translation.

MADAM,

Herrenhasen, Sept. 9, 1705.

"THE departure of Mr. Poule, your Majesty's Envoy, seems to authorize the liberty which I take of renewing my very humble respects to your Majesty, and of entreating you most humbly to be so good as to consider me always as one of those who have most veneration for your sacred person. I have strongly entreated Mr. Poule to assure your
your

your Majesty of this more fully. He always conducted himself at this court in so very proper a manner, that he has made himself very much beloved and esteemed. I think myself obliged to give him this testimony, and at the same time to entreat your Majesty, most humbly, to be so good as to do me the favour of considering me always as, Madam, &c."

1705.

The Princess Sophia to Queen Anne.

Original.

This letter was written after the death of the duke of Zell, and the marriage of the Electoral Prince.

Translation.

MADAM,

"I Have just received by Mr. How, your Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary, the gracious letter with which you was pleased to honour me, and in which you condescended to give me so many marks of your kindness, by taking a part in whatever happens to my family, that I cannot express to my own satisfaction, my very humble acknowledgements of this. It is true, Madam, that your Majesty has lost a faithful servant in the person of the deceased duke of Zell; but it is to be hoped, that the marriage of my grandson will produce others who may venture to pretend to the honour of your favour. As to myself, Madam, I have entreated Mr. How to assist me in making known to your Majesty, the sentiments of veneration which I have for you, and the respect with which I am, Madam, &c."

The Electoral Prince to the Duke of Marlborough.

He acknowledges the duke's congratulations on his marriage.

Translation.

My Lord,

Sept. 19, 1705.

"I Gratefully acknowledge the letter which you was so good as to write to me, and the share you show me you take in my marriage. The approbation with which her Majesty was pleased to honour it, gave me the greatest satisfaction. I beseech you to be persuaded, that I find a very great pleasure in having yours also, and I shall never neglect the opportunities of deserving it. You will oblige me very much by embracing every occasion of testifying to her Majesty, that I desire nothing so strongly as to conduct myself in all things after a manner which may be agreeable to her. I am very sincerely, my Lord, &c."

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 183.

The

1705.
Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes, No.
23.

The Elector to Mr. Cresset.

An answer to a letter he had received on the duke of Zell's death, and his son's marriage.

Translation.

SIR,

October 12, 1705.

" I Am much obliged to you for the letter you wrote to me, by which I see that you continue to interest yourself in every thing agreeable or disagreeable which happens to me. You gave me, on so many occasions, proofs of your affection, and of your attachment to the interests of my family, that I did not doubt, but you would be greatly concerned for the loss we have sustained, by the death of the duke of Zell, and form wishes for happy consequences from the marriage of my son. I am the more obliged to you for these sentiments, that I am thoroughly persuaded they proceed from the heart. You may be assured, Sir, that mine for you are no less sincere, and that I shall be very happy to find opportunities of giving you proofs of them, by showing you how much I am, Sir, &c."

Robethon's
Draught.
Ibid.

The Elector to the Earl of Portland.

Of the same date, and on the same occasion.

Translation.

My Lord,

" I Am very sensible of the obliging manner in which you show me the share you take in the joy which the marriage of my son gave me, and in the grief which I felt on the death of so good a prince as the duke of Zell. I am not ignorant of the sentiments of particular affection and esteem which he entertained for you. I shall have a pleasure, my lord, in showing the same sentiments for you, and in convincing you on all occasions how much I am obliged to you, for the proofs you give me of your attachment to my interests. I am very sincerely, &c."

Robethon's
Draught.
Ibid. No. 24.

The Electoral Prince to Lord Bridgewater.

An answer to a letter he had received on his marriage.

Translation.

My Lord,

October 29th, 1705.

" I Am very much obliged to you for the manner in which you show me you interest yourself in my marriage, and for your good wishes

to

to me on this occasion. They are to me an agreeable pledge of your affection. I beg of you, to continue it to me, and to be persuaded that it is impossible to value it more than I do, nor to have more esteem and regard for you than has, my Lord, &c."

1705.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

*Thanks her for compliments of condolence on the death of the duke of Zell,
and her approbation of the marriage of the prince.*

Translation.

Robethon's
Draught.
Hannover
Papers, vol.
marked
Princes,
No. 26.

MADAM,

October 30, 1705.

" I Received, with the most respectful gratitude, the letter with which your Majesty was pleased to honour me, and which Mr. Howe, your Envoy Extraordinary, delivered to me. I consider, as a fresh mark of your Majesty's kindness for me and for my family, the choice which you have made of this minister, whose merit I have known so long. I shall do myself a very great pleasure in showing him all the confidence and distinction which he deserves. I am very grateful for the obliging manner in which your Majesty is pleased to interest yourself in the grief which the death of the duke of Zell justly gave me; and I am not less so for the approbation with which you are so good as to honour the marriage of my son. I entreat you to be persuaded, that this approbation is the principal end that I propose to myself in all my actions, of which those will always appear to me to be the most lucky, which will furnish the strongest proofs of the profound respect with which I shall be all my lifetime, &c.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

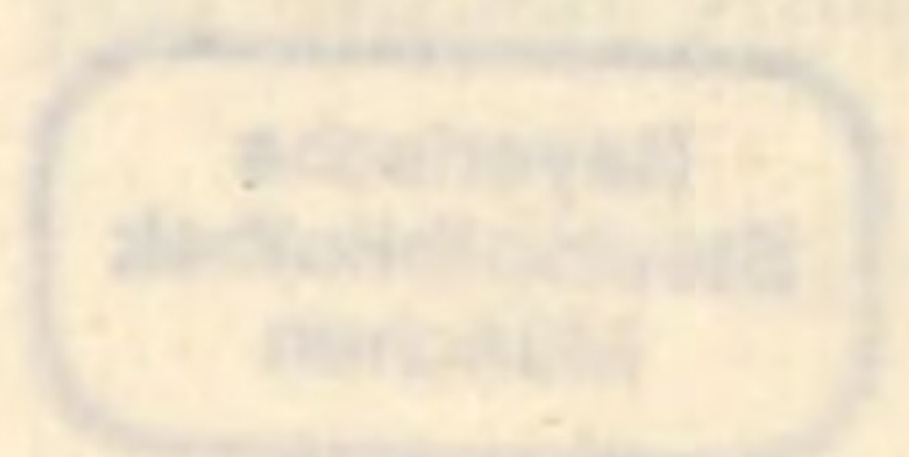
to me on this occasion. They are to me an honorable pledge of your affection. I beg of you, to continue it to me, and to be persuaded that it is impossible to value it more than I do, nor to have more esteem and regard for you than has, my heart.

Robertson's
Doughty
Hannover
Papers, vol.
no. 1
Princes
No. 25.

The Letter to Queen Anne.
I thank you for the compliment of ranking me on the list of the Duke of Zell, and for the assurance of its being a mark of your esteem.

October 30, 1705.
Madam,
I have not, with the most respectful gratitude, the letter with which your Majesty was pleased to honor me, and which Mrs. Howe, your Lady's chamberlain, delivered to me. I consider, as a mark of your Majesty's kindness for me, and for my family, the choice which you have made of this manner, who, as I have known to long, I think, do myself a very great pleasure, in knowing him all the confidence and distinction which he deserves. I am very grateful for the obliging manner in which your Majesty is pleased to interest yourself in the gift which the death of the Duke of Zell justly gave me, and I am not less so for the approbation with which you are so good as to honor the marriage of my kin. I entreat you to be persuaded, that this approbation is the principal end that I propose to myself in all my actions, of which I shall always appear to me to be the most lucky, which will furnish the strongest proofs of the profound respect with which I shall be all my life, &c.

George Lewis, Esq.



Macpherson, James

Original Papers; Containing The Secret History of Great Britain, From The
Restoration, To The Accession Of The House Of Hannover

Bd.: 1

London (1776)

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